TE KOHURAU :

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

IN A NEW ZEALAND RURAL DISTRICT

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To

NANCY

with heartfelt appreciation
for patience
love and
support

* * * * *

"If you can find a truly good wife,
she is worth more than precious gems"
(Proverbs 31:10, Living Bible)

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ABSTRACT

While the study of community has occupied sociologists for some time, the process of community formation and change has not been extensively explored. This dissertation addresses that deficiency by examining the process within a New Zealand rural district. The role of closure and communion are analysed using a framework developed from Weberian theory to highlight the dynamic interplay of contradiction and reinforcement existing between three sets of locality relationships: propinquity (community), property (class) and kinship (family). A key argument is that the process of community formation within a locality cannot be adequately understood without considering all three relations together, since they serve collectively to provide the parameters for closure and hence community formation.

These theoretical issues are used to explore the historical development of the Kurow district from the time of European settlement (circa 1850) to the present day (1982). The development of the district was divided into periods (1850-90; 1890-1920; 1920-1950; and 1950-1982), and techniques of historical research were employed to reconstruct aspects of the district's social structure. Community formation and change are examined from the years of settlement, through the consolidation of family farming, to changes in the twentieth century. Today, despite the increasing importance of more centralised forms of economic and political control outside the district, community continues to exist on the basis of high levels of continuity, a clear sense of boundary and strong associational structure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project that has extended over ten years is bound to have incurred debts to many people. Not all can be mentioned by name, but indebtedness to all has to be acknowledged.

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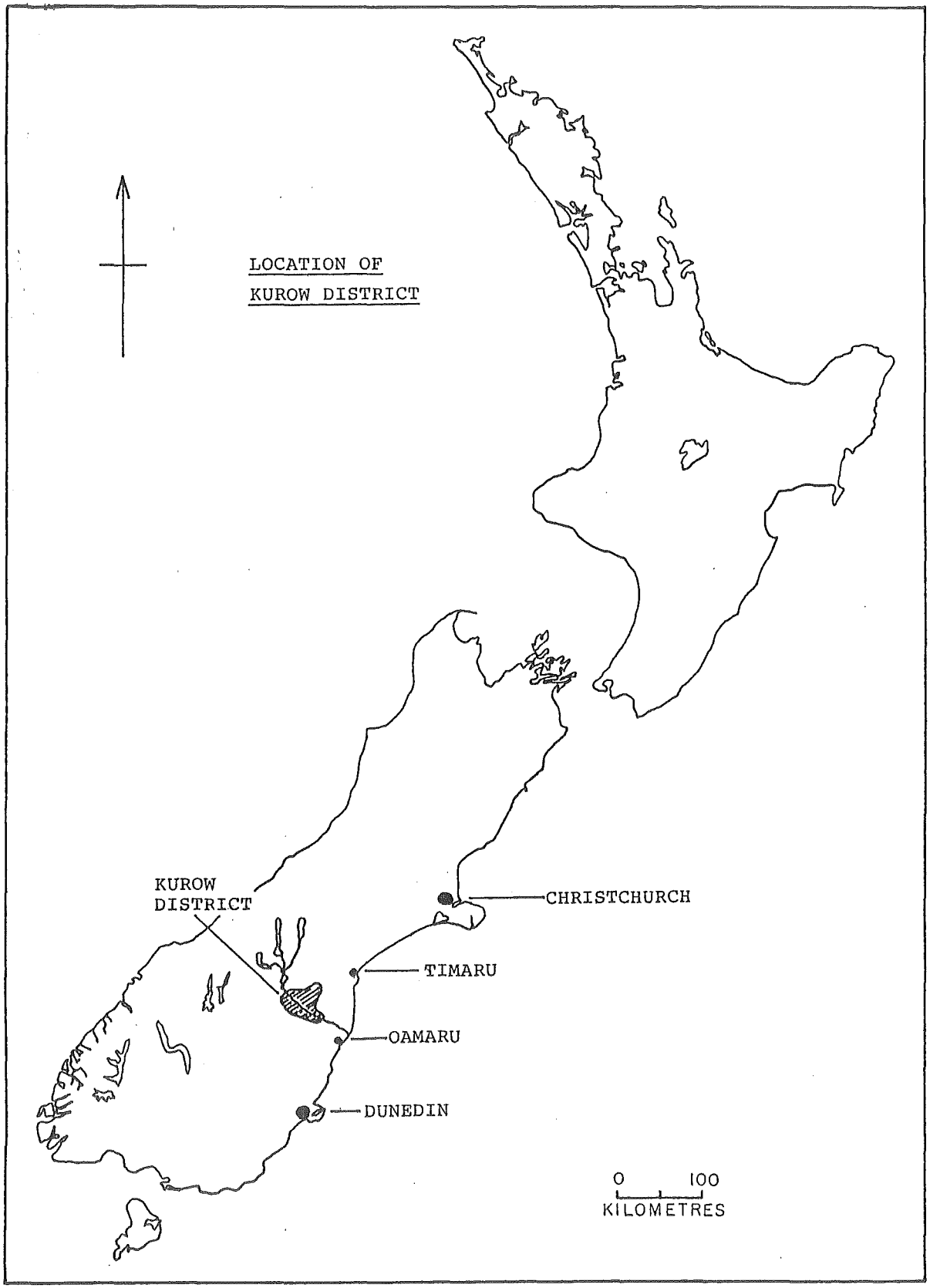
PREFACE

During the 1982 centenary celebrations in Kurow, North Otago, a church service was held in the local memorial hall. In the course of the service the visiting Catholic priest prayed that, in thinking about their past, the gathered congregation would be mindful of those who had been in the district prior to the arrival of their ancestors. Slipping into the Maori tongue, he prayed that they would be mindful of the tanga te whenua (the people of the land) who had gone before. It was a poignant moment in the service and there was much in the place names of the surrounding district to remind the congregation of that link to the past: Otiake (place of watching), Otekaike (place of home), Waitaki (sounding water), Awakino (bitter stream), Hakataramea (dancing spear grass), Maungatiro (view of the mountain), Awahokomo (stream where goods are held for exchange), Wharekuri (house of the dog), Otematata (place of good flint), Omarama (place of light). All of these and many more were names that had been bestowed on campsites, rivers, streams and mountains by the survivors of the wreck of the canoe Araiteuru or their descendants.

According to the North Otago historian, G.B. Stevenson (1947:40), the canoe Araiteuru had arrived in Aotearoa somewhere between 1225 and 1350. Discharging most of its cargo at Whitianga on the east coast of the north island, it had continued south but was wrecked by a storm at Shag Point, just south of the present site of Oamaru. Some one hundred and fifty survivors made it safely to shore, and one of these was a crewman called

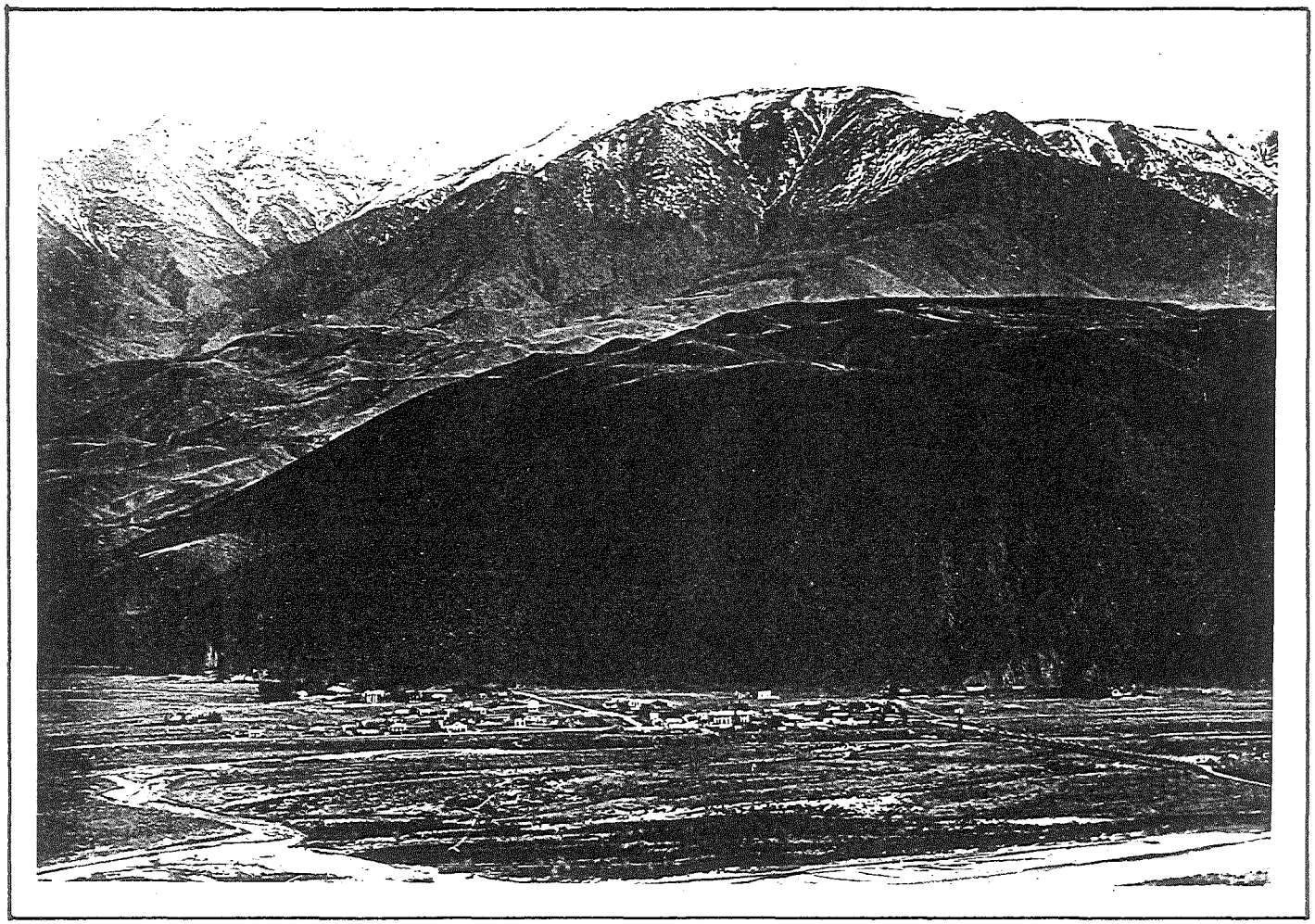

LOCATION OF
KUROW DISTRICT
KUROW
DISTRICT
CHRISTCHURCH
TIMARU
OAMARU
DUNEDIN
0 100
KILOMETRES

Te Kohurau. His was the name that was subsequently given to the 2,007 metre peak that rises behind Kurow Township, indeed the word "Kurow" itself is taken to be an English corruption of this Maori name.

Te Kohurau means "the place of many mists". Legend has it that prior to European settlement there was a clash between two rival Maori war parties in the vicinity of where Kurow Township now stands. In the face of defeat, one young warrior made a dash for the nearby hills where a bank of mist was beginning to form. Keeping just ahead of his pursuers he managed to reach the mist and made good his escape. It is said that the peak was named in recognition of this event.

And so, some two centuries later, we too come to penetrate the "many mists" of the Kurow district's past and to reconstruct the historical processes that have underlain its development. As such, this study is concerned with the circumstances that led to the district's settlement by Europeans, the factors that shaped its development and the processes that served to structure the social relationships among the people who sought to make a living within its borders.

It focuses on the element of struggle as settlers won land from the pastoral companies and then fought to make a living from it in the face of repeated droughts, economic depressions and the depredation caused by rabbits. It documents the processes of transition as bullock teams gave way to horses and then trucks, as the horse team gave way to the tractor and as threshing mills were superseded by combine harvesters. It analyses the processes of incorporation as local-based economic concerns were taken over



[James Gilmour]

Kurow Township, Early 1920s
Kurow Hill and St Mary's Range in Background

by outside interests and state bureaucracies increasingly intervened in the lives of the district's people.

Above all else, though, it concerns itself with the issue of land and examines how that land was sought after, held and used by people to create the kind of community structure that exists there today. Land, family and community, these are the interwoven strands that give this story substance and meaning.

The story will be told in four parts. In Part One an introduction to the study will be provided. Here, Chapter 1 will review developments in the community studies tradition and highlight how the approach has been modified to take account of emerging issues within the wider discipline. Chapter 2 will provide a theoretical framework for the study by discussing closure, communion and the linkages between community, class and family and Chapter 3 will discuss methodological issues connected with the study, particularly the issue of historical reconstruction.

Part Two will describe the contemporary situation in the district. Here, Chapter 4 will introduce the localities, overview the historical development of the district's population, provide a social profile of the contemporary population and introduce the issue of continuity. Chapter 5 will outline contemporary dimensions to land use and landholding within the district. This will then be used as a backdrop against which to review the historical development of the district.

This historical development will be dealt with in Part Three. For analytical purposes, the historical development of the district has been divided into four main periods (1850 to

1890; 1890 to 1920; 1920 to 1950; and 1950 to 1982) and Chapters 6, 8, 10 and 12 deal with these in turn. This historical material is summarised in chapter 14.

There are also four chapters in Part Three that contain case material relating to aspects of particular consequence within each period. Thus, Chapter 7 includes a discussion of land, labour and community formation in 1890; Chapter 9 looks at the circumstances surrounding the settlement in 1908 of Otekaike Station, one of the large estates in the district; Chapter 11 looks at the watershed years of the late 1940s and early 1950s, when major farming changes took place in the district; and Chapter 13 discusses the circumstances surrounding the controversy over the sale in 1978 of another large district property, Hakataramea Station.

Part Four consists of one chapter (chapter 15). Here, the historical development of the district is reviewed against the theoretical framework developed in chapter 2 and conclusions drawn about the community formation process in the district.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE REFORMULATION OF THE COMMUNITY STUDIES APPROACH

INTRODUCTION

The field of "community studies" is one that has undergone much change and redefinition in recent years. From being an area that provided so many of the early sociological research classics,[1] it came under increasing criticism in the 1950s for producing studies that were seen to be overly descriptive, idiosyncratic, non-cumulative and non-comparative.[2] Its essentially qualitative methodology was considered to lack the rigour of more quantitative counterparts in the discipline, its wholistic approach fell out of favour as sociologists became more specialised in their research foci, and its static, structural-functional theoretical underpinnings were held to lack the "relevance" of more dynamic theoretical frameworks.[3] In response to such criticisms, the community studies approach seemed to fall out of favour during the 1960s. To be sure, the approach still had its adherents and supporters during this time, but by and large these were considered to be representatives of a past era in sociological work.

Against this background it is of some significance that the approach has, in fact, persisted and indeed has re-emerged out of seeming oblivion with a vitality that belies the earlier criticisms levelled at it.[4] This study is part of this re-emergence since it seeks to make a contribution towards re-defining the field of community studies, not only in terms of methodological procedures but also in relation to theoretical frameworks.[5]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY STUDIES

Theoretical concern with "community" began in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century as social theorists sought to explore the ways in which increases in size and complexity of social organisation affected the nature of social relationships within society. Prominent among these theorists was Ferdinand Toennies (1855-1936) with his concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft but other theorists discussed the change in similar terms. Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) expressed it in terms of a transition from the mechanical solidarity of primitive society to the organic solidarity of modern society, while Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) saw it in terms of a transition from a military society based on simple homogeneity to an industrial society based on complex heterogeneity. A dominant emphasis in such thinking was that a community-based social order was being destroyed by the processes of industrialisation, bureaucratisation and urbanisation and that, as a consequence, traditional values and ways of life were being undermined.[6]

Such theoretical concerns had their counterpart in empirical investigations. Thus, Havighurst and Jansen (1967), claimed that the empirical study of community had its beginnings in the second half of the nineteenth century in northern Europe and North America, where the effects of such rapid industrialisation and urbanisation produced a variety of social problems. This resulted in research being carried out to document social conditions, particularly in urban settings, with a view to having these social problems resolved through reform. Havighurst and Jansen labelled this phase of community research

the social critical phase and dated it roughly from 1880 to 1915. Work that they cited in connection with this phase included research by Le Play (1877), Charles Booth (1892), Rowntree (1901) and early surveys done in the United States.[7]

The next phase of community research identified by Havighurst and Jansen was what they called the analytical phase and, following Hollingshead (1948), they dated this period from 1915 to 1930. Work done during this period aimed at providing empirical and factual studies of social life in local settings - rural as well as urban. Some of this work reflected the earlier practical concern of relating community research to the formulation of policy, but increasingly this emphasis was ignored in favour of more strictly sociological concerns. The Chicago School[8] and Robert and Helen Lynd's initial study of Muncie, Indiana (published in 1929 as Middletown) provide good examples of this, as does C.J. Galpin's rural study, Anatomy of an Agricultural Community (1915).

At the same time as these early studies of modern localities were being carried out, anthropologists were studying less developed societies, and, although these two activities were developing relatively independently of each other at this stage, the latter was subsequently to influence the former in quite significant ways.

After 1930, community research began to reflect more systematic structural analysis than had appeared in the earlier phases, and Havighurst and Jansen referred to this period as the structural phase, dating it from 1930 to about 1965. It was in this phase that the structural-functional emphasis of social

anthropology came to the fore in community research, and the beginnings of this were to be found in Lloyd Warner's Yankee City series.[9] Among other studies from this period that reflected this anthropological influence were Arensberg and Kimball's study of County Clare in Ireland (1940), James West's study of Plainville U.S.A. (1945), Alwyn Rees's Welsh research (1951), Bill William's studies of Gosforth (1956) and Ashworthy (1963), Ronald Frankenberg's study of Glynceiriog (1957) and Isabel Emmett's study of a north Wales village (1964).[10] In reviewing this development, Ron Wild commented:

> The history of modern community studies started with the functionalist, empirically descriptive and wholistic traditions of social anthropology. Sociologists wanting to study communities in their own countries borrowed the method used by social anthropologists studying primitive societies, that is, living with a group of people for a considerable period in order to understand their way of life. (1981:60)

Wild went on to remark that both major branches of community studies - the American and the British - started from this perspective and were strongly influenced by the methods and theories of social anthropology, particularly participant observation and functionalist-equilibrium models of society.[11]

This approach to community research, then, focused on wholistic notions of the community as being a place of integrated and interconnected sets of social relationships, and the explanations for community formation and change that it offered were rooted in factors within the community itself with little account being taken of the wider social context. As such, the local community was treated as a unique phenomenon, an "object" of study.

Developments subsequent to 1967 allow us to update Havighurst and Jansen's analysis. As we saw earlier, in the late 1960s and early 1970s researchers became increasingly critical of this "traditional" approach to community research and, in response to such criticisms, attempts were made to reconstruct the field. Community, as such, ceased to be the "object" of study and the approach came increasingly to be viewed as a "method" by which sociological issues could be explored within a locality setting.[12] In response to this shift in orientation, the study of locality became a vehicle for exploring such major social themes as inequality, mobility, power, social class and social change.[13] To some extent, a similar transition can be traced in New Zealand locality studies.

NEW ZEALAND LOCALITY STUDIES

Despite the fact that New Zealand locality studies have lacked the same depth as their American and European counterparts - both in terms of coverage and numbers - nevertheless, similar criticisms can be applied to them, too. The process of community formation and change in New Zealand is an area where we have little data of much analytical worth. Most of the locality research that has been done in New Zealand has made use of the social survey as a major research tool and, as such, these studies have tended to have a one-point-in-time, cross-sectional focus that provides little insight into the dynamic of community processes.[14]

In addition, their usefulness in enabling an understanding of the historical processes involved in community formation has

also been severely limited. This has either been because of the ahistorical and hence atypical nature of the localities being studied - forestry or hydro villages - or else because of the ahistorical focus of the research itself.[15] Unfortunately, New Zealand locality studies have all too often studied the present, with little or no adequate reference having been given to the past. David Pearson's Johnsonville (1980) is an indication, however, that the trend may be changing.

Pearson's study of Johnsonville was not published until this present study was well underway. Nevertheless, his approach to overcoming these criticisms of locality studies has been very similar in orientation to the present study. In the introduction to his book, Pearson listed three main objectives that underlay his research, and these are worth highlighting here, since they mirror objectives that were also set for this study.

Pearson stated that a main objective in his work was to "trace the historical and contemporary social structure of a specific locality", and he went on from this to comment that, in his opinion, the community study was "a productive method of conducting exploratory forays into the largely uncharted landscape of New Zealand social life and history" (1980:13). In acknowledging the fact that it was pointless to try to claim that the social fabric of a society could be encompassed in one single locality, Pearson was nevertheless insistent that the influence of wider social processes could be traced to good effect within the local setting. This emphasis upon a "processual" view is important insofar as it serves to redefine the locality study and place it much more firmly in the historical tradition. In this

respect, social change becomes a process to be confronted and understood rather than ignored, as it had been in many earlier community studies.

In response to this, therefore, a second objective in Pearson's work was to "illustrate the efficacy of community analysis as a means of capturing the nuances of social change in societies confronted with rapidly changing levels of scale and complexity" (1980:14-15).[16]

The third objective in Pearson's work was to attempt to overcome the criticisms of "parochialism" and "pointless fact gathering" that have been made in the past in relation to community studies. He commented :

> If one links local patterns of property ownership, political influence or residential segregation to the broader influences of industrialisation, urbanisation and bureaucratisation over time, claims of static parochialism can be denied. (1980:14)

Pearson's approach to dealing with this kind of criticism was therefore to blend description with theory and, by working between different levels of analysis, to seek to place the locality study within what he described as a "comparative historical framework" (1980:14).

The strengths of Pearson's approach can be summarised as follows. In the first place, he was aware of the need to take into account the influence of the extra-local on the local. Secondly, he took a processual view of community study, a view which sought to "place local studies firmly within the mainstream of social change" (1980:14). And thirdly, he appreciated the need to integrate locality research with some of the mainstream

issues in sociological theory, e.g., inequality and images of class.[17] These aspects to Pearson's analysis have therefore been consistent with the broader changes to the community studies tradition identified earlier.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LOCALE

It is of interest that these changes in approach coincided with an increased appreciation among social scientists of the significance of "locale" in contemporary capitalist society (see Giddens, 1979; Urry, 1981 and 1983; Saunders and Williams, 1984; Gregory and Urry, 1985; and Dickens, 1985). The impetus for such a development can be traced to Giddens' use of the term "locale" in his book Central Problems of Social Theory (1979). Here, Giddens argued that, insofar as all social relationships and interactions take place in space and time, then rather than simply being bracketed as the contextual background for such interaction, they have to be regarded as integral aspects of it. Both of these dimensions are meaningful and thus become part of the structures which shape the lives and experiences of individuals.

This concern with locale takes on further significance, however, when we consider structural developments that have taken place within modern capitalism. Far from shrinking, as had been supposed, there is evidence to suggest that the role of locality relationships in advanced industrial societies may well be growing, due to the way in which social structures are being reorganised at both national and international levels. The reorganisation that has taken place in the international division

of labour and the consequent structural changes within individual societies have tended to divide regions and localities by distributing economic benefits unevenly among them. Thus, Urry has suggested that capitalist society will manifest "increasing fragmentation of classes on the local level" as productive capital assumes a more international form, and political behaviour will thus reflect the activities of "local social movements" rather than social classes (Urry, 1981:454).[18] In this context, local struggles over resources take on significance as "communities of interest" come to be defined more in terms of locality than class.[19] An inevitable outcome of this has been the resurgence of local identity as a political force.

LOCALITY FOCUS

As recent work within the field of community studies has begun to respond to such developments, the issue of whether or not "community" exists within a particular locality has therefore become part of the problem to be explored and analysed, rather than something to be assumed and taken for granted. Thus the phenomenon of "community" has come to be treated as being problematic insofar as it refers to a set of social relations that may or may not exist in a locality, or may exist to varying degrees at different times.

With this development there has also come a more explicit recognition, not only of the significance of external influences on the locality, but also of the importance of understanding the historical evolution of the locality as a major factor in understanding its contemporary social structure. Work in this

new vein has thus sought to demonstrate the utility of historically-grounded locality research as a means of understanding the process of social change within the wider society.[20]

The focus of this kind of research has therefore shifted to the idea of locality rather than community, insofar as community can be considered to emerge within a locality only when certain conditions are met.[21] This in itself has been a significant factor in helping to reshape community studies since, in the theoretical heritage of the concept of community, the geographical, sociological, ideological and psychological aspects of the concept were not differentiated clearly enough. Thus, in earlier work, "community" had been taken to refer, not only to a locality and its people (geographical), but also to aspects of the relationship between the people (sociological), as well as to their shared beliefs (ideological) and common sentiments (psychological).[22] The source of this confusion can be traced back to the seminal work of Ferdinand Toennies (1855-1936) and his "ideal types" of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft.[23]

GEMEINSCHAFT AND GESELLSCHAFT

According to Horace Miner (1968), Toennies was the first theorist to make explicit use of ideal types (or as Toennies himself referred to them, "normal types") and the typology which underlay his particular theory of social change was that of a transition from Gemeinschaft (translated as "community") to Gesellschaft (translated alternatively as "society" or "association").

While the German word Gemeinschaft cannot be accurately translated into English, Miner takes it to refer to the "community of feeling" that results from likeness and shared life experience, an "associative unity of ideas and emotions" (1968:175). In simple terms, Gemeinschaft implies human relationships that are intimate, enduring and characterised by sentiment and depth of commitment.[24] Key examples of Gemeinschaftlicht relationships are those between mother and child, husband and wife or brothers and sisters. As Miner points out, however, Gemeinschaft is not limited to formal kinship links since relationships based on friendship, neighbourhood or collective proprietorship can also produce a similar unity. Archetypical Gemeinschaftlicht groups are taken to be the family, the friendship group or the village. For Toennies, though, the key emphases in Gemeinschaft were on "blood" (kinship), "place" (locality) and "mind" (sentiment) and he insisted that these had been undermined in the transition to Gesellschaft.

Whereas Gemeinschaft is based on the "natural will" of sentiment (Wesenwille), Toennies maintained that Gesellschaft was based on the "rational will" of calculation (Kurwille). Gesellschaft is thus suggestive of relationships that are impersonal, instrumental and largely contractual. Archetypal Gesellschaftlicht relationships are taken to be business relationships, and archetypal Gesellschaftlicht groups are taken to be the business firm or the city. Speaking of Gesellschaftlicht relationships, Toennies said, "everybody is by himself and isolated, and there exists a condition of tension against all others" (1877, page 65 in 1965 paperback edition).

In the Gemeinschaft, says Toennies, people remain essentially united in spite of their differences, while in the Gesellschaft, they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors (ibid).

While not part of Toennies' original conception, it is nevertheless of some significance that the two elements of scale and location came to be associated with these ideal types. Gemeinschaft was taken to be rural and small, while Gesellschaft was seen as large and urban.[25] Reinforced by the work of Robert Redfield (1930, 1941), Louis Wirth (1938) and others in relation to a supposed "folk-urban continuum", the typological tradition that developed out of Toennies' initial theorising thus provided a compelling framework that informed much subsequent research in rural and urban locations.[26] This development was not without its critics, of course (see Dewey, 1960; Gans, 1962; Benet, 1963; Hauser, 1965; Lewis, 1965; and Pahl, 1966) and among the criticisms that were levelled at it was the unnecessary confusion that it brought to the topic of community.

Insofar as "community" came to be associated not only with one type of location (i.e., rural) but also with a particular time period (i.e., a "lost" traditional society) it came to be, in Ron Wild's words, a "ragbag" concept into which were put various sociologists' versions of what constituted "the good life" (Wild, 1981:24). The root cause of this, according to Bell and Newby, was a lack of clear demarcation between "empirical description" (what community is) and "normative prescription" (what sociologists have felt it should be) (Bell and Newby, 1974:xliv).

It was not too surprising, therefore, that in 1955, when George Hillery reviewed ninety-four separate definitions of community, he was forced to conclude that there was no common agreement among them beyond the fact that all of the definitions dealt with people (Hillery, 1955). In response to this, some commentators concluded that a satisfactory definition of community was difficult to achieve (see Ladd, 1959 and Bell and Newby, 1971) and that it does not refer to a useful sociological abstraction (see Stacey 1969). Indeed, Hillery's conclusion in 1963 was that the word, community, embraced "a motley assortment of concepts and qualitatively different phenomena" (Hillery, 1963:779). Hillery and Stacey sought to resolve this definitional problem by avoiding the use of the concept of community altogether. Nevertheless, as Wild has pointed out, community remains a reference point and source of social relationships for many people in contemporary society, and, as such, it must be retained in the sociologist's vocabulary (Wild, 1981:12).

If this is the case, however, it needs to be more clearly defined and its scope of application needs to be more clearly demarcated. In this study, the issue is resolved by substituting the word "locality" for "community" where the referrent is a geographical one; by substituting the word "communion" for "community" where it is sentiment that is being discussed; and by reserving the word "community" to describe aspects of social relationships and social organisation within a locality - the local social system (Stacey, 1969).[27] A similar resolution to the conceptual confusion can be found in Newby (1986).[28]

CONCLUSION

In this introductory chapter consideration has been given to the development of the community studies tradition and we have noted how, in response to various factors, the approach has been reshaped to resolve deficiencies within the approach itself and also to take into account emerging issues within the wider discipline of sociology. These changes have had the effect of placing "community" more within the category of problematic phenomena to be discovered, explored and understood rather than simply taken for granted. Thus, the focus of research has shifted to the idea of locality rather than community with the locality providing a context within which a variety of sociological issues can be explored. It is to a discussion of such issues that the next chapter is devoted.

FOOTNOTES :

1. Studies that could be cited here include: Harvey Zorbaugh's The Gold Coast and The Slum (1929), Robert and Helen Lynd's Middletown (1929) and Middletown Revisited (1937), Lloyd Warner's Yankee City series (1941) and William Foote Whyte's Street Corner Society (1955).

2. See Bell and Newby (1971:13-20) and Reiss (1954). Given the high degree of mobility in post-industrial society, community studies have even been accused of being simply irrelevant. Bell and Newby have referred to them as being "the most appealing and infuriating products of modern sociology" (1974:xliii). In her now famous verdict on community studies, Ruth Glass described them as being "the poor sociologist's substitute for the novel" (1966:148).

3. Ron Wild provides a useful discussion of the criticisms of the community studies approach that have eventuated from positivists, Marxists and phenomenologists (Wild, 1981:9-11; 1984:1-2). For an interesting critique from a Marxist perspective, see also Jackson (1980) and Brook and Finn (1978).

4. This re-emergence has seen the focus of study shift from community to locality. In Britain, this has developed from two distinct directions. In the first place, studies by social anthropologists of British rural localities have concentrated on exploring the culture of localism and the identification with place that comes from "belonging" (see Cohen, 1982 and 1983). The second development has concentrated on the locality as the spatial focus for the reproduction of labour power within capitalist society (see Cooke, 1982; Massey, 1982; and Urry, 1984). Bradley and Lowe (1984b:12) refer to the former as "the ethnography of localism" and the latter as "the political economy of capitalist recombination in peripheral regions".

5. Some material in this and later chapters has been drawn from a number of my own published sources or conference papers, such as Hall et al (1982); Hall et al (1983); and Hall (1985a and b). Where material is quoted verbatim from these sources, this will be acknowledged.

6. This tended to generate a "nostalgia" for what had been supposedly lost and a "disgust" for what had developed in its place (see Gusfield, 1975:1-21). However, not all theorists of the time shared such romantic perspectives. Marx, for one, saw great value in capitalism insofar as it had destroyed "the idiocy of rural life" (quoted in Gusfield, 1975:6).

7. Surveys such as Kellogg's survey of Pittsburgh (1909) and Harrison's survey of Springfield, Illinois (1918).

8. Among the studies that could be cited here would be Park and Burgess (1925), Wirth (1928) and Zorbaugh (1929).

9. The five volumes in the Yankee City series were published by Yale University Press between 1941 and 1959. A one volume abridgement was also published by them in 1963 under the title Yankee City.

10. This is not to imply, of course, that these studies were done in isolation from each other. Arensberg and Kimball's work developed directly out of Lloyd Warner's Yankee City project and Bill William's research was very much influenced by the pioneering work of Alwyn Rees.

11. One must not presume from this, of course, that there was a monolithic influence that could be neatly labelled "social anthropology". As Austin (1984) has pointed out, significant distinctions can be drawn between the influence on community studies of Warnerian anthropology (representing an organic model) and the anthropology of Max Gluckman (representing a conflict model). In recognition of this, Austin warns against sociologists adopting naive and uninformed perspectives on the discipline of social anthropology.

12. Something which contributed to this in large part, was the disillusionment with the field that followed in the wake of a long but largely unproductive debate as to the meaning of the community concept (see Hillery, 1955 and 1959; Parsons, 1959; Sutton and Kolaja, 1960; Martindale, 1964; Simpson, 1965; Havighurst and Jansen, 1967; Hillery, 1968; Minar and Greer, 1969; and Stacey, 1969).

13. Examples of this trend are to be found in Ron Wild's Bradstow (1974) and Heathcote (1983), Newby et al's Property, Paternalism and Power (1978) and David Pearson's Johnsonville (1980).

14. As examples of this see: Congalton (1954); Campbell (1957); Parr et al (1975); and Chapple (1976).

15. The only New Zealand study that includes much explicit historical content is H.C.D. Somerset's study of "Littledene" (1974). Even here, however, the historical analysis is patchy and inconsistent.

16. Similar sentiments have been expressed by Cole and Wolf: "We strongly believe that the study of small populations which form components of complex societies must take account of that complexity before the interpretation of what happens 'on the ground' can be meaningful. Thus we believe anthropology cannot do without history for it is only through an anthropologically informed historical account of the genesis and development of the forces impinging upon our social and cultural microcosms that we can arrive at an adequate assessment of the ways in which these forces act upon each other in the present" (1974:xi).

17. Ron Wild has made the following comment in this regard: "Community studies have a potential to contribute even more than they have so far to sociology by relating their projects and their findings to the core theoretical issues of the subject, especially those concerning such matters as class, capitalism, rationality, bureaucracy and power" (1981:231). At the same time, though, he does insist that the limitations of the local focus need to be recognised.

18. This is a theme that is also dealt with in many of the contributions in Gregory and Urry (1985).

19. It is of interest here that Dennis Warwick, in his discussion of the 1984/85 British miner's strike, included the following quotation from the New Statesman (January 11th, 1985): "This miners' strike has become more about the community than class. It is, or it has become, in the first place a struggle for survival of villages. Its heartland is in places knit together by an almost private sense of the collective self. Like village radicalism in the 19th century, it is animated at the local level by an exclusive sense of belonging; a republican sense of independence; and an assertion of total and unilateral control over the conditions of the environment" (Warwick, 1985:9).

20. Elements of this perspective are to be found in some recent sociological work (e.g. Pearson, 1980) but a parallel can also be found in the history discipline, particularly with the locality emphasis of the New Urban History (see for example Thernstrom, 1964; Katz, 1975 and Griffen and Griffen 1978). Useful overviews to the New Urban History are to be found in Thernstrom (1971) and in Ebner (1973).

21. There is a useful discussion of such conditions in the propositions contained in Stacey (1969).

22. For discussion of this see: Wild (1981:14); Pearson (1982:77); Lee and Newby (1983:57-58); and Newby (1986:211-12).

23. Toennies' Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft was originally published in Germany in 1877. The edition that will be quoted from in this study is the 1965 Harper paperback, edited by Loomis and McKinney.

24. A useful discussion of these two types of relationships can be found in Holland (1973).

25. Max Weber's work contrasts markedly with the typological tradition here. Weber separated community from locality by pointing out that both of Toennies' types of social relationships occurred in industrial society and that they represented two alternative bases for social action (Weber, 1968:136). Weber defined as "communal" those relationships in which social action was "based on a subjective feeling of

the parties ... that they belong together" (ibid.), while "associative" relationships rested on "a rationally motivated adjustment of interests" (ibid.). The former thus referred to relations based on affect, while the latter referred to relations based on the calculation of rational self-interest. The key point of contrast with the typological tradition, though, was Weber's argument that, while "place" could contribute to the development of "communal" relationships, it was not a sufficient condition for this to occur. Gertrud Neuwirth paraphrased Weber's argument in the following way : "Weber feels that communal relationships do not exist when people merely find themselves in a similar situation, react to the situation in the same way, or even share a common feeling about the situation and its consequences. It is only when this feeling leads to a mutual orientation of their behaviour to each other that their relationship may be termed communal" (Neuwirth, 1969:154).

26. See, for example: Redfield (1930, 1941 and 1947); Loomis and McKinney (1956); Stewart (1958); Fuguitt (1963); Baumert and Lupri (1963); and Frankenberg (1966).

27. Stacey defined the local social system as: "... a set of interrelated social institutions covering all aspects of social life, familial, religious, juridicial etc and the associated belief systems of each" (1969:19). According to Stacey, a local social system occurs when "... such a set of (institutional) interrelations exist in a geographically defined locality ... The set of interrelations which compose the social system may be more or less complete" (1969:19). She discussed five main aspects to the emergence of such a local social system: the establishment and maintenance of the system; local conditions where no such system could be expected; circumstances of change, modification or decline in the system; interrelationships between systems and their parts; and the interaction of the local and national systems. Despite being ignored for a number of years, Stacey's framework is now being discussed by a number of researchers (see Wild, 1981; Saunders and Williams, 1984; Bradley and Lowe, 1984a).

28. Newby distinguished between "community as locality" (i.e., a fixed and bounded territory), "community as a local social system" (i.e., a set of structured social relationships which occur within a locality), and "community as communion" (i.e., a sense of common identity which may or may not have a specifically local basis) (1986:211-212).

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CLOSURE, COMMUNITY AND COMMUNION

INTRODUCTION

In line with the reformulation of the community studies tradition discussed earlier, this chapter seeks to take up the challenge of linking such research more firmly into central theoretical issues within sociology.[1] The key issues explored here are the processes of community formation and change at the locality level and the role that land ownership might play in relation to this. It will be argued that the significance of land ownership to the process of community formation and change has to be seen within two particular contexts, one structural and the other processual. Structurally, three sets of locality relationships that are pertinent to community formation will be identified. Processually, the way in which the objective dimensions to these relationships take on subjective affect (communion) and become the basis for collective action will be examined.

LOCALITY RELATIONSHIPS

In addressing the issue of relationships within a locality it has been found useful in the present study to distinguish between three sets of dominant relationships: relations of property (class), relations of kinship (family) and relations of propinquity (community). At times these sets of relations will be found to reinforce each other within a locality, at other times they will contradict. This will be found to provide a framework for exploring the dynamics of the process of community formation. We examine each of these relations in turn.

Property

In 1980, in the context of commenting on the significance that a consideration of landholding should have to any analysis of rural society, Howard Newby said:

> The importance of land as a factor of production in agriculture and as a major concentration of wealth and capital ensures that the structure of landholding remains decisive in shaping both the economic and the social structure of rural society. (1980:36)

In an earlier context, Newby *et al.* had commented:

> The importance of land as a factor of production in agriculture, and the significance of agriculture in rural society, make property a far more important feature of the stratification system than either occupation or income *per se*. (1978:26) [2]

As Newby was to point out subsequently, however, landholding as a topic of analysis has not received much attention from rural sociologists over the years, despite its obvious importance and centrality.[3] Similar comments could also be made about urban sociologists.[4]

This is rather surprising, of course, since property clearly occupied a crucial role in the theoretical analyses of social relations under capitalism that were developed by Karl Marx and Max Weber (see Jordan, 1971 and Weber, 1968). The point, however, is that this significance at the theoretical level has not been matched at the empirical level, where the analysis of property ownership has, until relatively recently, received only scant attention from sociologists.[5]

Developments in rural and urban research in the 1970s, however, did result in the question of land ownership and

property rights taking on greater significance. Newby et al., for example, attempted to develop a theoretically informed analysis of land ownership in rural England (Newby et al., 1978). Massey and Catalano (1978) analysed land ownership in Great Britain, and Saunders focused upon the significance of domestic property as a source of capital accumulation and as a contributor to political and social stability within a society (Saunders, 1978, 1979, 1981).

In the New Zealand context, the ownership of property has featured significantly in the work of David Pearson (1980), David Thorns (1984) and in the comparative locality research carried out as part of the Canterbury "Community Formation and Change" project (Hall et al., 1983, especially chapter 3).

It is therefore clear that land ownership has a theoretical significance to locality studies that should not be overlooked. There are factors, however, that make this of particular significance in the New Zealand context.

Firstly, from its European beginnings, New Zealand was a society dominated by freehold landowners, and land has therefore been a highly valued source of investment and wealth (see Toynbee, 1979a and 1979b, and Fairburn, 1979). Land ownership has also been identified as being a significant factor in the existence of class consciousness (or the lack of it) in a settler society with an expanding frontier (see Thernstrom and Sennett, 1969), and these are important issues to be explored in the New Zealand context. Little material has been published, however, that would allow us to explore how land ownership has been distributed within the New Zealand population and the role that

it may have played in creating wealth, in the formation of classes and in the development of local social structures.

Secondly, there is the relevance of the issue of transiency to the New Zealand situation and the significant role that land ownership has in relation to this. Studies in the United States and Canada, for example, have identified transiency as having been a hallmark of 19th-century urban life.[6] Cities in North America were undergoing rapid growth as these settler societies developed through the nineteenth century, and the urban social structure of the time seemed to show a high degree of fluidity. These studies also showed a marked difference in mobility rates between owners and renters, with the former being more permanent and the latter more transient.

It would seem reasonable to suppose that a similar pattern existed in New Zealand, given that it was also an expanding, white-settler, frontier society in the nineteenth century. David Pearson's work on Johnsonville (1980) and David Thorns' work on Richmond and Fendalton (in Hall et al., 1983) provide some comparable material here, but both of these studies have an urban focus. All that we have to date in relation to the rural setting are speculations (see Martin, 1982; Fairburn, 1975 and 1979).

Of greater significance, however, is the way in which a consideration of land ownership within a locality forces us to confront possible interrelationships between "community" and "class". While issues of community and class have been considered separately in sociology for some time, the relationship between them has been relatively unexplored to date. Indeed, in reviewing the community studies literature it becomes

obvious that, even in that minority of cases where consideration has been given to class - as opposed to social status - the two issues have still been treated separately. Dimensions of class structure have been explored within a locality setting,[7] but little attempt has been made to relate aspects of this class structure to the process of community formation itself.

In the rural context, property relationships and productive relationships are closely allied, since land is the chief source of economic wealth. The social structure which emerges in the rural context, therefore, is one in which differentiation is based upon the nature and scale of land ownership, or its lack, and involvement in farm-related occupations. It will be argued that the former is of greater significance than the latter but both need to be taken into account. Some of the propertied class work in farm-related occupations, and there are at least three categories among them that need to be differentiated. First of all, there are the farmers who are regular employers of permanent labour. Such farmers may own land ranging in size from a few hundred hectares to a few thousand. A second group are the self-employed farmers who operate "family farms" and who employ only family or casual labour. This group has been of some significance in New Zealand since the late nineteenth century, when closer settlement and the opening up of the frozen meat trade to Britain resulted in a more intensified form of agricultural production (see Gardner, 1981 and Pearson and Thorns, 1983). A third category of farm-related property holders are those who could appropriately be referred to as "small farmers". These are "marginal" farmers or smallholders

who supplement their income from the land with significant income from other occupations. Many of these individuals work as shearers, musterers or general farm labour in addition to working their own small property.

However, not all propertied individuals in a rural locality are employed in farm-related occupations. Those employed in other occupations include the school teacher who owns a smallholding, the doctor or business manager who owns a local farm, or the truck driver who owns his own house and section in the township. While not being employed directly in the farming sector, these individuals nevertheless would have to be included in the "propertied" class but we would need to differentiate here between those who owned "productive" property and those who owned "domestic" property.

Turning now to the non-propertied class, these can be simply differentiated by the nature of their employment. There will be those who are directly involved in farm-related occupations such as farm manager, shearer, musterer, farm worker and so on, and those who are not so directly involved. The latter category includes non-property-owning professionals, sales and service workers, labourers, and so on. A residual category of some significance are self-employed tradesmen or other petty proprietors who owned "property" other than land. Those in farm-related employment are obviously tied in more directly to the economic and social relationships that derive from "working the land".

In considering the structure of rural landholding and how that relates to economic activity, however, we also need to be

mindful of the ideologies that underlie land ownership and contribute to its continuance.[8] As Marx commented;

> Upon the different forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence rise an entire superstructure of distinct and peculiarly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and views of life. (quoted in Jordan, 1971:271)

These ideologies are often expressed either in terms of the farmer having a commitment to the land or in terms of farming being a "way of life" and therefore being distinct from other forms of business. Such justifications serve to play down the profit motive in farming and to highlight the role of "stewardship" in holding the land "in trust" for future generations.[9] Nonetheless, for many farmers, farming is definitely seen as a "business".

The power of this ideology is very strong within the rural context and provides a means of effectively obscuring existing inequalities in the ownership of land. In the rural context, the ownership of land per se confers a social status that reflects the realities of economic power and social standing. This is invariably translated into social and political power that can either be exercised on an individual basis or consolidated within a group. The interconnections between landowners therefore need to be explored and their relationships with the non-propertied population examined to achieve a better understanding of this.

Kinship

The second set of social relations of significance within a rural locality is that of kinship. Kinship, of course, is a topic that has been extensively addressed in the community

studies literature, and this has no doubt been a reflection of the anthropological influence on the tradition. Many examples could be cited, but one will suffice.[10] In the Irish peasant society studied by Arensberg and Kimball (1940), the central pivot of the local social structure was identified as being the strong and interlinked kinship structure.[11] Following the potato famine of 1846-51 the inheritance system among the peasant farmers had changed from a partible system favouring all of the children to an impartible system favouring one son. The son inheriting the family farm usually married locally, and his land had to be "matched" by an appropriate dowry from the bride's parents. This meant that farming families came to be linked in a fairly dense kinship network. In rural Ireland, therefore, relationships of kinship were practically inseparable from those of propinquity.

In a settler society such as New Zealand there has not been the time to establish such dense kinship networks within a locality. Although chain migration was fairly common in the early days and immigrants often had kin in the localities where they settled, many arrived as individuals or as members of discrete nuclear families. Such kinship networks as have emerged, therefore, have tended to develop only after settlement, and the processes by which this has been achieved and the outcomes that it has created need to be explored.

Principles of kinship relationship and organisation are well documented in the anthropological literature,[12] and are often of much greater complexity than needs to be addressed here. It will be sufficient for our purposes to highlight three inter-

related aspects to kinship relationships. These are an "impartible" inheritance system, "patrilocality", and the distinction that can be drawn between "consanguineal kin" (related by blood) and "affinal kin" (related by marriage).

An impartible inheritance system is distinguishable from a partible system in that the property is passed to one child only, rather than being divided between all children. Since the focus of this study is on the significance of land in structuring social relationships within rural localities, we need to reflect on its relevance here as an aspect of "property". Where land is viewed as a unit of production rather than as a unit of wealth then an impartible inheritance system is more likely to be found, with the inheriting child being a male, wherever possible.[13] The significance that is attached to male offspring is discernible in patterns of family formation among farming families. A farmer with no son faces a problem, as does a farmer with more than one son.

Following on from this, it seems reasonable to suggest that an impartible inheritance of land favouring one male offspring will inevitably lead to a selective "patrilocality", where the inheriting son will remain in situ on marriage and his bride will "marry in". Non-inheriting sons may remain in the district after marriage, but, given limited employment opportunities in the rural sector, this will not be for long. In the case of some families it may be possible for another son to be "put on the land" locally either by subdividing the family property if it is large enough, or by acquiring another local farm if the family has sufficient capital, but this would be an

exception rather than the rule.

The prospects for local women continuing to live in the district would seem to be related to them either remaining single, or else marrying a local male. Unless local women marry locally, they will invariably leave the district on marriage. In the case of high-status farming families, such marriages will often serve the function of linking the family into networks of urban professionals as their daughters marry city doctors, solicitors, lawyers and so on.

Patrilocality and an impartible inheritance system represent strategies for maintaining a family presence on the land, and the instances where this can be accomplished only through a daughter are particularly instructive. In such cases, the woman remains in situ and her spouse "marries in", but the property will invariably be managed as a family trust or company, often for the benefit of subsequent male children. In these instances the husband is, in effect, managing the property either for the family company or for his children in trust.

Not all families in a rural district own land, and the extent to which these issues of impartibility and patrilocality affect them also needs to be explored. It is not so obvious what patterning might be expected here.

The relative weighting in kinship networks between consanguineal kin and affinal kin is also problematic. If it is local males who tend to remain in the district, and if it is women, by and large, who "marry in", then we might expect males to have a denser network of consanguineal kin and females to have a denser network of affinal kin in the district. This needs to

be offset, of course, against the fact that not all local males have an equal motivation for remaining in the district since not all inherit land. Explaining why non-inheriting males might remain in the district is therefore problematic. The extent to which these problems need to be addressed will become obvious once we start to deal with empirical data relating to this district.

Propinquity

The third set of locality relationships of significance are those that relate to propinquity.[14] People who live close to each other tend to come into contact through the very fact of their proximity. Thus, as Herbert Gans has commented, geographical propinquity "initiates many social relationships and maintains less intense ones" (Gans, 1961:135). Schmalenbach amplified this when he said:

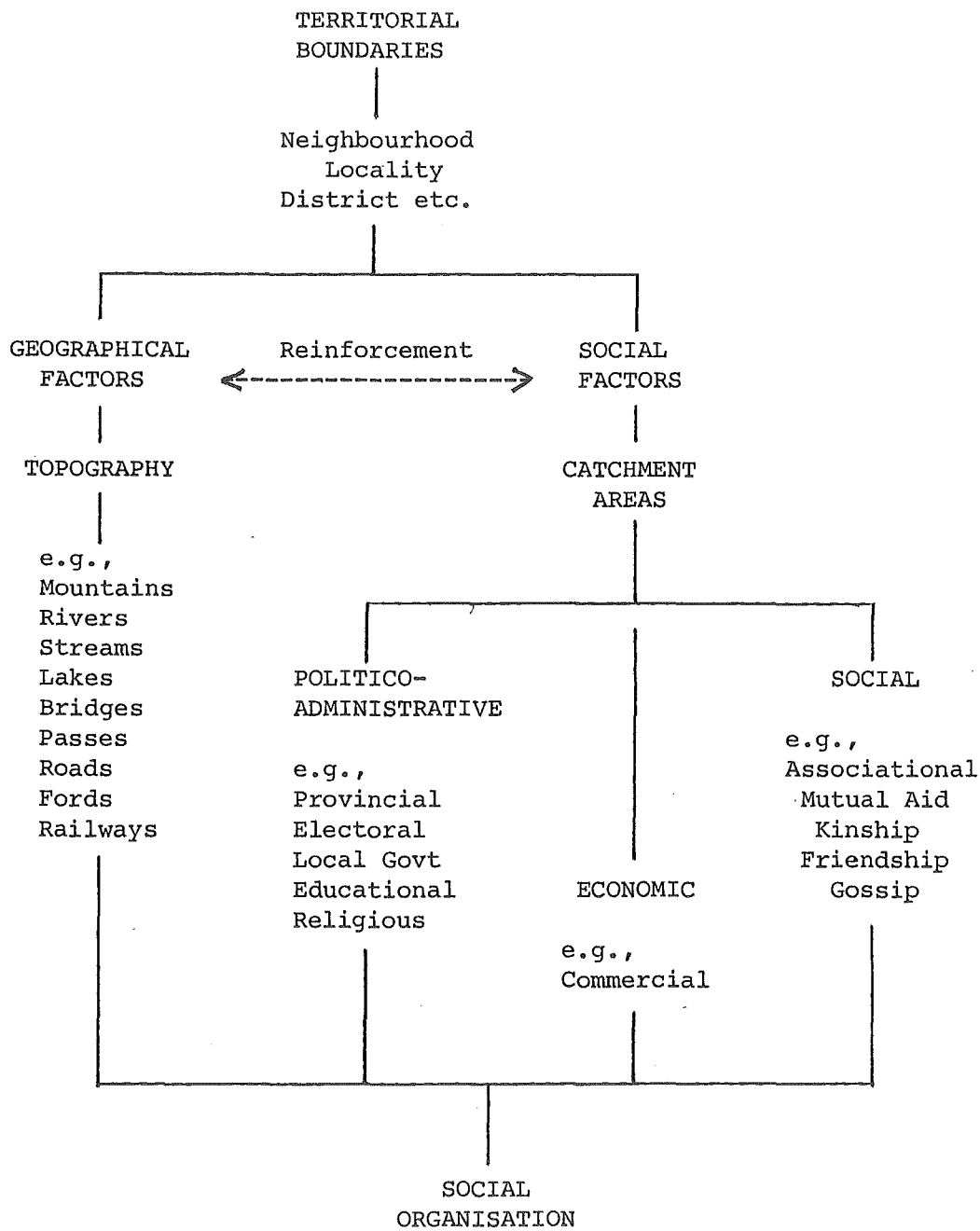
> In general, even the shortest encounters can, as a limiting case, become the basis of subsequent community if a trace of those contacts is impressed on the mind. Such encounters leave a latent remnant which later can re-emerge. (1961:332).

As Margaret Stacey has pointed out, however, propinquity by itself does not necessarily lead to the establishment of social relations.[15] If social relations and a sense of identity are to develop among people living in a locality, then, at a very minimum, opportunities for contact and communication need to be fostered. Such opportunities may be formally organised (church meetings and school socials) or may develop informally (congregating at the railway station or store to wait

for the evening mail delivery), but the development of such social networks are an important part of fostering community within a locality. Following Schmalenbach, this can be referred to as latent community. By this term is implied: "a structure of social relationships between a set of people based on their living in close proximity to one another, whether or not this structure is recognised explicitly by the inhabitants and identified by them as a motivation for their behaviour".[16] Two aspects to such "latent community" are highlighted in Figure 2.1 - territorial boundaries and social organisation.[17]

The basic territorial framework being used here derives from a range of geographical units that build upwards from the neighbourhood to encompass the locality, the district, and beyond to the region, the province, the nation etc.[18] This territorial framework has a number of advantages for the study. First, it draws attention to the relevance of extra-local influences. With the district as a main unit of analysis, the research task is basically to place it as an evolving and functioning social entity within the broader context of wider processes and structures that have influenced its operation. These influences will range from regional to international in origin. Second, the framework contains no explicit or implicit assumptions as to the presence of community - or the lack of it - within any of these territorial units. Community is something to be uncovered rather than assumed and accordingly, there is no expectation that there will necessarily be a neat congruence between territorial units and community. On the contrary, these are matters that have to be established empirically.

Figure 2.1 : Territorial Boundaries



If contact and communication are essential to the development of collective identity and social organisation within territorial units, then factors that prevent or encourage such social interaction will serve as important delimiters of

territorial boundaries. In this context, two main sets of factors are important, one geographical and the other social. The geographical factors relate to topography while the social factors have to do with the establishment of various catchment areas - politico-administrative, economic and social.

There are a range of topographical features that can have a significant influence on the development of territorial boundaries, and a number of these are identified in Figure 2.1. Some, such as mountains, rivers and lakes, can reinforce interaction between people living within a delimited area by providing physical dimensions to a "home" territory while at the same time inhibiting contact and communication with people living beyond those boundaries. The development of collective identity will be aided by the presence of such topographic features and often they will work in combination to provide territorial boundaries to a locality. Some of these features, of course, may be no more imposing than the line of a road or railway or the bed of a dry creek, but they can still serve the function of establishing territorial boundaries if they are accorded symbolic significance by local residents. Other topographic features, such as bridges, fords and mountain passes can help to overcome the physical barrier of river and mountain and thus aid the establishment of links between neighbouring localities or districts.

For the boundaries set by geographical factors to be meaningful, however, they must be reinforced by such social factors as the establishment of catchment areas. Three main types of catchment area can be identified: politico-administrative, economic and social.

Politico-administrative catchments are established in accordance with such things as government boundaries to provinces, counties and ridings, parish boundaries of the various church denominations, boundaries set by government departments for electoral districts, conservation districts, school districts, telephone areas, and so on. Being able to telephone neighbours free of charge and seeing them regularly at church meetings or at socials in the school hall are important aspects to the development of collective identity, particularly in a rural area. Thus, "physical neighbours" may not in fact be "social neighbours" if the toll-free area stops at the boundary fence, their children go to a different school and, despite belonging to the same religious denomination, they worship at a different church.

Provincial, regional and county boundaries often overlay and reinforce these boundaries, but these are only socially significant to the extent that they do not countermand social networks and collective identities already established "on the ground". Thus, it is not unusual to find that the boundaries to many politico-administrative catchment areas (particularly those established by government edict) do not match the social, economic and political interdependencies that have developed among people within particular localities or districts. When this is the case, their significance will invariably be ignored at the local level. As Pearson has pointed out, territories are imposed as well as chosen and an important aspect to the study of territorial boundaries is therefore the dynamic interplay between how boundaries are maintained from within and imposed from

without (Pearson, 1980:150; see also Kilmartin and Thorns, 1978:144). Thus, in the Kurow district, many people in the Hakataramea Valley consider themselves to be part of North Otago, despite the fact that administratively they live in South Canterbury.

The two other types of catchment area that are identified in Figure 2.1 are economic and social. These represent the geographical areas that are serviced economically and socially by businesses and associations centred in or around a given location. In his study of Littledene, for example, H.C.D. Somerset claimed that the economic boundaries to Littledene were established by plotting on a survey map the place of residence of farmers who made the township their buying and selling centre (1974:95).[19] The social boundaries were established in a similar way by plotting the geographic spread of associational membership. Something similar is being implied here in referring to social and economic catchments but Somerset's conception has to be broadened to be more useful.

For example, a wider range of commercial activities and clientele should be considered in establishing the boundaries to economic catchments. Farmers' families are not necessarily the only ones living in rural localities, and even if they were, their commercial activities extend beyond merely buying and selling. They also bank and are serviced by a broad range of other local commercial interests including stock agents, agricultural contractors and transport firms. The activities of such institutions should be included in considerations of economic catchments. It is also the case that an economic

catchment would be established, not only by families coming to a township to buy or sell, but also by township stores sending delivery carts to outlying areas. In its time, the latter would probably have been a more accurate indicator of economic catchment than the former, since people's economic servicing (be it buying, selling or banking) was unlikely to be limited to a localised area.[20] Given improved transportation, this applies even more today.

Somerset's conception needs to be extended, therefore, but in the process what we are likely to find is not a neat demarcation of boundaries but rather a complexity that more adequately matches social reality.[21] What is likely to be found is that the local store and stock agent are more localised in their clientele than the bank or transport firm, that farmers send their produce to different regional markets and are advised by company representatives from different regional centres, and that local peoples' shopping patterns span the range from provincial to regional to local stores, depending on the nature of the purchase and their perception of the trustworthiness of local businessmen. Thus it will be the case not only that local economic catchments extend in their influence into other neighbouring districts, and vice versa, but also that those local areas fall themselves within the influence of regional catchments. Despite the complexity, economic catchments nevertheless have a contribution to make in determining territorial boundaries.

Just as Somerset's notion of "economic boundaries" had to be extended, so too does his notion of "social boundaries".

The issue of where people come from to participate in local clubs and associations is a significant one but it is only one aspect to what is being referred to here as "social catchment". Also included are such issues as the geographic spread, not only of associational membership, but also of friendship and kinship networks, as well as networks of reciprocal help and gossip. Some of these will reinforce district identity while others will be relevant only at the level of the locality or neighbourhood, but all will contribute to the establishment of territorial boundaries within a location.

Relations of propinquity are therefore based on the development of social organisation within territorial boundaries. However, appreciating that property relationships and kinship relationships will also feature prominently as aspects of that social organisation requires that we look in more detail at social differentiation within a locality and how this contributes to the process of community formation. To do this, we draw on Max Weber's discussion of community formation and also on subsequent analytic developments, referred to as "Weberian closure theory".[22]

COMMUNITY FORMATION AND CLOSURE

According to Weber, community formation (Gemeinschaft-bildung) eventuates from competition for economic interests, power and/or social esteem. At times, it will be in the interests of a dominant group to be able to forestall competition from other groups. They may attempt to do this by highlighting "an easily ascertainable and differentiating characteristic of

any potential and actual contenders" (Neuwirth, 1969:149). Such a characteristic might be local or social descent, racial or ethnic origin, religious background, lack of property or educational attainments, and so on.

By emphasising what the contending group lacks, the dominant - or would-be dominant - group is emphasising by implication what it has. Neuwirth comments on this as follows:

> their awareness of the characteristics which differentiate them from the excluded individuals strengthens the basis of their solidarity and binds them together as members of a community. (1969:149)

Competition for economic, political or social resources thus requires collective action to exclude contenders and this in turn increases solidarity among members.

Community formation is aided, in turn, by "closure" (Schliessung der Gemeinschaft). Weber suggested that arising out of the situation of the formation of communal relationships, there will be an attempt by members to monopolize their economic, political and/or social advantages by excluding others. The extent to which such exclusion can be accomplished will vary from total, where no outsiders are allowed to join, to partial, where outsiders will be permitted membership status on the fulfilment of certain conditions.[23]

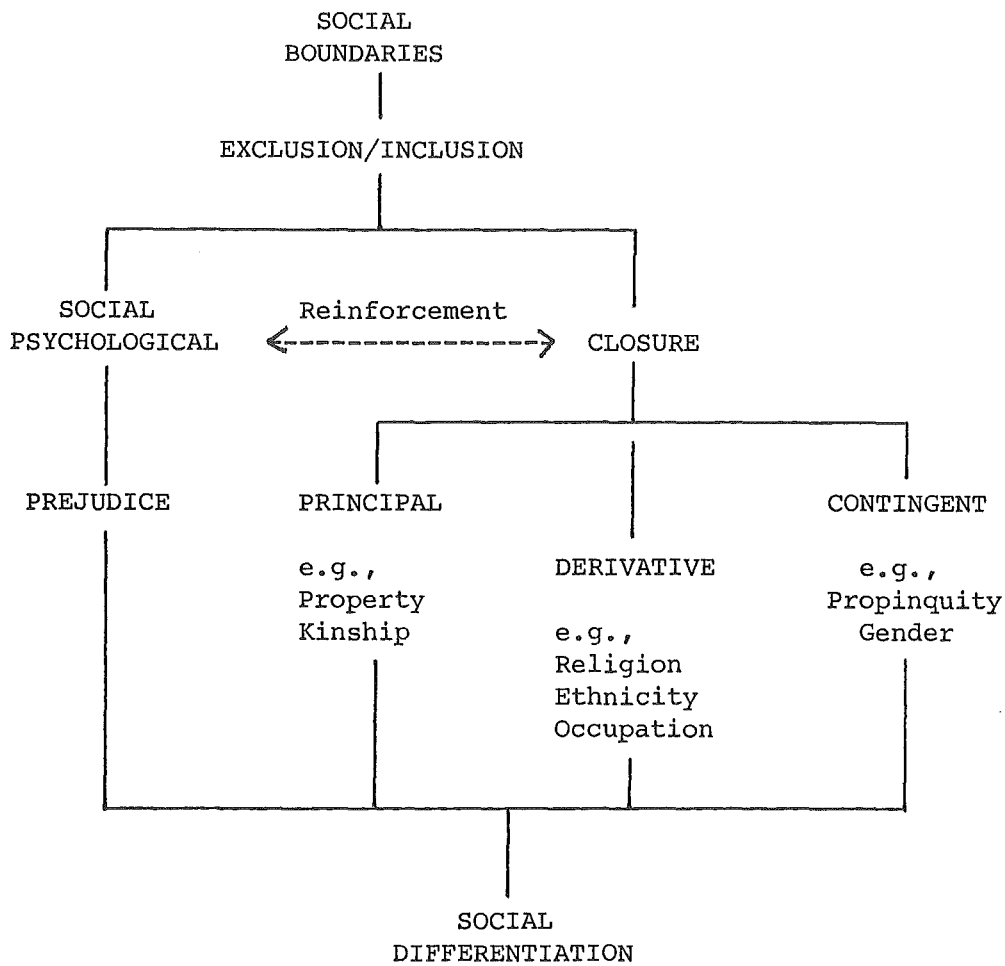
Neuwirth indicates that "community closure" is not necessarily the sole prerogative of dominant groups insofar as it can also be accomplished by subordinate groups.[24] The general point about community closure, however, is summed up in the following statement from Neuwirth:

> On an economic level closure may mean the monopolization of whatever occupational and business opportunities already possessed by the members, or their collective attempt to establish new opportunities for themselves with no outside assistance. On a political level, community closure may be expressed by a collective attempt to usurp certain ... political offices for the community members. Successful monopolization of economic and/or political advantages is accompanied by claims for corresponding social esteem. (1969:150)

What is involved here is a process of establishing social boundaries (as opposed to territorial boundaries). The principal function of social boundaries is to highlight social differentiation within a locality by defining outsiders and insiders (exclusion and inclusion) and this is achieved either through the operation of prejudice (social psychological) or through the operation of forms of exclusion (closure) - see Figure 2.2.

Borrowing from Murphy's discussion of "closure theory" (1984), a distinction can be made between principal, derivative and contingent forms of exclusion. Principal forms of exclusion derive their force from the fact that they are backed by the legal apparatus of the state. They serve to regulate access to or exclusion from power, resources or opportunities within society and Murphy suggests that legal title to private property is a principal form of exclusion within capitalist society (1984:555). Within a locality, this form of exclusion serves to demarcate possessional territories (such as farms or residential properties) and regulate who may use them or gain access to them. More importantly, however, it also serves to demarcate classes. We could also suggest that kinship will be another principal form of exclusion since it too is bounded by the law.

Figure 2.2 : Social Boundaries



Derivative forms of exclusion relate to the monopolization of opportunities in society which are derived directly from the principal form of exclusion yet are not identical to it (Murphy, 1984:555). Murphy includes here mechanisms that are designed to exclude racial, ethnic or religious groups. We could extend this to include occupational groups. All of these are derivative because they are based, not on legal discrimination in relation to race, ethnicity, religion or occupation, but on the differential accumulation of private property and the consequent monopolization of opportunities through the formation of networks

and alliances. The most pertinent example of this in operation in the New Zealand rural context is the formation of Masonic Lodges and the exclusion of Catholics from membership. Masons tended to be farmers, and hence propertied people, but they were also exclusively Protestant.

Contingent forms of exclusion, although not derived from the principal form, depend for their force on the context generated by the principal form. Their existence, says Murphy, is thus contingent on the principal form (1984:557). The main example that Murphy provides of this form is exclusion based on sex. Although it is the case that more men than women tend to be property owners, the force of this exclusion is not necessarily based on property but may relate more to feelings of mateship. Murphy's discussion of contingent forms of exclusion could also be extended to include propinquity. Whatever their form, the main result of these forms of exclusion is to define social boundaries that differentiate categories of people within a locality, whether classes or status groups.

Social boundaries of differentiation are established not only by closure but also by the social-psychological force of prejudice. The two are not unrelated, of course. The application of exclusionary boundaries objectively defines the "out group" (on the basis of class, kinship group, ethnicity, religion, occupation or gender etc.) and thus ensures social distance from the "in group", but this is reinforced normatively by the subjective appraisal (based on prejudice and ideology) that such social distance is "right" and "proper".

Weber maintained that the effects of community formation and closure are formalised through "associative relationships" (Vergesellschaftung). This is where communal relationships become rationalised into associative or contractual relationships:

> In such cases the members resort to forming interest associations (Zweckverbad) and delegate the representation of communal interests to their officers. (Neuwirth, 1969:150)

Such associations enable members to consolidate their interests and also provide a vehicle by which community norms and standards can be enforced, whether formally or informally. Compliance to community norms need not rest on voluntary consent alone, however, since there will always be the possibility of power struggles within the community. Weber's analysis thus provides for conflict as well as consensus. Neuwirth comments on this point as follows:

> Weber does not envisage community members as being engaged only in harmonious relationships....He allows for the possibility of power struggles within the community, for the utilization of all sorts of coercion, and for the forceful subjection of the weaker by the stronger. (1969:150)

Thus, in Weber's analysis, communities are defined in terms of the solidarity shared by the members, and this in turn forms the basis of their mutual orientation to social action. This solidarity develops as a response either to external threat or to competition for resources or to a combination of both (Neuwirth, 1969:149).

It is obvious, then, that while ostensibly serving the functional end of providing associational structures, social

organisation can also serve to reinforce social differentiation within a locality. The existence of a ratepayer's association, for example, formally draws attention to the fact that not all of the local population own property and that those who do, share something of significance in common. Sports clubs distinguish sportsmen and sportswomen from the non-sporting, church membership distinguishes the religious from the non-religious, and, in much of this, the barriers between male and female are invariably reasserted and reinforced.

It must not be supposed, however, that in all of this we are identifying indisputable boundaries that serve to separate people within a locality or district irrespective of changing circumstances. Rather, social organisation, whether of a formal or informal nature, should be seen as something that serves to link people. The linkage may be of mutual antagonism or common interest at one level, but, given a different set of circumstances, antagonisms can be submerged in alliance as common interests are acknowledged at a higher level.[25] Inter-locality rivalries may be set aside, for example, as the people of a district unite in the face of an external threat posed by government or other extra-local interests. This brings us to what Pearson refers to as "the links between local and extra-local connections" (1982:81).

Pearson asserts that the three most important measures of interdependence in a local social system are: the degree of economic self-sufficiency, the level of political autonomy and the forms of communal association within a locality (1982:84). Quoting Elias (1974:xix), Pearson suggests that the test of

community is whether these interdependencies are closer within the locality than similar links which the people of a locality share with external groups, and he concludes, "... we are asked to study the tensions between those forces that integrate social groups and those which divide them. When these tensions are spatially related and produce a specific set of localised (and therefore territorially bounded) interdependencies, then we can speak of community formation" (1980:151).[26]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNION

What we have described so far are objective dimensions to these relations. However, the study of relationships within a locality also requires an identification of the process by which such objective relations take on positive sentiment for the people involved and hence become the basis for identification and action. Weber recognised that sentiment had to be seen as a necessary part of any collective action and, in line with this, David Thorns has suggested that if we wish to explain why people in a locality act collectively in response to something other than self-interest, then part of the explanation has to lie in the identification of collectively shared sentiments that motivate such action (Thorns, 1979).

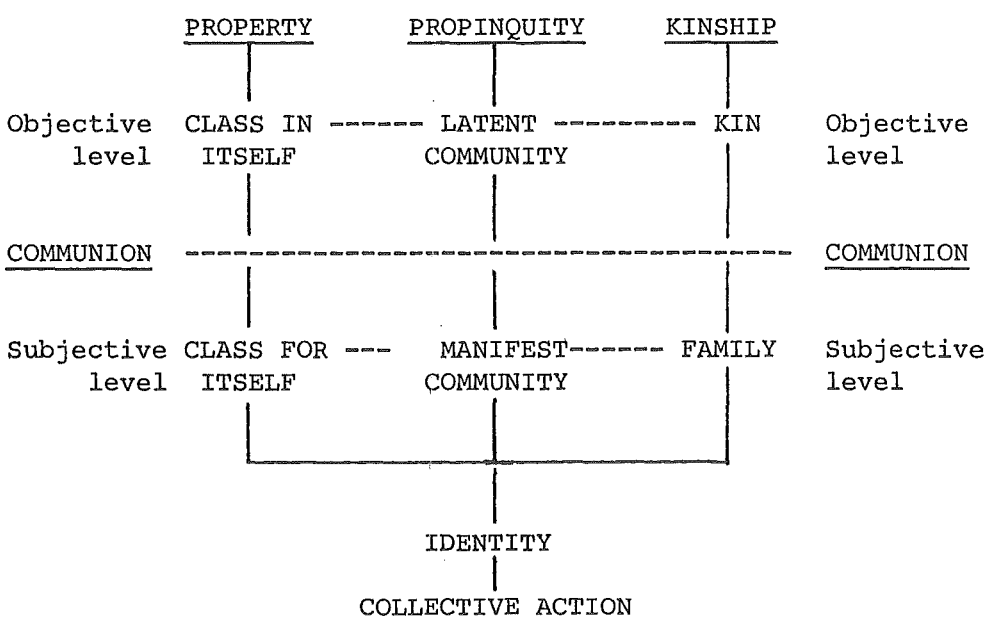
Such collectively shared sentiments have been referred to by some writers as "belonging" (see Cohen, 1982) but Schmallenbach (1961) refers to it as "communion". This is the usage that will be followed in this study, since this term is already current in the literature (see Bell and Newby, 1976; Pearson, 1980; Wild, 1981; Thorns, 1982; and Hall et al., 1983).

In the past, sociologists have tended to assume that such sentiment, or "communion", within a locality would be based almost exclusively on the social relations that emerged from propinquity alone, i.e., from the fact that people lived in close proximity to one another. Thus, Pearson has described the "conceptual links of community" as being "a bounded territorial milieu, a set of social interdependencies and a common consciousness" (1980:153). A central argument in the framework that is being developed here, however, is that a basis for communion, and hence closure, within a locality can be found in any one of the three main sets of relations identified.[27]

In the case of property relations, this process is presented in the sociological literature in terms of the Marxist distinction between "class-in-itself" and "class-for-itself", representing the process by which objective classes defined in terms of relations of production can become political groupings through the subjective realisation of their commonality of interests and life-chances. "Class consciousness" thus develops on the basis of class differences, but not automatically and only in some circumstances. The process by which objective class leads to class consciousness is therefore problematic and empirical. In the case of property relations, then, communion refers to the affective aspects of interpersonal relations which arise from sharing a common class position with regard to land, production and markets. With the development of communion, in response to crisis, threat or challenge, a "class-in-itself" achieves a transforming consciousness to become a "class-for-itself."[28]

Just as relations of property can provide the objective basis for the development of subjective class-consciousness through the emergence of a sentiment of "communion", so too relations of propinquity or relations of kinship can provide the basis for the emergence of subjective identity and therefore of closure through collective action - see Figure 2.3.[29] Crisis, threat, disaster or challenge will often be the catalyst for such a transformation.

Figure 2.3 : Sets of Social Relations in a Locality



In the case of propinquity, communion refers to the affective aspects of interpersonal relations developed through sharing a common residential experience, common local behaviour patterns or common experience gained through involvement in a locally-based organisation or movement.[30] With the development of communion, "latent community" (Schmalenbach's term),[31] becomes "manifest" in the consciousness and collective behaviour

of the local population.

In the case of kinship relations, communion refers to the affective component of relations between consanguineal and affinal kin, bearing in mind, of course, that kin relations can exist without positive affect (see Schmalenbach, 1961:332). Communion based on kinship therefore produces a sense of "family" and can lead to action based on family interests rather than on class or community interests.

It is therefore possible to recognise a common process that can occur within each of these three sets of relations. Through the development of communion, each can produce self-consciously identified and sentimentally unified groups capable of collective action. Such sentiment will be reinforced in each case by regular contact, by symbolic affirmations of togetherness or unity, and by the extolling of appropriate collective values over other competing values.

Having isolated three sets of relations of significance in a locality, and having suggested that each can develop affective aspects that produce self-conscious groupings capable of collective action, it is now possible to ask how these three sets of relations influence each other. We have used the term, communion, to refer to the development of sentimental identity on the basis of each set of relations in order to underline the fact that the same process occurs whatever the objective basis from which it stems. This suggests that the development of one form of communion can be at the expense of the other two or can reinforce them. This brings us to the issue of contradictions and reinforcements.

CONTRADICTIONS AND REINFORCEMENTS

If, in a locality context, family interests are placed before other interests, then kinship relations will tend to contradict class and community interests. Likewise, in certain circumstances, class interests can cut across kinship and community relationships and community interests, in turn, can cut across kinship and class interests.

It is possible, for instance, that a sense of community identity and loyalty can serve the interests of a superordinate class by militating against the emergence of class consciousness among a subordinate class. This is a line of analysis favoured by Marxist sociologists of community who see the sentiments of community as being inimical to the emergence of class consciousness (see Brook and Finn, 1978:134).

In the New Zealand context, John Martin has commented on this issue as follows:

> One important facet of the process of colonisation that has been fundamental in dissipating class cleavages and creating a cohesive society in New Zealand has been the community. This role of the community is often taken for granted; the precise processes of community formation, maintenance and development have rarely been explored in this context." (1982:92).

Martin went on from this to comment on how New Zealand historians seem to have had difficulty in conceiving of their society as being divided into classes at all. Thus, says Martin, the historical role played by community in fostering a cohesive society became an a priori assumption, rather than a problem in its own right. However, since this role was a problematic one, then Martin insists that "it is important to understand exactly

how the community acted as a means of minimising class formation." (1982:92).

In localities where there are clear-cut class divisions, acceptance of community identity is often associated with the assumption of a deferential attitude by the lower class towards the upper class (Newby, 1977). Thus, in the pattern of Coser's "greedy institution", the ideology of collective identity and interests can be used by superordinates to control class consciousness among subordinates (Coser, 1976). Relations based on propinquity can thus cut across class lines and mitigate against the emergence of a communion based on class. Similarly, we can find a tension between family and community. Often in rural situations, the interests of a family are evident in its attempts to accumulate land, a practice that the rest of the population may well consider inimical to community interests.

It is also possible, of course, to find reinforcement rather than contradiction between these sets of relations. Kinship and class, for example, can be mutually reinforcing where rules of class endogamy are practised since this will inevitably ensure the inter-generational concentration of wealth in the hands of a set of linked families and the exclusion of other kin groups from land. Likewise, class and community can be mutually reinforcing where economic criteria are used to determine eligibility for residence in particular neighbourhoods or for membership in particular clubs or associations. Where such criteria can be applied, people who live close to each other and who share membership in the same clubs will inevitably also share a similar class background. Lastly, kinship and community can be

mutually reinforcing where family control-mechanisms can be relied upon to enforce norms of community involvement or where the pool of available marriage partners can be restricted to the immediate locale.

To the extent that any two of these sets of relationships are congruent, communion based on one will reinforce communion based on the other. I have already mentioned the Irish situation, where relations of propinquity were essentially those of kinship (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940). Even the local associations in such a situation were based on kinship relations. In such circumstances, it becomes practically impossible to determine where "family" ends and "community" begins.

Class and community may also be congruent in a locality. An example of such a locality would be the small mining town of Ashton in Yorkshire (see Dennis et al., 1957).[32] Ashton was a working-class community in which the objective class position of almost the entire population was identical. Locality associations thus reinforced class associations to the point where it became difficult to distinguish between them. The local branch of the national union of Mineworkers, the Working Men's Club, the local parish - all provided the basis for a communion that united community and class, since they were congruent.

Logically, one might also expect to find a locality in which kinship and class were congruent and their communions therefore mutually reinforcing. Since we are examining relations in a locality, it is highly unlikely that class and kinship would be congruent without also structuring relations of propinquity, so this case becomes one where all three sets of relations would be congruent.[33]

SUMMARY

The basic argument that has been developed so far can be summarised briefly as follows. The influence of the typological tradition within sociology meant not only that usage of the concept of "community" became ambiguous and confused but also that community, as such, came to be associated too readily with one pole of the "rural-urban continuum". As a result of this, the community studies tradition became trapped in a theoretical and methodological cul-de-sac that offered little hope for advance. With the re-emergence of sociological interest in "locale" in the late 1970s and with the reformulation of the approach such that community became a topic for investigation rather than something simply to be taken for granted, a new vitality came back into the area. The study of community became a "general method of analysis rather than an examination of a specific thing in itself" (Pearson, 1980:148),[34] and the locality was now seen as a useful context within which to explore a variety of sociological issues and thus bring such research more into touch with the mainstream of the discipline.

Against this background, a central issue for this present study is the significance that land ownership might have for the process of community formation. Its importance here, however, needs to be seen in the context of a number of other social relationships that can form the basis for local collective action - "propinquity" (community) and "kinship" (family) being two others of significance. The nature of the structural interlinkages between these sets of relationships and the process by which each of them can take on subjective affect ("communion")

for the people involved and hence form different and possible conflicting or reinforcing bases for collective action within a locality therefore become important research foci.

The recognition that communion or sentiment emerges within a locality from at least three different sets of relations and that these relations exist in a tension of reinforcement or contradiction depending on circumstances requires that locality research adopt a more sophisticated approach to understanding the nature of relationships within a locality. Not only do interlinkages between such relations need to be more strongly emphasised, it is also essential that historical circumstances be explored in order to determine which sets of circumstances lead to which sets of outcomes in terms of this contradiction or reinforcement. Examples need to be identified, historical processes need to be laid bare and the overall contribution that all of this makes to community formation and change within a locality needs to be explored. This is the agenda that has been set for the rest of the dissertation.

FOOTNOTES :

1. This chapter represents a reworking of material from Hall, Thorns and Willmott (1984b). Using that joint paper as a basis, I have developed it in the following way: the section on 'Propinquity' has been substantially revised from the original; the section on 'Community Formation and Closure' has been added; and the sections on 'The Development of Communion' and 'Contradictions and Reinforcements' have both been amended. I developed Figures 2.1 and 2.2 subsequent to the publication of the joint paper and Figure 2.3 has been revised slightly.

2. James Barlow takes issue with Newby et al. here because they fail to make explicit the distinction between property ownership and land ownership (see Barlow, 1984:6).

3. The main work which Newby cites in this connection is Parsons et al. (1956); Stinchcombe (1961); Bertrand and Cody (1962); Rose et al. (1976); and Newby et al. (1978).

4. Commenting on this in 1976, Kiernan remarked "for some time now, sociology seems to have considered the whole subject [of property] as threadbare, used up" (Kiernan, 1976:362).

5. Although in urban sociology there has been the debate relating to "property classes" which grew out of the 1967 housing class argument (see Saunders, 1978 and Rex and Moore, 1967).

6. See, for instance, Thernstrom (1964); Katz (1975); and Griffen and Griffen (1978).

7. Two of the main studies here would be Littlejohn (1964); and Williams (1963).

8. See Newby et al. (1978).

9. One farmer in the fieldwork situation, in delivering a sermon in the Presbyterian church referred to the farmer's "natural religious sense" which grew out of an appreciation of the fact that he was a trustee of God's land. It followed from this, he said, that the christian farmer should: (1) love the land for what it was, not as a commodity; (2) strive to be a cooperative neighbour and a just employer of labour; (3) display strict integrity in business affairs; and (4) be involved in community affairs, especially Federated Farmers.

10. Studies that could be cited here would include: Bott (1955); Mogey (1956); Seeley et al. (1956); Townsend (1957); Young and Willmott (1957); Connell (1962); Bell (1968); and Strathern (1982).

11. Valuable critiques of this work of Arensberg and Kimball are to be found in Brody (1973) and Gibbon (1973).

12. See, for instance, Robin Fox (1967).

13. Often, of course, this will be the eldest son in the family but this is not always the case. In some situations the age of the father relative to his sons means that by retirement, only the youngest son is left on the property.

14. The use of the word propinquity here derives from Melvin Webber's article 'Order in Diversity - Community Without Propinquity' (1963).

15. Propositions 22 and 23 in Stacey (1969:23) state that "physical proximity does not always lead to the establishment of social relations". Pearson has described this as the "oft-noted maxim that geographical proximity is not automatically conducive to social propinquity" (1982:89).

16. This definition was developed by Bill Willmott for inclusion in Hall et al. (1983:173).

17. While this appears to be different from the framework used by David Pearson (1980 and 1982), the two are not inconsistent. The three "conceptual links" of community that Pearson highlights are boundary ("a bounded territorial milieu"), interdependence ("a set of social interdependencies") and ideology ("a common consciousness" or "communion") - see Pearson (1980:153). The notion of boundary is common to our two analyses and my discussion of social organisation will be seen to be somewhat comparable to his discussion of interdependence. The main difference between our analyses, however, is that he restricts his discussion of "communion" to relations of propinquity while, following the discussion in Hall et al. (1984b), I extend this to include relations of property as well as kinship. The discussion of communion therefore comes later in this chapter.

18. A similar territorial framework is discussed in Gardner (1979). The neighbourhood concept is one that would seem to be more applicable in an urban or village context, but the notion of "neighbour" is one that is still very meaningful for rural residents.

19. As a precedent for this approach, Somerset cited Brunner (1928). A recent critique of Somerset's analysis is to be found in Willmott (1985), where the focus of concern is the definition of boundaries in North East Wairarapa.

20. The days of the store delivery cart may be gone, but the present-day rural mail delivery service sees bread and milk being delivered at times, as well as mail.

21. Somerset reported that, in these terms, the "economic community" was often much larger than the "social community" (1974:95).

22. Since Weber's discussion of "community formation" is largely untranslated into English, we have to rely on the secondary discussion in Neuwirth (1969). This aspect of Weber's work has been further developed in recent years and, for the main statements of "Weberian Closure Theory", see: Parkin (1974 and 1979); Barbalet (1982); and Murphy, (1984, 1985 and 1986a and b). According to Murphy (1986a:23), closure theorists enlarge the concept of exploitation from a narrow Marxist meaning (involving the expropriation of surplus value) to include all exclusion practices by which one group enhances its rewards by closing off opportunities to others. As we shall see shortly, the basis for exclusion can include property ownership, academic credentials, race, sex, religion or language.

23. Parkin has identified two reciprocal modes of closure - exclusion and usurpation. Exclusionary closure involves "the exercise of power in a downward direction through a process of subordination" whereas usurpationary closure involves "the exercise of power in an upward direction in order to bite into the advantages of higher groups" (Murphy, 1986b:248).

24. This is what Parkin refers to as "usurpationary closure" (1979:74ff).

25. This is consistent with Max Gluckman's notion of "cross-cutting ties and countervailing cleavages" (see Gluckman, 1955).

26. There is an alternative version of this statement to be found in Pearson (1982:81) which, in discussing these tensions, substitutes the words "locally based" for "spatially related". It strikes me that this is unnecessarily restrictive since it could be taken to imply that community formation as an outcome of reaction to externally induced threats is to be ignored. Since this obviously is not Pearson's intention (given the tenor of discussion elsewhere in the article) the imprecision in this alternative version is to be regretted.

27. Community, class and kinship have been isolated for special attention here because they are of particular significance within a rural situation such as the one being studied. This is not to deny the relevance of other sets of relationships, however, such as ethnicity and gender. This point is taken up in Hall et al. (1984a and 1984b). A similar point is made by James Brow: "a number of people who feel they belong together may undertake communal action oriented to that feeling. Common class position, however, is only one possible basis for communalization. Kinship, ethnicity, residence, religious affiliation, and occupational affinity are examples of other frequent bases of communal action" (1981:707).

28. See Bell and Newby (1976).

29. This Figure is an amended version of that used in Hall et al. (1984b).

30. Such was found to be the case in Ron Wild's study of Heathcote in Victoria, Australia (1983) where a locally-based action group was transformed, via "communion", into a new definition of "manifest" community.

31. As mentioned earlier in this chapter the term "latent" community implies a structure of social relationships between a set of people based on their living in close proximity to one another, whether or not this structure is recognised explicitly by the inhabitants and identified by them as a motivation for their behaviour.

32. Another example can be found in Peter Willmott's discussion of Dagenham (1963).

33. Such an example can be found in Freedman's discussion of the lineage village in southeastern China (Freedman, 1966).

34. Otherwise referred to as "community as object" and "community as method" (see Wild, 1981:57-59).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS - HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The theoretical concerns set out in chapter two require methodological strategies that will allow for the systematic exploration, not only of the historical process of community formation within a locality, but also of the linkages between institutions within the local social system as well as between that system and its wider societal context. Various research methods were used in this study to try to achieve this through blending sociological fieldwork techniques with historical analysis. A fuller methodological statement is presented in Appendix 1 but some introductory comments are appropriate here.

The fieldwork for the project was carried out between December 1977 and December 1982 and included interviewing, observation and participation in social activities within the Kurow district. A wide range of documentary material was also researched during this time, including land records, parish records, marriage and baptismal registers, school registers, minute books, newspapers, maps, and photographs.[1]

A diachronic analysis of trends in local historical development was based around fairly detailed reconstructions of aspects of the local social structure at particular points in time. The dates for these synchronic reconstructions were selected to represent, as far as possible, significant periods in the history of the Kurow district and of the wider society: 1890, 1905, 1920, 1935, 1950 and 1965.[2] The inclusion of the contemporary situation 1982 thus allowed for a comparative historical framework that spanned almost a century. The significance of this historical dimension needs some comment.

THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION

In 1962, E.H. Carr, the historian, commented "... the more sociological history becomes, and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both" (1962:84).[3] This may be a commendable ideal, but, as Stephan Thernstrom subsequently remarked, the "mutually enriching dialogue" has been a long time coming (Thernstrom, 1965:234).

Thernstrom's comment was made in the context of an article in which he took to task Lloyd Warner's "Yankee City" series for its lack of a critical awareness of what constituted "historical evidence". According to Thernstrom, the record of the past that appeared in the "Yankee City" volumes was the record of a "mythical past", compiled by the researchers from an uncritical acceptance of local mythology and informed by their own ideological preconceptions.[4] Thernstrom referred to this as "implicit history" and argued that in order to get at the "actual past", the researcher had to aim for "explicit history" based on a careful examination of the sources. He concluded the article by stating:

> The distortions that pervade the Yankee City volumes suggest that the student of modern society is not free to take his history or leave it alone. Interpretations of the present require a host of assumptions about the past. The real choice is between explicit history, based on a careful examination of the sources, and implicit history, rooted in ideological preconceptions and uncritical acceptance of local mythology. (1965:240, emphasis mine)

Thernstrom applied his own methodological strictures in his particular critique of Warner's "historical naivete", and it is noteworthy that, among the classics of the community studies

tradition, "Yankee City" has not been alone in being subjected to such a critique. What Thernstrom did for "Yankee City", Peter Gibbon repeated for the Arensberg and Kimball study of County Clare in the west of Ireland (Gibbon, 1973). The Middletown III project similarly criticised Robert and Helen Lynd's studies of Muncie, Indiana (Bahr and Bracken, 1983; Bahr, Caplow and Chadwick, 1983). In each case, a distorted view of the past was the focus of the critique. The researchers were deemed to have relied on "implicit" history rather than "explicit" history.

It is understandable, therefore, that traditional community studies have often been criticised for lacking an adequate historical perspective. Commenting on this, David Pearson stated that many community studies have viewed history as "nothing more than an introductory appendage" (1980:14).

Appreciating the necessity for an adequate historical perspective is therefore an important beginning point in transforming community studies, but there are still practical methodological problems to overcome if this is to be brought to fruition. The problem is how to historically reconstruct the social structure of a locality in such a way that it will go beyond mere reminiscences and will counter the difficulties caused by informants' faulty memories and idealisations of the past.[5]

In discussing this issue, Bahr and Bracken (1983) indicate that historical research often suffers from three sorts of bias - elitist, nostalgic and idiosyncratic. First, written sources tend to be the products of, and relate to the activities of the elite, rather than ordinary men and women. Second, recollections

of the past tend to be tinged with a nostalgia for what were taken to be better days. Third, old timers who are used for oral histories are unrepresentative by definition, since they have survived and remained. Bahr and Bracken sum the problem up in the following manner:

> Descriptions of historical context and the attendant implications about change that community researchers construct from their interviews with old-timer informants should generally be viewed with caution, unless the descriptions are buttressed in empirical data which date from the period being described and which are not subject to the problems of nostalgic or elitist bias. (1983:132)

Achieving this ideal requires a systematic approach that will yield accurate and comparative historical data. Of the strategies that have been devised overseas to achieve this, the use of census material and street directories has featured prominently. We therefore need to review the relevance of these strategies to New Zealand.

Census Material

Historical reconstruction that has been carried out in localities in North America[6] and in Britain[7] has relied heavily on information from the original census schedules. A limitation on the use of such material, of course, has been the 100-year access restriction which has meant that researchers have been able to work with census schedules only from the period prior to 1880. Nevertheless, the work that has been done with this material has been extremely fruitful, in providing accurate local historical detail, and in successfully dispelling myths held about localities in the periods in question.[8] The census

has therefore been an extremely significant source of data in locality histories carried out overseas.

No such possibility exists in New Zealand, however. Here, the administrative problems of storing census schedules and ensuring confidentiality seems to have been resolved by willful destruction. Although some material would have been lost anyway in subsequent accidental fires, it does appear that relevant government bureaucracts decided early to resolve the administrative problems by systematically destroying the original schedules.[9] David Pearson has commented: "Rightly or wrongly, successive New Zealand governments have placed individual privacy above the retention of a national heritage, so innumerable valuable documents, most notably Census records, have been consigned to the furnace" (1980:185). A similar fate befell many non-governmental records also.[10] In this way, a substantial amount of historical documentation in New Zealand has been destroyed, and so New Zealand social scientists do not have the same potential data base from which to work as their counterparts in the northern hemisphere. This is regrettable.

Even with regard to published New Zealand census material, however, there are still serious limitations when it comes to historical locality research. Unfortunately, the available census material is frustratingly unresponsive to the needs of the social scientist who is attempting to work on the historical reconstruction of localities in New Zealand. For one thing, the administrative boundaries used from census to census have seldom remained fixed and almost never correspond with social boundaries that would be recognised by local people. This is compounded by

the fact that, below the level of counties or boroughs, census material gives only total population figures for localities, i.e. it provides no detail whatsoever on the occupational, marital, age and, at times, even sex structure of a locality's population.[11] In New Zealand, therefore, the census is of little help to the task of the historical reconstruction of localities.

Street Directories

Another potential source of information to aid historical reconstruction are street directories. These have been used quite extensively in North America, particularly in relation to the issues of transience and mobility within urban localities (see Thernstrom, 1964; Beaman, 1973; and Katz, 1975). Similar use has been made of such directories in New Zealand. For example, David Pearson in his study of Johnsonville (1980), used Wise's and Stone's street directories in his reconstruction of the occupational structure of the suburb for the period between 1875 and 1955. It must be appreciated, however, that such street directories provide information only on nominated heads of households and don't necessarily include all households. In reviewing the usefulness of this data-source, Pearson therefore warns that they suffer from omissions and inaccuracies (1980:186).

It is difficult to know whether directories such as these are likely to be more or less accurate in rural areas than in urban areas. On the one hand, urban street names and numbered addresses give the urban lists a seemingly greater potential for

accuracy. This has to be offset, however, against the fact that the population in rural localities is likely to be smaller and more stable than its urban counterpart. One might think, then, that these directories would provide more accurate information for rural than for urban areas. Initial work with the Kurow information, however, revealed that the data source was not as accurate as had been expected. Cross-checking directory information with material drawn from other documentary sources - school registers, marriage records, minute books and so on - revealed that Pearson's warnings were pertinent. There were, indeed, "omissions and inaccuracies". Bearing in mind that these directories were providing information only on nominated heads of household anyway, it was obvious that this was another data source that was not going to bear the expected fruit.[12] An alternative approach was needed, and indeed was found, when the significance of land records was finally appreciated.[13]

LAND RECORDS

The theoretical significance of land ownership has already been commented on in some detail in the previous chapter but land also had methodological significance for the study. The Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand (1882) has been used by some researchers in an attempt to reconstruct the nature of land ownership in New Zealand for the late nineteenth century, but this is an "episodic" record, providing data at only one point in time.[14] To obtain a fuller picture, what was required was a "continuous" record of land ownership.[15]

This led to an appreciation of the potential of the Torrens system of land registration that is used in New Zealand.[16] Following the implementation of the Torrens land registration system in South Australia in 1858 and its subsequent adoption elsewhere in Australia and the British Commonwealth, it was finally introduced in New Zealand by the Land Transfer Act of 1870. Under this system, land ownership was to be legally established and transferred on the basis of government certification and registration. The certificate of title issued by the government was to be the only acceptable device for attesting ownership and transferring property rights - the only legal determinant of ownership of land. The key features of the system have been described as follows:

> Torrens is best described as an approach to the establishment and transfer of land ownership whereby the government certifies the ownership interest...The device involved is an official certificate, maintained by a public official usually called the Registrar. The certificate attests to the ownership and lists or briefly describes some of the other interests that exist or are claimed to exist. (Shick and Plotkin, 1978:11)

Two principal features of the Torrens system are the registration and guarantee of the land title by the state. This means that the data available from the certificates of title are reasonably accurate and comprehensive.[17]

There are two further features of the Torrens system, however, that have particular significance for social scientists who are interested in researching land ownership in New Zealand. First, private title to land is a matter of public record. This means that land ownership data is readily available in New

Zealand unlike Britain, for example, where equivalent information is private and can be obtained only with the permission of the registered owner. Second, the system is "property oriented", in contrast to other, more conventional land registration systems which are "owner oriented". This means that the focus of the Torrens system is a particular piece of land, and the certificate of title records the transfer of property rights to that land from person to person through time. Combined with the factor of public accessibility of records, this gives the Torrens system unique possibilities when it comes to researching land ownership in New Zealand.

The obvious significance of this for historical reconstruction work in a rural context is that one can use land ownership as a basis for determining who was in a locality at any point in time.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The beginning point was to obtain information on landholding in the district from the relevant certificates of title. These documents have been recognised by New Zealand historians as the "definitive source" of data on land ownership (see Strachan, 1979:91), but as yet little systematic use has been made of this material.[18]

The first step was to establish the legal description for every section of land in the Kurow district using Lands and Survey record maps. The next step was to utilise indexes in the Lands and Deeds department to obtain the reference number for the then current certificates of title for each section. These

titles were searched and photocopied.[19] When all of the current certificates of title had been obtained, it was simply a matter of tracing the prior certificates and copying them also. In this way, a copy was obtained of all the current and cancelled certificates of title for the whole district. In most cases, the earliest cancelled certificates of title were dated around 1880. All told, this exercise produced some 1700 documents, including title documents for land in Kurow and Hakataramea Townships as well as the rural localities.

Processing this material would have been impossible without the computer. A method for coding the land data was devised so that the computer could be used to reconstruct the pattern of landholding in the district for any designated day in the century from 1880 to 1980.[20]

To get a reconstruction for the years 1890, 1905, 1920, 1935, 1950 and 1965, it was simply a case of using the computer to print out for a designated date at the end of each of these years[21] a listing that provided details of:

* The names of the landholders on that date
* The locality in which the land was held
* How much land each landholder held
* The nature of the title (freehold or leasehold)
* The date the land was acquired and how
* The date the land was relinquished and how
* The certificate of title reference

This last piece of information was particularly useful for three reasons. First, it allowed a check to be made on the accuracy of the information.[22] Second, it enabled identification of the particular piece of land to which the information related. Third, it made it possible to draw farm boundary maps for that date.[23]

Equipped with landholding printouts and reconstructed farm maps, it was then a case of establishing whether or not the people who held the land were, in fact, living on that land at the specified date. Fieldwork was required here. Informants who had been living in the district at the time and who could provide this information had to be located and interviewed. Mortality obviously placed constraints on how far back this exercise could be carried out but, working in 1981-82, it was found possible to go back to 1905 with a fair degree of confidence in the data.

Once informants had been located, it was a case of working through the locality map with them, farm by farm, and filling in the necessary information: whether or not the listed owners were living on the property at that time; if they were, whether or not they were married; if they were married, who their spouse was (maiden name of wife) and what family they had at the time, if any;[24] what kinship connections they might have had in the locality and the wider district; what kind of farming was being done on the property; what labour, if any, was employed on the farm; details of the families, if any, of these farm workers; and so on.

Not all people living in rural localities were landholders, however, and tracing these required a different approach.[25] By establishing where each house was in the period in question and by cross-checking with other documentary sources, it was possible to identify who these people were and to fill in details of their families.[26] In other words, using the land records as a guide, the reconstruction exercise involved locating where the houses were in the locality and then carrying out a

limited census for each of the households. The location of houses could not be taken for granted between periods, however, since a large proportion of them were shifted with farm amalgamations.[27] This procedure was repeated for all of the rural localities relative to each date, i.e. 1905, 1920, 1935, 1950 and 1965.

The equivalent procedure in the two townships was to locate where the houses were at each date and then work through the townships, house by house, filling in household information from informants. Land records and Valuation Department information allowed the locating of houses to be done quite accurately and also indicated whether the occupiers were owners or tenants.[28] As with the rural information, household information for the townships was triangulated with other documentary information to check the accuracy of informants' memories.

In both townships and rural localities, the reconstructed maps - whether of farm boundaries or of house locations - were invaluable in the interview situation, since they acted as aides de memoire and gave a clear sense during the interviews of what had been covered and what still remained to be done. Further triangulation of this information with other documentary materials allowed gaps to be filled and the overall accuracy of the reconstruction to be checked.

Providing equivalent information for 1978 and 1982 was much more straightforward. At the beginning of 1978, and then again at the end of 1982, local informants were interviewed and household information for the district was obtained from

them.[29] There was no need to resort to reconstructed farm maps since the informants could easily recollect who was living in which houses at the time.

THE RESULTS

The reconstruction exercise identified approximately 8,000 individuals in total. For each individual the following range of information was generated: household and relative position within it; sex and marital status and whether an adult, a school child or a pre-school child; if a school child, which school they were attending; if an adult, whether they were a local, a newcomer or a transient; what generation they were in the district; how long they had lived in the district and how long they remained in the district;[30] how they came to the district and how they left; whether they had kin (up to and including first cousins) in other households in the district; if they owned land in the district then of what type; occupation or, if they were children, occupation of their father.

These 8,000 individuals lived in approximately 2,000 households. The range of household information that was produced was as follows: locality; number of people living in the household, adults and children; household type (whether family or non-family) and family type (extended, nuclear, conjugal, single parent, etc.); kin in other households in the district; how long the household (as constituted) had been in the district and how long it remained in the district;[31] occupation of the head of household.[32]

An indication of how many individuals and households were covered for each of the study periods is provided in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 : Results of Historical Reconstruction Exercise

YEAR	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS (Reconstruction)	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS (Reconstruction)	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS (Census)
1905	187	897	1071 (1906)
1920	253	1074	1193 (1921)
1935	263	1160	1289 (1936)
1950	312	1174	1236 (1951)
1965	332	1229	1305 (1966)
1978	356	1154	1133 (1976)
1982	368	1171	1180 (1981)

This table also includes some comparative census material against which to judge the accuracy of the reconstruction. Some cautionary comments need to be offered, however, in relation to these census figures. In the first place, the household reconstructions were done as at the end of the designated years, while the censuses were taken in April of the following years. The difference of four months is not substantial, but it needs to be borne in mind.

Second, and more important, the census information is not directly comparable with the reconstruction figures in terms of coverage. The published information from the New Zealand census does not provide direct information on the Kurow district as a unit and the census totals used in the table and elsewhere in the thesis have been aggregated from locality information.[33] A major complication in this process is the fact that locality designations used in censuses have tended to vary from year to

year, and this has made it difficult to produce a definitive total figure for the district.[34] This means that official census figures used in this study must be treated with some caution.

It will be seen from Table 3.1 that the reconstruction figures are sufficiently close to the aggregated census figures to give us confidence in the procedures used. The greatest discrepancy occurs in the figures for 1905, when the reconstruction figure is approximately 174 people (16%) short of the 1906 census figure. This requires some comment.

The task of reconstructing 1905 was complicated by the fact that, being the end of the era of large estates, a substantial proportion of the population was located on sheep stations and was therefore extremely difficult to trace. These sheep stations existed as occupational enclaves within the district, using a predominantly male workforce that was largely single and highly transient. Furthermore, since rabbits were becoming an increasing problem at this time, especially on the large sheep stations, there is every likelihood that large numbers of unidentified and unidentifiable rabbiters were working on these stations. We have no accurate way, therefore, of ascertaining who was working on these stations at any given point in time. If we add together the census figures for the sheep stations that were not part of the reconstruction exercise in 1905 (Otekaike Station, Waitangi, Te Akatarawa, Hakataramea Station and Hakataramea Downs) we arrive at a total of 180 people - this is only six more than the perceived discrepancy of 174, which indicates a reasonable accuracy in the reconstruction.[35]

A further confirmation of the accuracy of the reconstruction procedures can be obtained from considering the number of males and females who were in the district. Until 1921, the census provided details of the numbers of males and females within each designated locality, and for 1906 the aggregated figure for the Kurow district was 601 males and 470 females. This included the sheep stations that were not part of the fieldwork reconstruction. If, however, we subtract from this figure the 126 males and the 54 females who were on these sheep stations then we find that the reconstruction for 1905 should have turned up approximately 475 males and 416 females. In fact, the reconstruction turned up 469 males and 428 females, and again, this gives strong support to the accuracy of the reconstruction methods used.

Finally, mention should be made of the property reconstructions that were carried out in conjunction with the household reconstructions. Working from certificates of title, it was possible to develop for each date a landholding profile for the district including properties in the townships as well as the rural localities. This profile detailed who owned how much land, where, for how long and in what sort of title. By triangulating this landholding data with government valuation data it was possible to put an economic value on individual properties at each date.[36] This gave a breakdown on the unimproved value, the improved value and the total capital value of each property. Discovering this valuation data proved to be an important breakthrough in the project.[37]

In relation to farm properties, informant interviews established what kind of farming was being done on each property at each date. For sheep farms, it was also possible to use official sheep figures to establish how many sheep were being run on each property.[38] Aggregating this information provided an historical profile of pastoral activity for each locality and for the district as a whole.

Overall, then, this type of reconstruction work provided a reasonably accurate, comparative framework within which it was then possible to explore with informants particular aspects of social life, social structure and social change within the district. An important part of the research strategy was to do this reconstruction work before embarking on the bulk of the interviewing, thus overcoming some of the problems usually associated with the oral history method. Thernstrom's strictures about the need for "explicit" historical procedures were very much taken to heart.

Before looking at details of the historical development of the district, however, we shall provide a contemporary profile of the district, its population, landholding and land use. This will be the focus for the next two chapters.

FOOTNOTES :

1. The Computer was used to process much of this information, particularly the land, marriage and school records. Valuable assistance was given here by Carl Raper who was a research officer in the department at the time.

2. The historical development of the district will subsequently be considered in relation to four main periods: Initial Settlement (1850 to 1890); Consolidation (1890 to 1920); The Middle Years (1920 to 1950); and The Contemporary Scene (1950 to 1982). These are discussed more fully in the introduction to Part Three. These periods correspond roughly to periods in the economic history of New Zealand and are comparable with divisions drawn by other New Zealand researchers (c.f. Condliffe, 1959; Oliver and Williams, 1981; Hawke, 1985).

3. This has been a matter of dialogue between historians and sociologists for some time. A recent discussion of the issue is to be found in Sztompka (1986). For a New Zealand statement on the matter, see Oliver (1969).

4. Warner himself commented: "To be sure that we were not ethnocentrically biased in our judgement, we decided to use no previous summaries of data collected by anyone else (maps, handbooks, histories, etc.) until we had formed our own opinion of the city" (1941:400).

5. For a discussion of this see Pearson (1979).

6. See, for example: Curti (1959); Katz (1975); Conzen (1976); and Griffen and Griffen (1978).

7. See, for example: MacFarlane (1977a).

8. Particularly useful illustrations of this can be found in Thernstrom (1965) and in Bahr and Bracken (1983).

9. Procedures were changed in 1976, however, and the original census schedules have been kept from then.

10. William Shirres of Aviemore Station was an early runholder in the Kurow district and on September 17th, 1888, his sister Christian recorded the following entry in her diary: "William and I went down with his diaries of several years to the Waitaki and sent them off to the sea. I threw 1866" (Shirres, 1964:286). This was a pattern that I was to find repeated time and again with documents relating to this district's past.

11. The 1926 New Zealand census was the last occasion on which information was given in the published volumes on the numbers of males and females in localities. After that, all that was provided was a total population figure.

12. A comprehensive set of index cards on people listed in the Kurow localities was generated from all available volumes of Wise's and Stone's directories and this information was coded for computer analysis. Once the deficiencies in the data-source became obvious, however, the cards were simply used for reference purposes, as a back-up to other sources.

13. Given the central importance that land records were subsequently to have to the study, it is remarkable that their significance was not appreciated in the early stages of the research.

14. The Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand (1882) was a government document that listed 1882 freeholders alphabetically throughout New Zealand and provided details of occupation, address, location of land, its value and acreage. Two recent instances of its use can be found in Toynbee (1979b) and Martin (1985).

15. For a discussion of episodic and continuous records, see Webb et al. (1971:53-111).

16. For a discussion of this see Hall et al. (1982).

17. There can be slight delays, however, in the registering of changes in title. This means that a person may be in occupation of land before the legal title is registered.

18. There are very few pieces of published New Zealand research where extensive use has been made of these certificates of title, but some examples can be found in Waterson (1969), Richtik (1975) and Powell (1971).

19. I am especially indebted here to the District Lands Registrars in Christchurch and Dunedin, and to their staff, for the cooperation and help that they offered in this part of the research.

20. For the technical details of how this was done, see Hall et al. (1982).

21. The date that was used was December 25th. There are no land transfers on Christmas Day and hence there was no possibility of double-counting on ownership.

22. There were a number of other checks that were built into the computing procedures to ensure accuracy of the data - see 'Checking and Cleaning The Data', pages 19 to 21 of Hall et al. (1982).

23. Since farms usually comprise a number of sections of land, these needed to be identified in relation to each other before the boundaries of the farm could be established.

24. This family information was subsequently cross-checked against other records (e.g., marriage, baptismal and school records) to ensure that it was accurate.

25. These people were mainly blacksmiths, teachers and assorted farm workers.

26. One instance was particularly instructive here. In researching the Otiake locality for 1905 I had difficulty establishing who would have been living in one particular house. The house was on a farm owned by one John Porter and the land records indicated that he did not relinquish title to the land until the middle of the following year. My informant, who was six years old at the time, was certain that Porter had moved to Oamaru by the end of 1905 but the land records indicated otherwise. The matter was finally resolved when the informant asked if the Maider children were attending the Otiake school at the end of 1905. The school register was consulted and it was found that they were. That settled it. George Maider was a shepherd and he and his family moved into the house after Porter left the locality. This example clearly illustrated the benefits of triangulating data with other sources.

27. Some houses were also burned.

28. The valuation slips gave the names of the occupier and the owner and indicated whether they were the same person. This allowed owners and tenants to be differentiated. Whether or not there was a house on the section could be determined from the nature of the improvements listed on the valuation slip.

29. An indication of the extent of "omniscience" among the population can be obtained from the fact that this information was provided in 1978, and updated in 1982, by approximately 12 informants. Roughly one informant was used in each locality (at times this was a husband and wife) but six were used in Kurow Township. The procedures that were used in achieving this are discussed in Appendix 1. Although information was gathered for 1978, for reasons of economy of space this will not be used in the subsequent analysis.

30. The total length of time that a person had been in the district could not always be established accurately but we could be reasonably certain whether they were in the district at a particular point of time or not (e.g., 1905, 1920, 1935, 1950, 1965 and 1982). This therefore became the basis for establishing the continuity of individuals.

31. Continuity of households was established on the same basis as continuity of individuals - see footnote 30.

32. Except in such cases where a household was headed by a widow, a single female parent or a single female, the head of household was taken to be an adult male (i.e., in the case of nuclear families, the husband).

33. This locality information is to be found in Table 18 (Population of Townships and Localities by County) in Volume 1 of the census (Increase and Location of Population).

34. For example, if we consider the entries for Hakataramea, we find great variety. In 1911, the range of localities was given as Hakataramea Downs, Hakataramea Village, Hakataramea Station and Hakataramea Valley. In 1916, this was changed to Hakataramea, Hakataramea Vicinity, Hakataramea Station and Hakataramea Valley. By 1921, this had become Hakataramea, Hakataramea South and Hakataramea Valley and by 1926 it had been truncated to simply Hakataramea Location and Hakataramea Valley Location. In 1981, the Hakataramea information appeared under the locality designations of Hakataramea Location, Hakataramea Station and Cattle Creek.

35. This checking exercise was possible because station names were used as census locality designations. It was therefore possible to establish how many people were resident at each station.

36. Property valuations are carried out by the government's Valuation Department at 4 or 5-yearly intervals.

37. From the early stages of the research I was aware of the existence of valuation data since the Waitaki Catchment Commission held a current set of data for the Kurow district. Initially, however, I was unable to locate comparable data for previous periods and had given up hope of such data still existing. In January 1980, while looking through some old ledgers in the basement of the Waitaki County Council building in Oamaru, I discovered sets of Waitaki County valuations from 1880 to 1964. I was obviously greatly encouraged by this but, realising that I had data for half of the district only, I travelled in trepidation to Waimate to see if the Waimate County Council held comparable records in their "archives". They did, and so the data set was complete.

38. See Appendix 3.

PART TWO

THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

CHAPTER FOUR

THE KUROW DISTRICT

AND ITS PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION

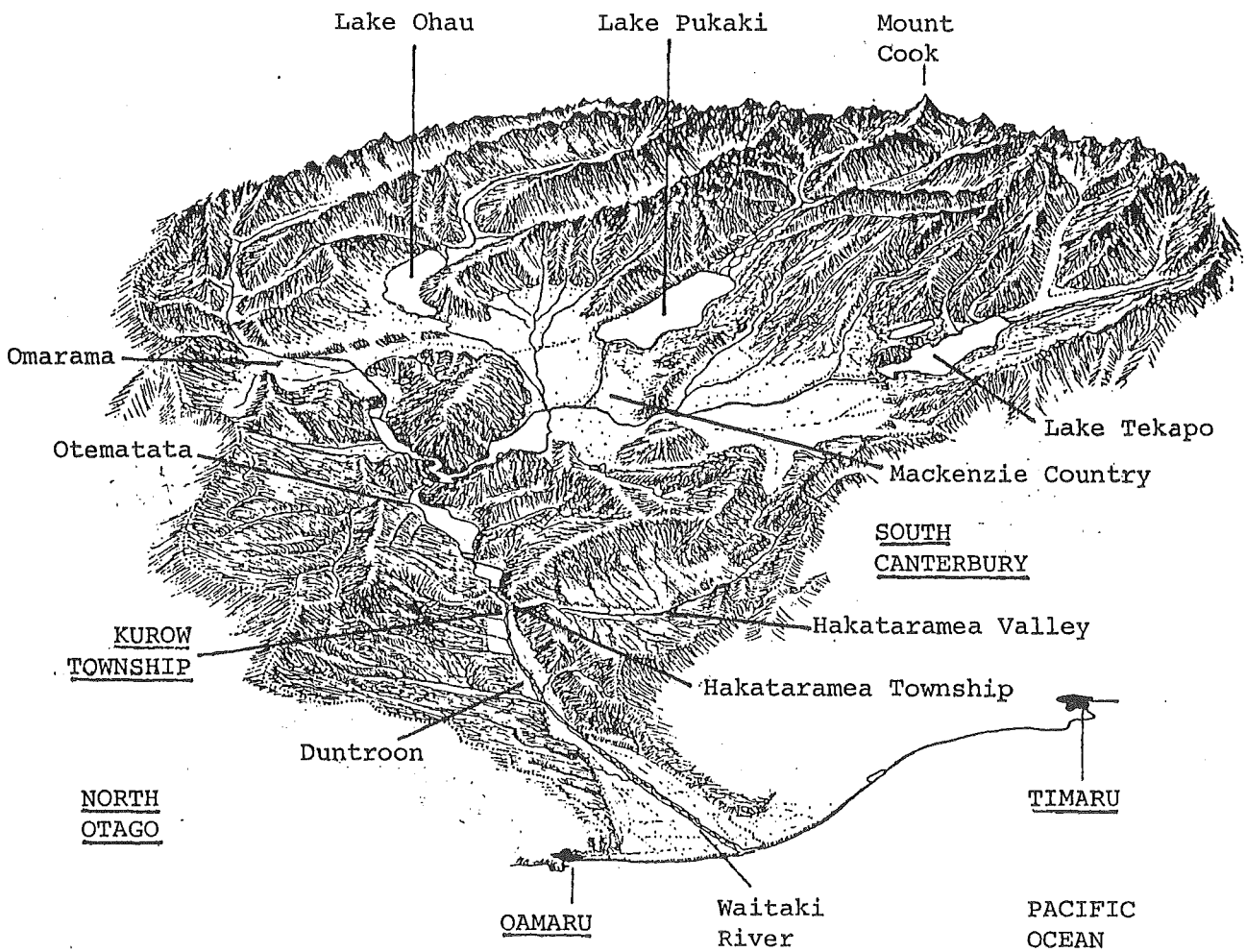
The empirical focus for this study is the rural district that centres on Kurow in North Otago. Kurow is situated on the southern bank of the Waitaki River, approximately sixty kilometres inland from Oamaru, the regional centre. It is one of those places that people pass through on their way to the ski fields in the Southern Alps or to the boating and fishing amenities of the Upper Waitaki lakes. It is a stopping-off place, a place to fill up a petrol tank or buy take-aways and ice-cream. To the casual eye of the traveller, the township might appear to be unattractive. Not too many of the houses in the township are of recent design or construction, there are empty shop premises on the main street and, in the summer, the prevailing nor'westerly winds blow dust across the township from the railway yards in its centre.

The casual visitor may not take the time to explore the back streets of the township, mistakenly assuming that there is nothing of beauty or charm to be found there, and yet, that same visitor would have to acknowledge the contrast with the scenic countryside around the township. Snow-capped mountain peaks, rugged tussock-brown sheep country and the blue-green rush of the Waitaki river more than compensate in beauty for what some would take to be the singular unattractiveness of the township itself.

Despite the contrast, of course, these are both aspects of the same rural district that extends thirty kilometres along the Waitaki River from Otekaike to Otematata in North Otago and that stretches sixty-four kilometres up the Hakataramea Valley to Cattle Creek in South Canterbury.

Map 4.1

Relief Map of
Kurow District and
Mackenzie Country



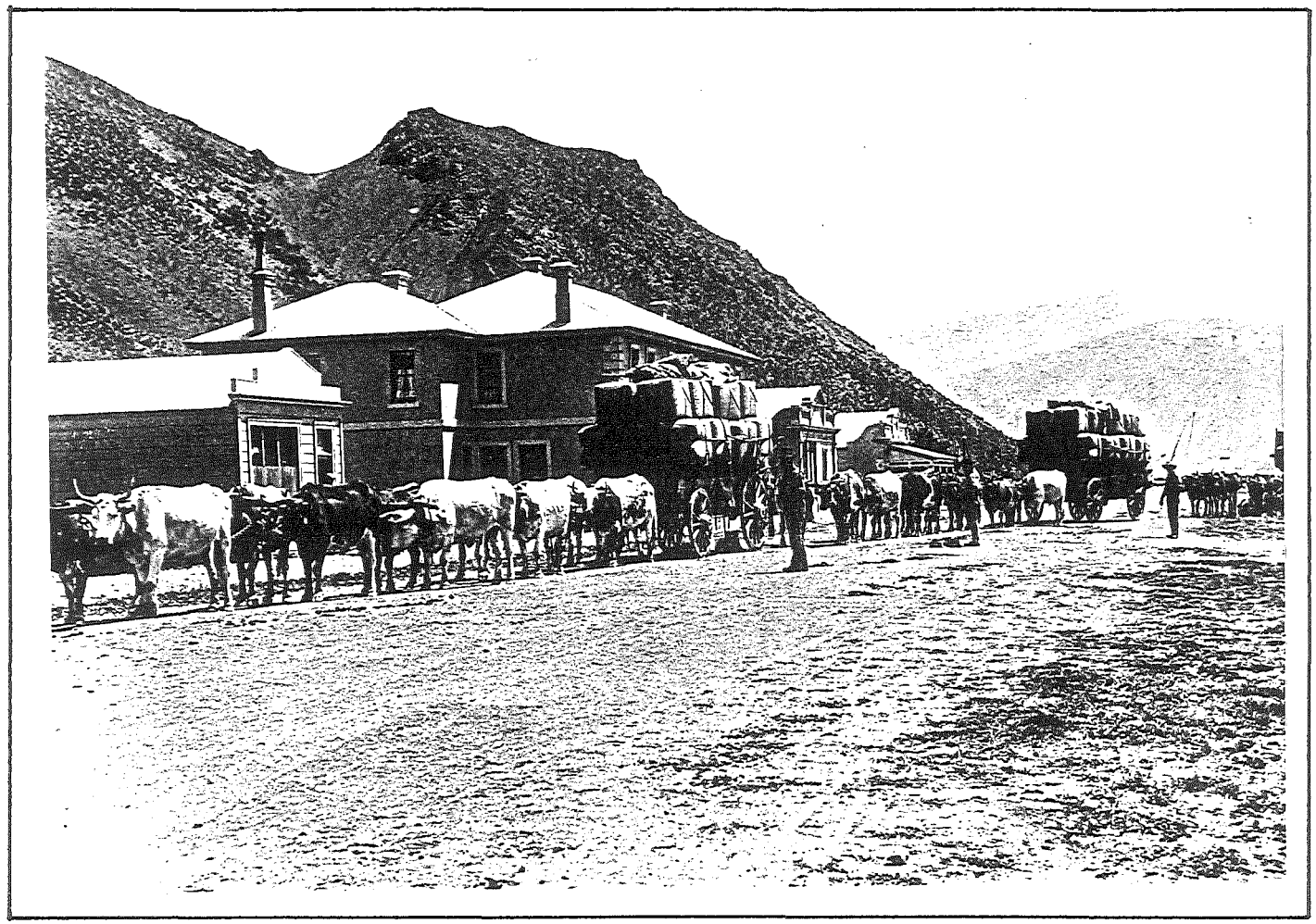
Source:
Waitaki Water and Soil Resource Management Plan, Volume 2,
Waitaki Catchment Commission, July 1982, page 21.

THE LOCALITIES

The commercial facilities in Kurow Township represent the usual range that one would expect to find in most New Zealand rural townships.[1] Along the main street (wide enough to allow a bullock-wagon to be turned) are three stores, two hotels, a bank, a butcher's shop, a hairdressing shop, a branch of the TAB, an electrician's shop, a craft shop, two petrol stations, three stock-and-station agencies, two cafes, a motel, a motor camp and a transport firm. The transport firm is the largest single private employer in the district. A subsidiary of a larger firm based in Oamaru, it employs about twenty people, the majority of whom are truck drivers. These drivers make up the largest single occupational group within Kurow Township itself. The activities of the transport firm are not restricted to the farming sector. Over the years, it has benefitted greatly from supplying some of the transport needs of the hydro construction projects on the Waitaki and also in the Upper Waitaki.[2]

The township also has a railway station, an area high school with just over 200 pupils, a post office, a stock inspector's office and a catchment commission - all state facilities. The government is the largest single employer in the district, employing about a fifth of the total adult workforce in the district.[3]

There are also several self-employed builders living in Kurow as well as mechanics, plumbers, painters, and electricians. The township also has a golf course, a bowling club, a recreational domain, a race track and three churches - Presbyterian, Anglican and Roman Catholic. The Presbyterian church, however, is the only one with a resident minister.[4]

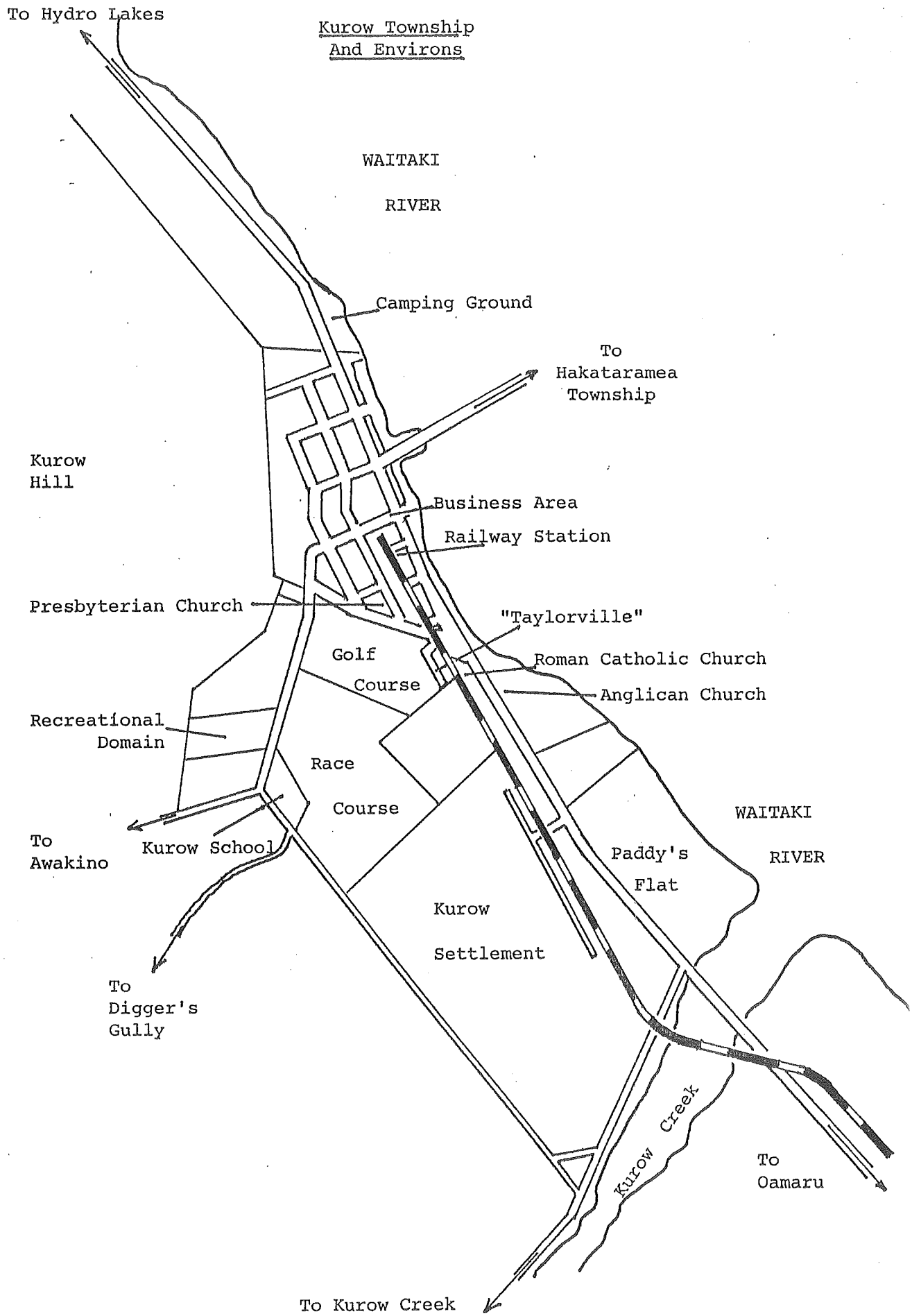


[Fred Chase]

William Ure's Bullock Wagons
Kurow Township, 1898

Map 4.2

Kurow Township
And Environs



A high proportion of Kurow's 140 households are occupied by retired people, as are the eighteen households in Paddy's Flat, a small semi-rural locality on the outskirts of Kurow. This locality was originally sub-divided as a working-men's settlement of smallholdings, and the name reputedly derives from the fact that many of the original settlers were Irish.[5] Some of the smallholdings have since been amalgamated into larger properties, but it is still primarily a locality of smallholders, many of whom are retired but some of whom use their properties for commercial purposes such as growing vegetables and berry-fruit or running a few sheep to supplement other income.[6]

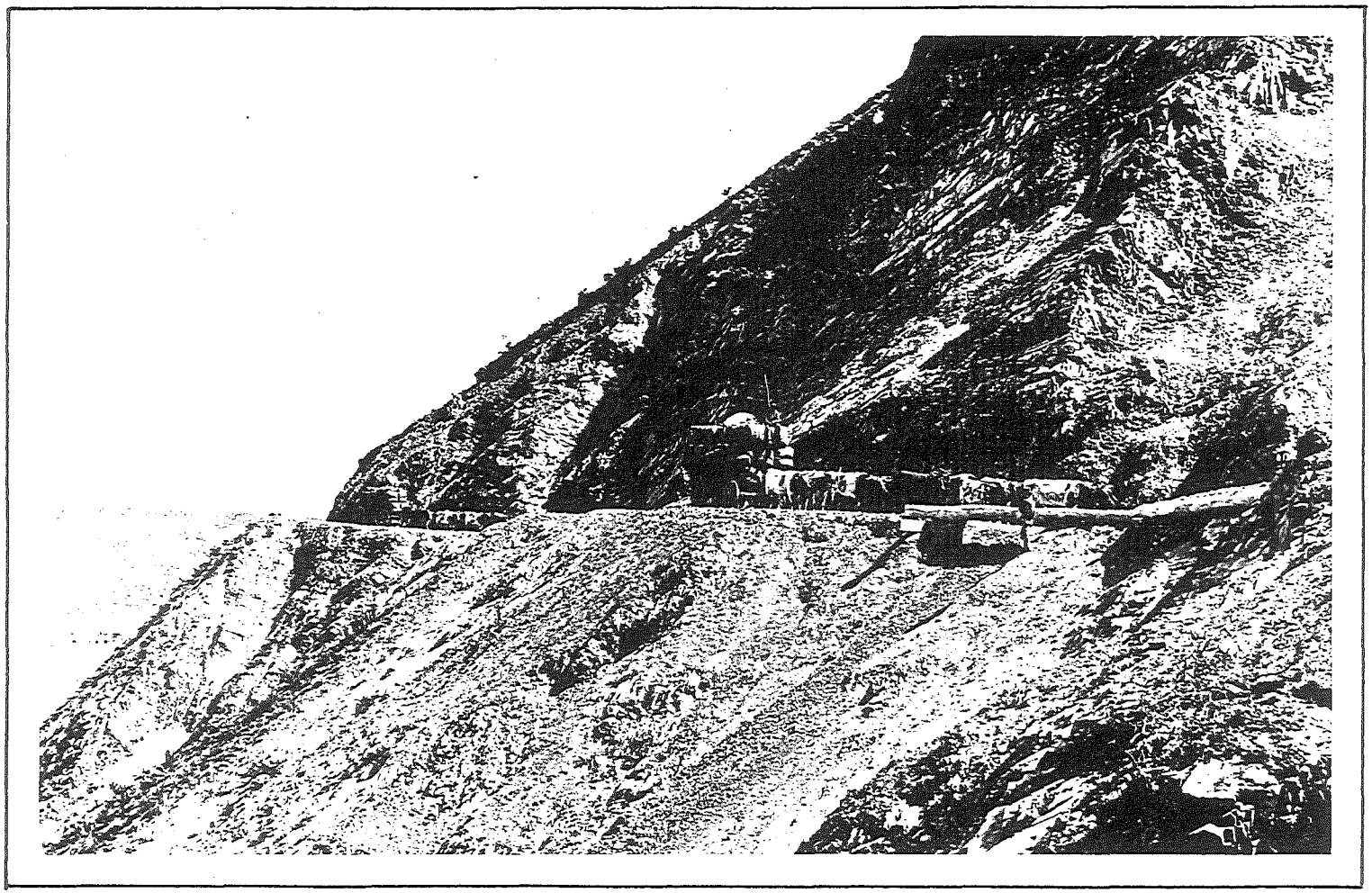
Rising behind Paddy's Flat and Kurow township and running parallel to the Waitaki river is the Saint Mary's range of mountains. The dominant peak at 2,007 metres is Te Kohurau, the "hill of many mists".[7] Between these mountains and the river, stretching out on either side of Kurow are twelve sheep runs, twenty-one intensive sheep farms, five mixed sheep and cropping farms and four orchards. The majority of these properties are located in the Otiake, Otekaike or Wharekuri localities, but some are to be found just behind Kurow township itself.[8]

There are thirty-four properties located downriver from Kurow in the Otiake and Otekaike localities. Until 1905 this land had been part of the Hon Robert Campbell's Otekaike Station. The portion of land between Otiake Creek and Kurow Creek had been cut up for closer settlement in 1878, and the rest was sub-divided in 1908.[9] The Otekaike locality lies in the Kurow district, but some of its inhabitants relate to Duntroon, the next district downriver.[10]

The homestead block of Campbell's Otekaike station has been used since 1908 to house a school for delinquent boys.[11] The 200-odd staff and boys of the Campbell Park Special School exist almost as a separate entity within the district, even though some local people are employed there. To this extent, the settlement that has developed around the school is "in" the district without necessarily being "of" the district.

The same comment can be made in relation to the hydro settlements upriver from Kurow. The country around these settlements is pastoral country that is sparsely populated, and this has probably served to exacerbate the social isolation of the hydro villages of Lake Waitaki and Aviemore. There have been and still are, significant social and economic links between these hydro villages and Kurow Township, but, in common with their larger hydro neighbour, Otematata, they have tended to be Electricity Department or Public Works Department enclaves within a pastoral farming district.[12]

The two sheep runs and two sheep stations that lie between Kurow and Otematata border on these hydro lakes and many of them lost valuable grazing land when the lakes were formed.[13] In this, and in many other respects, these properties form a community of interest with the two South Canterbury sheep stations on the other side of the lakes - Waitangi and Te Akatarawa. Access to these properties is not by the Kurow-Hakataramea bridge but by a road that runs across the top of the Aviemore dam.[14] Land was not the only thing that was lost with hydro development; a certain amount of local identity was lost, too. The locality around Lake Waitaki used to be known as



[Fred Chase]

James Stewart's Bullock Wagons
On the Slip Road from Waitangi, 1898

Wharekuri.[15] A hotel was there until it burned down in the early 1900s, a primary school until 1924 and a branch of the post office until the mid-1930s. However, with the passage of time, land aggregation and subsequent depopulation, the locality name has fallen into disuse.[16]

The majority of the South Canterbury land in the district is in the Hakataramea Valley.[17] Sixty four kilometres long by sixteen kilometres wide, the Hakataramea Valley consists, for the most part, of hill country and flat farm-land that is used mainly for sheep farming. Of the fifty-two farms in the valley, thirty are intensive sheep farms, ten are extensive sheep farms and twelve are mixed sheep-and-crop farms. The mixed sheep-and-crop farms are mainly in the southwest of the valley, where the rainfall is greatest.

Bordered on the west by the Kirkliston Range and on the east by the Hunters Hills, the Hakataramea Valley is one of the lesser known and hence unappreciated aspects of the Kurow district. Branching off as it does at a tangent from the main sweep of the Waitaki valley and being screened from Kurow by low hills that run parallel to the Waitaki River, the Hakataramea Valley is often missed by travellers on their way to and from Oamaru on the coast and the Upper Waitaki further inland.[18] The eighty-five households in the valley seem to appreciate their measure of isolation. The pass at the top of the valley gives access to Tekapo and the Mackenzie Country, but this is seldom used because it is not tar-sealed. This lack of through traffic serves to maintain the valley's relative isolation.[19]

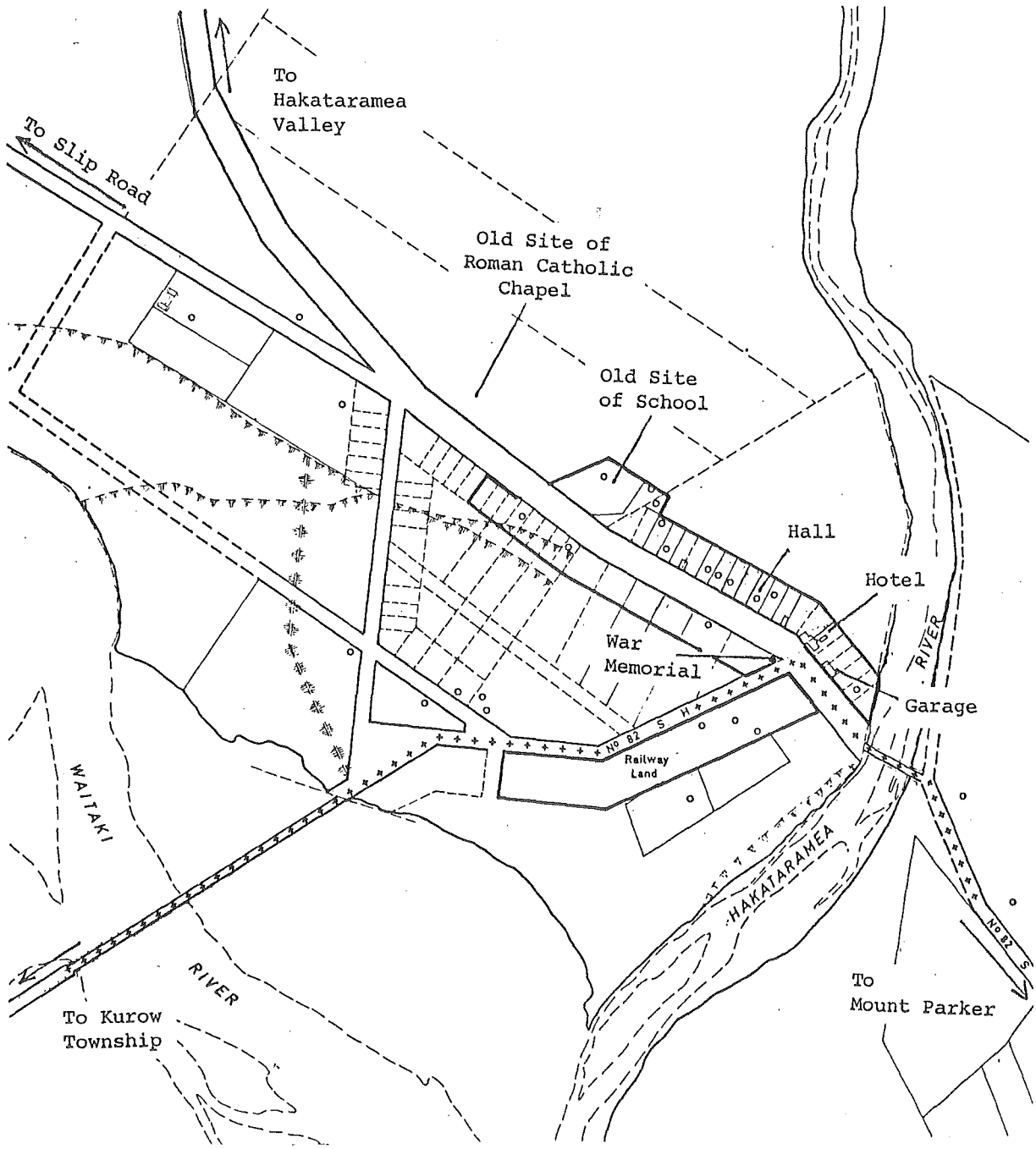
There are two primary schools in the valley, one at the bottom and the other at the top. These small, two-teacher

schools provide the foci for two distinct localities within the valley, Hakataramea Valley at the bottom with fifty-two households and Cattle Creek at the top with thirty-three. Cattle Creek is the more recently settled. For a long time, these two localities were physically separated by the broad expanse of Hakataramea Station, a 10,000 hectare sheep station that had been owned by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company for just over a century.[20] In 1972 the station was acquired by Dalgety and Co., and then in late 1978 it was bought by a private syndicate of South Canterbury farmers, one of whose members was a local Kurow farmer.[21] Some sub-division of the property has begun but it will do little to break down the barriers of separation that exist between the two localities.

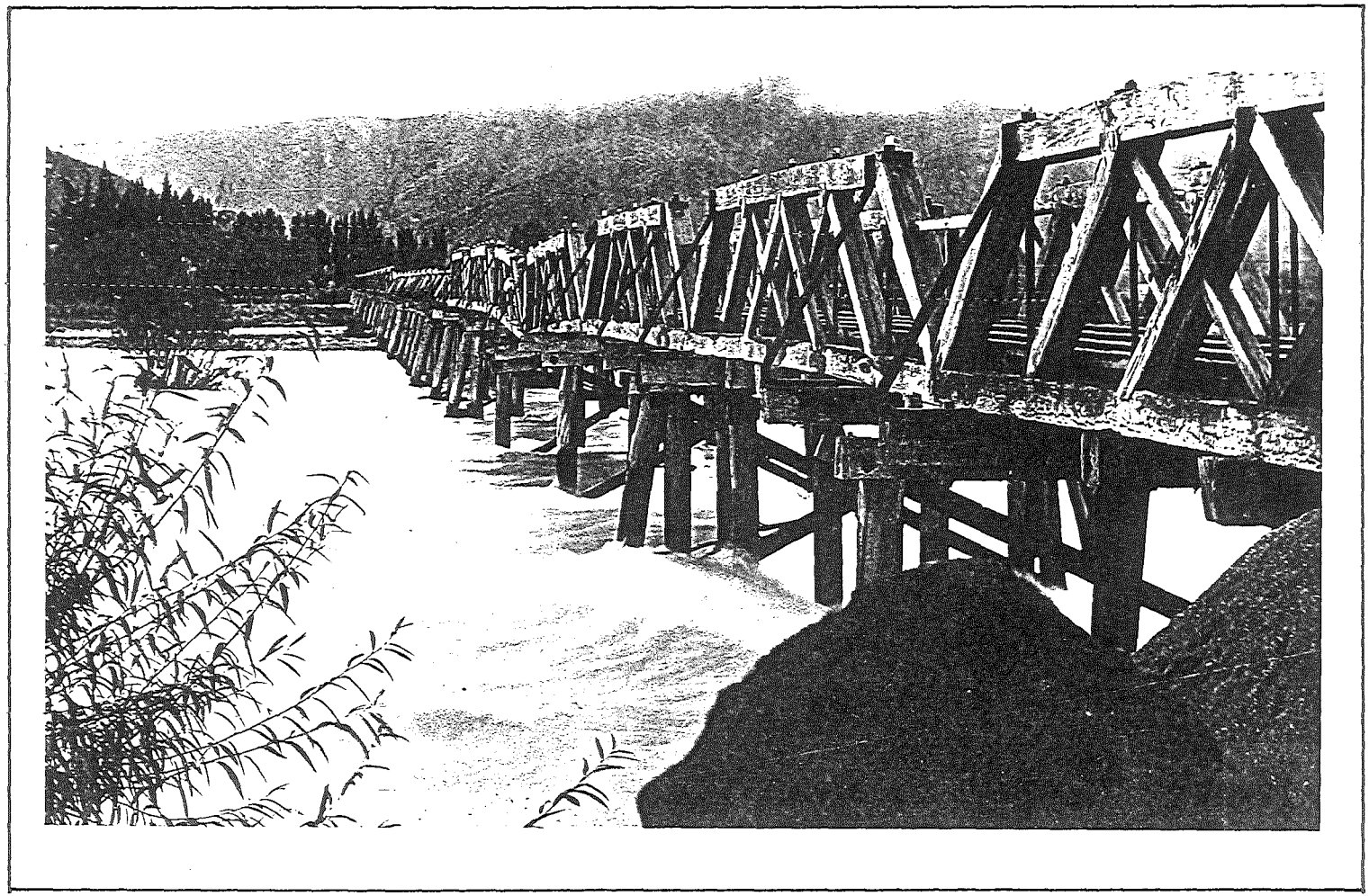
There are no permanent settlements in the district on the Canterbury side of the Waitaki River apart from the small settlement of Hakataramea Township. Fifty-six people live here in twenty-one households. Set between hills and river on the opposite bank of the Waitaki river from Kurow, Hakataramea Township boasts a hotel, a garage, a war memorial, some houses and little else. The few houses are scattered amongst paddocks where sheep and cattle graze. Many of the houses in the settlement are owned as holiday homes by people who live outside the district.[22] The township primary school was closed in 1965, and the community hall was demolished in the 1970s. Buildings that once served as store, blacksmith shop and railway worker's home now stand empty, grim reminders of different days. Hakataramea Township was the district railhead in earlier days when the bridge from Kurow served as a rail link as well as a road

Map 4.3

Hakataramea Township
And Environs



Source:
Waimate County Council, District Scheme, 1977.



[Kurow Museum]

Damage to Kurow-Hakataramea Bridge
1928

link. The river took its toll on the one-lane wooden bridge over the years, however, and the rail link was discontinued in the 1930s. Now only road traffic is carried on the bridge, but at least this serves to link the two parts of the district.

The only other place where there has been a school in this Canterbury segment of the district was ten kilometres down river from Hakataramea Township at Mount Parker. This school was closed in the mid-1930s, but the locality identity has remained to some extent, despite the fact that it includes only seven sheep runs and twelve households.[23]

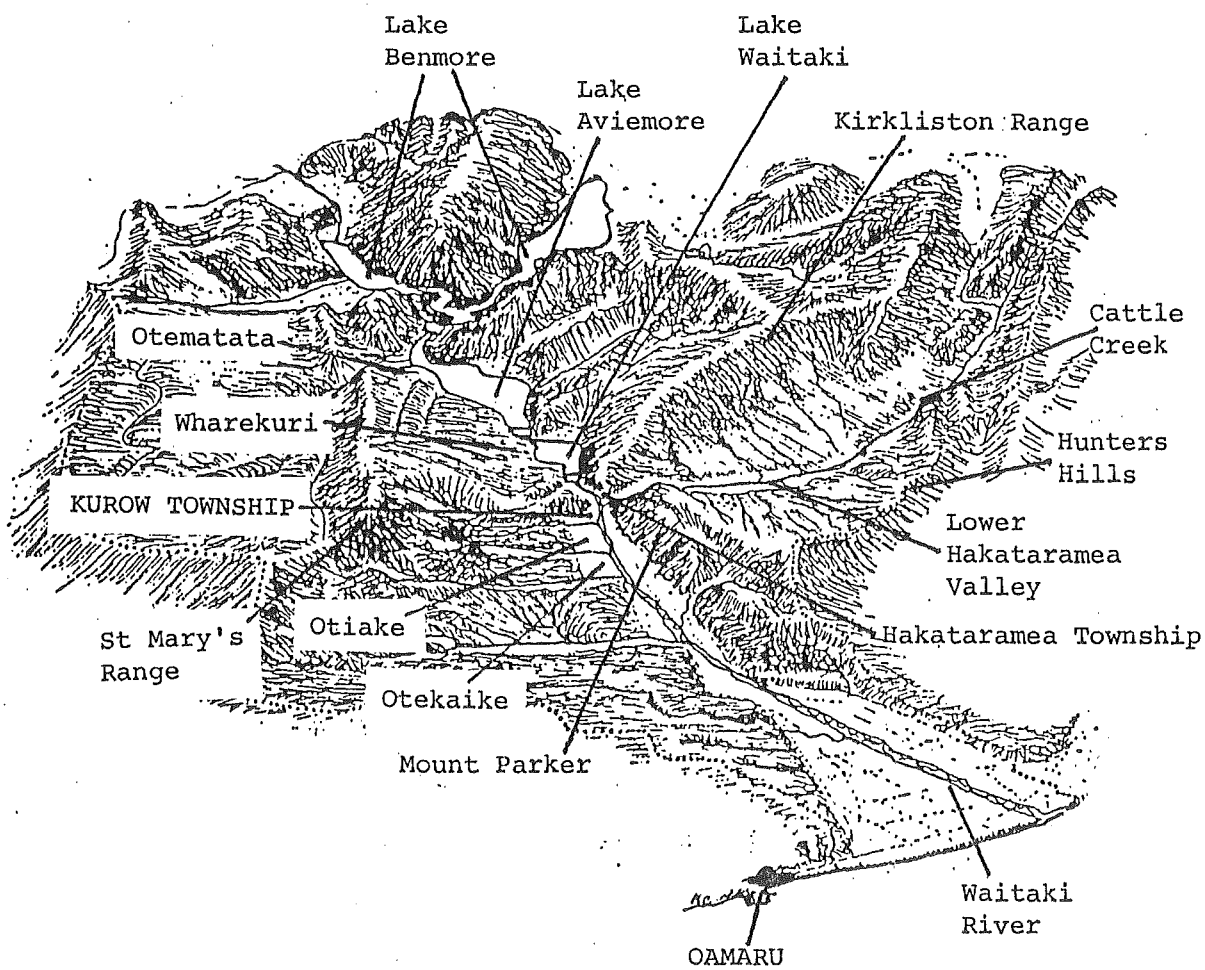
From this descriptive outline, we can therefore categorise these localities as set out in Diagram 4.1 below.

Diagram 4.1 : Localities within the Kurow District

LOCALITIES	NORTH OTAGO	SOUTH CANTERBURY
PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS	Kurow Township	Hakataramea Township
RURAL LOCALITIES	Otiake Otekaike Kurow Vicinity Paddy's Flat Wharekuri	Hakataramea Valley Cattle Creek Mount Parker Waitangi
OCCUPATIONAL ENCLAVES	Campbell Park School Lake Waitaki Aviemore Village Otematata	

Map 4.4

Relief Map
Showing Localities Within
Kurow District



Source:
Waitaki Water and Soil Resource Management Plan, Volume 2
Waitaki Catchment Commission, July 1982, page 21.

Key information relating to population size and number of households in the permanent settlements and rural localities is provided in Table 4.1.[24]

Table 4.1 : Summary of Locality Information, December 1982

LOCALITY	ADULTS	CHILDREN At School	CHILDREN Pre-School	TOTAL POPN.	No. of HOUSE-HOLDS
Kurow Township	289	103	29	421	146
Kurow Vicinity	18	9	1	28	10
Paddy's Flat	38	14	3	55	18
Otiake	69	36	6	111	31
Otekaike	61	23	11	95	30
Wharekuri	26	13	5	44	12
Otago Sub-Total	501	198	55	754	247
Hakataramea Township	45	9	2	56	21
Hakataramea Valley	109	60	14	183	52
Cattle Creek	74	41	10	125	33
Mount Parker	23	9	9	41	12
Waitangi	8	4	0	12	3
Canterbury Sub-Total	259	123	35	417	121
DISTRICT TOTAL	760	321	90	1171	368

Thirty-six percent of the population lived in the South Canterbury segment of the district, in 33% of the district's households. Regrouping the localities into the categories of townships and rural localities shows that 41% of the population and 45% of the households were to be found in the two settlements of Kurow and Hakataramea Townships.

Because of their relative marginality to the district's social life, the resident staff of Campbell Park School and the power staff who live in the hydro settlements of Lake Waitaki, Aviemore and Otematata have been excluded from consideration here. It is accepted that some of these people do play an active role in the district's social life, but on the whole, their high degree of transience and the nature of their respective work, does tend to make most of them marginal to the district's existence.[25]

Before commenting further on characteristics of the contemporary population it will be useful to put this information into an historical context to see how the district's population has varied through time.

DISTRICT POPULATION 1878-1981

Working with aggregations of census data for the settlements and rural localities in the district, Table 4.2 provides an overview of how the population of the Kurow district has developed since 1878.[26] Two things are particularly noteworthy about the data in this table. First, it is interesting that the total population of the district has not varied substantially since 1896 - the range is from a low of 1,019 in 1901 to a high of 1,305 in 1966. Secondly, since 1881, the relative proportions of the population living in the two provincial segments of the district has remained fairly constant with about one third in South Canterbury and two thirds in North Otago.

Table 4.2 : Kurow District - Population by Census Year

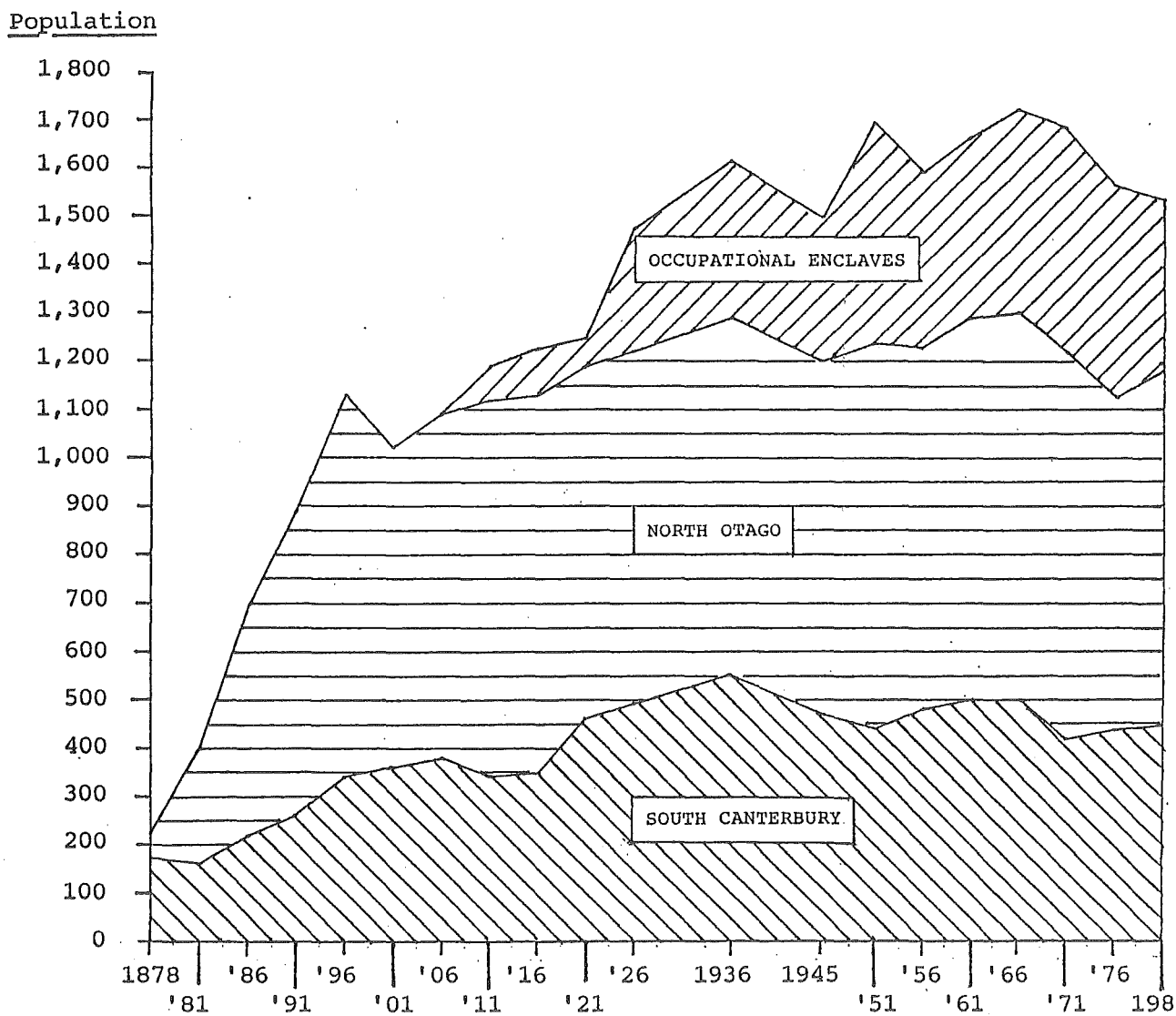
CENSUS YEAR	CANTERBURY SEGMENT Popn	Percent	OTAGO SEGMENT Popn	Percent	TOTAL
1878	167	75%	57	25%	224
1881	161	29%	236	71%	397
1886	219	31%	479	69%	698
1891	258	29%	633	71%	891
1896	335	30%	794	70%	1129
1901	364	36%	655	64%	1019
1906	379	35%	710	65%	1089
1911	340	30%	777	70%	1117
1916	352	31%	774	69%	1126
1921	458	38%	735	64%	1193
1926	493	40%	731	60%	1224
1936	546	42%	743	58%	1289
1945	473	40%	725	60%	1198
1951	443	36%	793	64%	1236
1956	479	39%	747	61%	1226
1961	498	39%	791	61%	1289
1966	504	39%	801	61%	1305
1971	417	34%	798	66%	1215
1976	440	39%	693	61%	1133
1981	448	38%	732	62%	1180

Source : New Zealand Census, 1878 to 1981.

Figure 4.1 graphs these figures and also provides an indication of how the number of people in the occupational enclaves (the hydro villages and Otekaike Special School) have varied through time.

Figure 4.1

Kurow District
Population by Census Year



Another point worth noting in the census data is the consistency through time of the proportion of the district's population that lived in Kurow Township or its immediate vicinity.[27] This material is presented in Table 4.3. Ideally, we would be interested here in looking at such figures for Hakataramea Township and Kurow Township combined, but vagaries in the presentation of census data do not allow us to extract consistent figures for Hakataramea Township.[28]

Table 4.3 : Proportion of District Population Living in Kurow Township and Environs (by Census Year)

Year	Proportion	Year	Proportion
1878	29%	1926	36%
1881	53%	1936	37%
1886	18%	1945	45%
1891	39%	1951	54%
1896	54%	1956	45%
1901	39%	1961	46%
1906	42%	1966	46%
1911	46%	1971	45%
1916	37%	1976	46%
1921	41%	1981	45%

Source : New Zealand Census, 1878 to 1981.

These figures in Table 4.3 show that since the early 1890s, the proportion of the district's population living in Kurow Township and its immediate vicinity has been reasonably constant.[29] Against this background, we turn back to look at some social characteristics of the population who were living in the district at the end of 1982.

POPULATION STRUCTURE

At the end of 1982 there were 1,171 people living in the Kurow district, excluding those who lived in the hydro villages and the Otekaike Special School. Sixty-four percent of these people could be classified as "adults", i.e., they had left school, 27% were school children and the remaining 8% were pre-schoolers - see Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 : Marital and Age Status, 1982

CATEGORY	Male	Female	TOTAL
Married	291	291	582
Widowed	11	21	32
Separated/Divorced	10	8	18
Single	83	45	128
ADULTS	395	365	760
Boarding school	21	24	45
Local Secondary	19	32	51
Local Primary	103	122	226
Pre-school	46	44	90
CHILDREN	189	222	411
TOTAL POPULATION	584	587	1171

Of the 760 adults, 77% were married, 17% were single, 4% were widowed and 2% were separated or divorced. Of the 321 children who were at school, 70% were at local primary schools, 16% were in the secondary department of the local Area school and the remaining 14% were at boarding schools elsewhere.[30]

The proportion of males to females in the total population was almost equal, but among the adults, the ratio favoured the

males by 52% to 48% while, among the children, it favoured the females by 54% to 46% - see Table 4.5.[31]

Table 4.5 : Proportion of Males and Females, 1982

SEX	Adults		Children		TOTAL	
Male	395	52%	189	46%	584	50%
Female	365	48%	222	54%	587	50%
TOTAL	760	100%	411	100%	1171	100%

The ratio of adults to children in the district was 100/54, but there was quite a marked contrast here between the rural localities and the permanent settlements. In the rural localities it was 100/67 while in the settlements it was only 100/41. One obvious implication of this is that proportionately more of the district's children lived in the rural localities. It might be expected from this that the average size of the households would be larger in the rural localities than in the settlements and this, in fact, was the case. In the settlements of Kurow Township and Hakataramea Township the average size of household was 2.9 people, while for the rural localities it was 3.5.[32]

This difference in average size of households is a reflection of differences in household types between the two types of localities. There was a preponderance of nuclear-family households in the rural localities and of non-nuclear family households in the settlements - see Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 : Types of Households, 1982

HOUSEHOLD TYPES	Settlements N	Settlements %	Rural Localities N	Rural Localities %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
Nuclear Family	74	44%	126	63%	200	54%
Conjugal - Young	10	6%	15	7%	25	7%
Conjugal - Old	36	22%	24	11%	60	16%
Extended Family	3	2%	3	2%	6	2%
Single Parent	4	2%	3	2%	7	2%
Single Adult	26	16%	20	10%	46	13%
Related Adult	7	4%	6	3%	13	4%
Unrelated Adult	4	3%	4	2%	8	2%
De Facto	3	2%	0	0%	3	1%
TOTAL	167	100%	201	100%	368	100%

The largest categories in both contexts were nuclear family households, elderly couples living together and single adults living on their own. In the case of the settlements, these accounted for 82% of all households, while in the rural localities the equivalent figure was 84%. However, there was a greater number of elderly couples and single adults living on their own in the settlements, while in the rural localities there were more nuclear-family households.

This patterning in the population structure of the district resulted, in the main, from two factors. The first of these was the tendency for retired people in the district to live in the settlements rather than in the rural localities. There were sixty-four households in the district at the end of 1982 that could be placed in the retired category and of these, fifty-

three were located in the settlements. These comprised either elderly couples or elderly men and women living on their own.[33]

The second factor was the dominance of the family farm in the rural localities. Of the 117 farm properties in the district at the end of 1982, only twenty-two employed regular wage-labour. The rest relied on family members to provide the necessary labour, apart from seasonal and contract work. Seventy-four percent of these farming households were of the nuclear-family type. The dominance of farming, and farm-related occupations, becomes obvious when we look at the occupational structure of the district.[34]

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Of the 368 households in the Kurow district at the end of 1982, thirty-five were headed by women and 333 by men. The occupational status of these individuals is shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 : Occupation of Heads of Households, 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Male		Female		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Farmer	117	35%	0	5%	117	32%
Business	40	12%	0	0%	40	11%
Farm Manager	2	1%	0	0%	2	1%
White Collar	43	13%	5	14%	48	13%
Farm Manual	44	13%	0	0%	44	12%
Other Manual	38	11%	2	5%	40	11%
Non-Occupational	49	15%	28	76%	77	21%
TOTAL	333	100%	35	100%	368	100%

The largest single occupational category among these households was clearly the farmer category, although the high proportion of households with heads in the non-occupational category is also noteworthy. Many of these men were either retired farmers or retired farm workers, while the female heads of households were either widows, solo-mothers or single women living on their own. The seven women who were in paid employment were shop assistants or clerical workers, although one was a draughtswoman with the catchment commission and two were teachers. The occupational status of all of the men and women in the district is shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 : Occupation of Adults, 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Male		Female		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Farmer	117	30%	0	0%	117	16%
Business	42	11%	2	0%	44	6%
Farm Manager	3	1%	0	0%	3	0%
White Collar	47	12%	27	14%	74	10%
Farm Manual	80	20%	9	0%	89	12%
Other Manual	50	13%	17	5%	67	9%
Non-Occupational	56	14%	310	76%	366	48%
TOTAL	395	100%	365	100%	760	100%

Only a relatively small proportion of the adult females were in paid employment - fifty-five of them were in full-time paid employment (15%), twenty-one of them were in part-time paid employment (6%), and 289 of them were not in paid employment (77%). Of this last group, 252 (or 71% of the total female

adults) were fulfilling the role of full-time housewife. The women in full-time employment were mainly domestic workers, shop assistants, teachers, clerical workers or post office staff. The women who were employed part time were in occupations ranging from doctor, physiotherapist, district nurse and relieving teacher through to domestic worker, school-bus driver and hairdresser.

Of the district's 395 adult males, 339 were in full-time paid employment at the end of 1982, and fifty-six were retired. Of the retired males, nineteen were retired farmers, fifteen were retired farm workers, and twenty-two were retired non-farm workers. Overall, then, 89% of the adult males were in full-time paid employment and of these, 61% were in farm-related occupations, while 39% were in non-farm related occupations. The full range of the occupational distribution of the district's adult males is shown in Table 4.9 overleaf.[35]

If we consider these figures in terms of class, then 159 of these males were either employers or self-employed (47%) while the remaining 180 were wage or salary earners (53%). The distinction between farm-related occupations and non-farm-related occupations mirrored almost exactly the distinction between village settlement workers and those men who lived and worked in the rural localities. The overlap was not entirely exact, however, insofar as there were a few farm workers who lived in the settlements as well as a few non-farm workers who lived in the rural localities - rabbit-board workers, school teachers and the like.

Table 4.9 : Occupational Status of Adult Males, 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	NUMBER	Per-Centage
Farmer - Employer	21	5%
Family Farmer	93	24%
Small Farmer	3	1%
Farm Manager	3	1%
Farm worker - Son of Farmer	20	5%
Farm worker - Non-related	60	15%
Farm Related	205	52%
Professional	24	6%
Managerial	11	3%
Business Proprietor	7	2%
Skilled Manual Proprietor	22	6%
Petty Proprietor	8	2%
White Collar and Sales	12	3%
Skilled Manual Worker	4	1%
Semi-skilled Manual Worker	26	7%
Unskilled Manual Worker	20	5%
Non-Farm Related	134	34%
Non-Occupational	56	14%
TOTAL	395	100%

The dominant occupation in the district is thus farming, and many of those not directly engaged in farm-related work are nevertheless involved in providing services to the farming sector.

KINSHIP DENSITY

On the outskirts of Kurow Township, in a relatively new sub-division that comprised one short street of thirteen houses, lived a number of retired couples.[36] At the bottom of the street lived Hay Smith and his wife Olive, a retired farming couple from Cattle Creek. The Smiths had three nephews farming in Cattle Creek as well as a daughter married to a Cattle Creek farmer. Cattle Creek was settled much later than the other localities in the Kurow district, and Hay's father began farming there in 1925. Olive's family, the Gards, were Otiake farmers. Her grandfather came to the Kurow district in the early 1880s and originally settled on a farm in Wharekuri before moving to Otiake. Olive had five brothers and a sister. Three of the brothers subsequently farmed in Otiake, another became a shepherd on Otematata Station and the other worked locally as a farm worker. This last brother married a daughter of the then stock inspector in Kurow, while the sister married a Kurow stock agent. Neither this brother nor sister were still living in Kurow at the end of 1982. Of the other brothers, two of the farmers had since died, but Olive's brother Stan (the shepherd) and Les (a retired farmer) were still living in Kurow. In fact, Les and his wife lived two doors down from Olive and Hay.

Les Gard's wife Jean was also a local. Her father, Ted Russell, had been a musterer in the district before he acquired a dairy farm in Otekaike in the 1920s, just across the road from the property that Les and Jean subsequently farmed. There were five sons and two daughters in the Russell family. The eldest son was dead, but the rest of the family were still living in

Kurow Township at the end of 1982, three in close proximity to one another at the top end of the township. Jean's sister Anna married a local farm worker, but the only brother to marry a local was Rob, who married Dorothy Sheppard from Hakataramea Township. Her father had been a musterer. At the end of 1982, Dorothy had a brother who lived in Kurow, another brother who lived in Hakataramea Township and a cousin living in Otekaike.

The Russell brothers had a variety of occupations between them, all of them within the Kurow district: farm worker, teamster, rabbiter, shearer, shearing contractor, truck driver, taxi proprietor, hairdresser, barman, council employee and school bus driver. At one stage, two of the brothers, Rob and George, had smallholdings in the district - one in Otekaike and the other in Hakataramea Valley - and another brother, Stewart, took over the family dairy farm in Otekaike for a while before selling out to a Duntroon farmer. Stewart, too, was living with his wife in the sub-division at the end of 1982. They lived three houses down from Stewart's sister Jean Gard. One of Stewart's sons, a local truck driver, was married to a Kurow teacher, and they were living just across the street from his parents. Stewart's other two sons were local musterers. One was single and lived at home, the other was married and was living elsewhere in the district. Les and Jean Gard also had married sons living locally, one was an agricultural contractor in Hakataramea Township and the other was a company representative in Kurow.

The kinship connections within this sub-division were further complicated, however, by the fact that between the Gards and the Russells lived a retired Wharekuri runholder, Max Croft,

and his wife Esther. Max was a newcomer to the district, while Esther's family, the Hoggs, had been local farm workers. Their son Richard was married to a Gard, a niece of Les Gard and Olive Smith. Kinship linkages were therefore a pervasive feature in a district such as this, especially among families connected with farming or manual work.[37]

Of the 368 households in the Kurow district at the end of 1982, 216 (59%) had kin, up to and including first cousins, living in other households in the district.[38] The distribution of kinship density by locality is shown in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 : Household Kinship Density, 1982

LOCALITY	Households With Kin		Households Without Kin		TOTAL
Kurow	74	51%	72	49%	146
Kurow Vicinity	21	75%	7	25%	28
Otiake	21	71%	10	29%	31
Otekaike	16	53%	14	47%	30
Wharekuri	6	50%	6	50%	12
NORTH OTAGO	138	56%	109	44%	247
Haka Township	14	67%	7	33%	21
Mount Parker	10	83%	2	17%	12
Waitangi	1	33%	2	67%	3
Haka Valley	37	71%	15	29%	52
Cattle Creek	16	48%	17	52%	33
SOUTH CANT	78	64%	43	36%	121
TOTAL	216	59%	152	41%	368

It will be seen from this table that kinship density was fairly high among households throughout the district. With the exception of two localities (Waitangi and Cattle Creek), more

than half the households had kin living elsewhere in the district. The variation in kinship density by occupational group is shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 : Kinship Density by Occupational Groups, 1982

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	Households With Kin		Households Without Kin		TOTAL
Farmer	81	69%	36	31%	117
Business	18	46%	22	54%	40
Farm Manager	0	0%	2	100%	2
White Collar	10	21%	38	79%	48
Farm Manual	26	61%	18	39%	44
Other Manual	23	58%	17	42%	40
Non-Occupational	58	74%	19	26%	77
TOTAL	216	59%	152	41%	368

These figures show that kinship density was greatest among farmer, business and manual households. The high proportion of non-occupational households with kin in the district is attributable to the fact that so many of them contained either retired farmers or retired farm workers who had been in the district for some time, and this further confirms the link between farm-related occupations and kinship connections in the district.[39]

From these tables, it would be expected that kinship density would be high among the adults in the district, and this was the case. Of the 760 adults in the district at the end of 1982, 455 (60%) had kin living in other households in the district. The proportion was slightly higher for women (61%), than for men (59%).

Kin can be of two types, however - consanguineal (blood) and affinal (in-laws). Table 4.12 shows the difference between men and women in this regard.[40]

Table 4.12 : Consanguineal and Affinal Kin, 1982

	Consanguineal Kin in District		Affinal Kin in District	
Adult Males	172	45%	184	48%
Adult Females	111	32%	176	51%
TOTAL	283	37%	360	49%

Men were more likely than women to have consanguineal (blood) kin in the district, but the opposite was the case for affinal (in-law) kin. It seems reasonable to suggest that this was an outcome of the patrilocal marriage system. Except in that minority of cases where a local woman marries a local man, local women tend to leave the district on marriage, and so there will be proportionately fewer women than men with local "blood" kinship ties. Likewise, since there will be a relatively higher proportion of women who marry "into" the district, and hence marry into a network of kin, the proportion of women with affinal kin in the district will be high.

This patrilocality is quite consistent, of course, with the fact that this is a farming district and hence, among farming families at least, retaining a family presence on the land will be deemed to be important. Allied to this is an impartible

inheritance system that favours male offspring and this has the obvious implication that it will be a son who remains on the land rather than a daughter.[41] This helps to explain why a higher proportion of men than women have consanguineal kin in the district but the pattern of patrilocality is not restricted solely to farming families. It is also found among some non-farming families.

CONTINUITY PROFILE

In attempting to explore the extent of continuity within the district, historical reconstruction was found to be invaluable. While it was not possible to establish with accuracy when every person came to the district or left it,[42] or when households were formed or dissolved,[43] it was at least practicable to establish whether they were in the district during the previous periods being covered in the study, i.e. 1965, 1950 etc.[44] Applying this procedure to the households and individuals who were in the district at the end of 1982 provides a continuity profile as shown in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13 : Continuity of Households and Individuals, 1982

	Households		Individuals	
CONTINUITY	N	%	N	%
There in 1982	368	100%	1171	100%
There in 1965	126	34%	398	34%
There in 1950	60	16%	229	20%
There in 1935	7	2%	112	10%
There in 1920	0	0%	43	4%
There in 1905	0	0%	7	1%

Of the 368 district households at the end of 1982, 34% of them had been there since 1965, and 16% had been there since 1950. The earliest that any household had been in the district was 1935 and this applied to only seven households (2%). The continuity profile for individuals was very similar. Thirty-four percent of the people who were living in the district at the end of 1982 had been there since 1965, 20% since 1950, 10% since 1935, 4% since 1920 and 1% since 1905. One-third of the 1982 population were school children or pre-schoolers, however, and hence could not be expected to have been in the district for very long. A more representative continuity profile is therefore obtained if we consider only the adults. This is done in Table 4.14 where the difference in continuity between men and women is also shown.

Table 4.14 : Continuity of Adults, 1982

	Males		Females		TOTAL	
CONTINUITY	N	%	N	%	N	%
There in 1982	395	100%	365	100%	760	100%
There in 1965	224	57%	165	45%	389	51%
There in 1950	143	36%	86	24%	229	30%
There in 1935	72	18%	40	11%	112	15%
There in 1920	26	7%	17	5%	43	6%
There in 1905	2	1%	5	1%	7	1%

These figures show that men have a greater persistence rate in the district than do women. The proportion of 1982 men who were in the district relative to each of the periods listed is greater than that for women, with the exception of the

earliest period, 1905.[45] Looked at overall, though, these figures seem to show a relatively high turnover of population in the district. Half the 1982 adults were not in the district at the end of 1965 and over two-thirds were not there in 1950.[46]

The historical reconstruction exercise also allowed us to determine each individual's status in terms of generation within the district,[47] and this too seemed to indicate a relatively high turnover of population insofar as 64% of the 1982 adults would be considered to be only first-generation in the district - see Table 4.15.

Table 4.15 : Generational Status of Adults, 1982

	Males		Females		TOTAL	
GENERATION	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st Generation	213	54%	270	74%	483	64%
2nd Generation	49	13%	23	6%	72	9%
3rd Generation	69	18%	39	11%	108	14%
4th Generation	59	15%	26	7%	85	11%
5th Generation	5	1%	7	2%	12	2%
TOTAL	395	100%	365	100%	760	100%

Again, however, there is evidence here of greater continuity among men than women. Forty-six percent of the men were second generation or more in the district, as compared with only 26% of the women. This issue of generational continuity leads us on to the important distinction that can be made in a district such as this between locals and non-locals.

SETTLER STATUS

In rural districts, the issue of continuity is generally linked to the distinction between "locals" and "non-locals". In the sociological literature this distinction has been expressed in terms such as "local" and "cosmopolitan".[48] Here, the criterion has been taken to be the individual's "focus of interest" rather than his or her "length of residence" or "origins". The focus of the local's interests was taken to be localised and hence "inward-oriented", the cosmopolitan's was seen as being more extra-local and hence "outward-oriented".[49] While this issue of "orientation" is a significant one, our main attention for the moment will be restricted to how length of residence and origins provide a basis for distinguishing between "locals" and "non-locals" in the Kurow district.

Locals

The local/non-local distinction in a rural district such as Kurow is "caste-like". To be a local means to have been born in the district, and therefore a person who was not born in the district can never become "a local", no matter how long they have lived there. In the course of an interview with a man who was a local, the discussion turned to his sister's husband who had come into the Kurow district some sixty years previously as a fourteen year old and who had lived and worked in the district ever since. When asked whether this brother-in-law would be considered a local, the informant paused, thought for a moment and then replied, "I guess you could near enough call him a local". The point of significance, of course, is that "near enough" was not

quite the "real thing" - even after sixty years. Numerous other instances could be cited that further substantiate the point that "local" and "non-local" are caste-categories in a district like this.[50]

Some caveats are in order, though. In the first place, the "origin" criterion is locality-specific. Within a district such as Kurow, a person who is considered to be a local in one locality will not necessarily be accorded the same status in another locality.[51] For instance, a farmer who had been born and raised in one locality in the Kurow district and then moved onto a farm in another locality reported a neighbour commenting to him some time later "but you're not really a local, though, are you". And this, despite the fact that he had been on his farm for nearly thirty years. A farmer's wife reported a similar situation when she married into her husband's locality. When she offered to provide flowers for a social function, she was told that would not be appropriate since it was one of the "locals" who normally did this. The woman in question came from a second-generation farming family in another of the district's localities. For the purpose of the following discussion, however, such subtleties will be ignored, and all "locals" will be treated as local to the Kurow district, irrespective of their locality of origin.

It should be appreciated, however, that not all people who are born in the district are automatically considered to be locals. At a committee luncheon in the district in 1982, a woman's claims to be a local were not supported by other people there. The woman had recently come back to the district with her

husband to take over a local business, and her claim to local status was based on the fact that she had been born in the district during the 1930s and had spent most of her childhood there prior to leaving when her father moved jobs. The flaw in her claim, however, related to the fact that her parents had been "hydro people" at Lake Waitaki. From the locals' point of view, hydro people may have been "in" the district geographically, but they were not "of" the district socially, hence the refusal to acknowledge her claims to local status. This clearly highlights two things: first, the problematic status of children, and second, the significance of the parents' status.

Determining whether or not a pre-school child, or even a school child, is a "local" - especially when born in the district to non-local parents - is fraught with difficulties.[52] The following rules of thumb seem to apply.[53] Children of acknowledged locals - whether mother or father or both - are themselves acknowledged to be locals even if they leave the district and then come back. However, children of non-locals are acknowledged to be locals only if they were born in the district to parents who were considered to be part of the district, and only when they are adults and have lived in the district all their lives. The issue of the parents' status in the district is obviously a crucial determinant in this, and to understand the dimensions to this we need to move on to differentiate between two types of non-locals - transients and newcomers.[54]

Transients

Ask local informants who the transients are in a rural district and the listings will be fairly similar - the doctor, the headmaster, teachers, the minister, the postmaster, the bank manager, the stock agent, the policeman and so on. By implication, the spouses and adult families of these people would also be included in the transient category, and it would not be unrealistic to suggest that the "transient spouse" will invariably be female.[55] By and large, then, transients will be seen as being professional people (and their spouses and families) in career occupations. To this extent, the expectation within the district is that their stay will not be a permanent one. Some may stay longer than others, but their presence in the district will be regarded as nothing more than a stage in a career path that brought them to the district and will inevitably take them away.[56]

Not all transients in a rural district will fall into the "professional" category, however, for farm workers also come and go. Some, such as shearers, will be seasonal workers, but a reasonable turnover is also expected among farm-hands and "married couples". This would also make them "transients" in the eyes of the locals.[57]

Having distinguished between professional and non-professional transients, we also need to appreciate that, from the perspective of locals, another differentiation of significance relates to "legitimate" and "non-legitimate" transients. Locals need someone to teach their children, they need someone to take care of their mail and their money, they

need someone to keep the peace, and they need someone to officiate at their daughter's marriage and their grandmother's funeral. They also need someone to shear their sheep and do their farm work. Thus, the people who meet these and other needs will be regarded as being "legitimate" transients.[58] What they do not need, however, are government bureaucrats to tell them how to run their farms, conserve their soil or manage their water. Neither do they need people building hydro dams on their doorsteps or imposing other public works projects on the environment. Thus, people engaged in such activities will be regarded by the locals as being "non-legitimate" transients and hence will be viewed with a measure of distaste.[59]

Newcomers

A distinction can be drawn, however, between the relative positions within the district of the newly "bought-in" farmer or businessman and the newly "arrived" minister, headmaster, doctor, etc. The former group are newcomers and they can be expected to have a greater commitment to the local district insofar as they have assets invested locally - either in a business or in land.[60] This assumes, of course, that the farmer or businessman in question has "bought in" to the district in good faith and does not intend to leave after exploiting either the residents or the land.[61] The land that is acquired, however, need not be as substantial as a farm. A residential smallholding in a rural locality or a house and section in one of the settlements would be ample qualification for inclusion in the "newcomer" category.[62] Three main categories of newcomers,

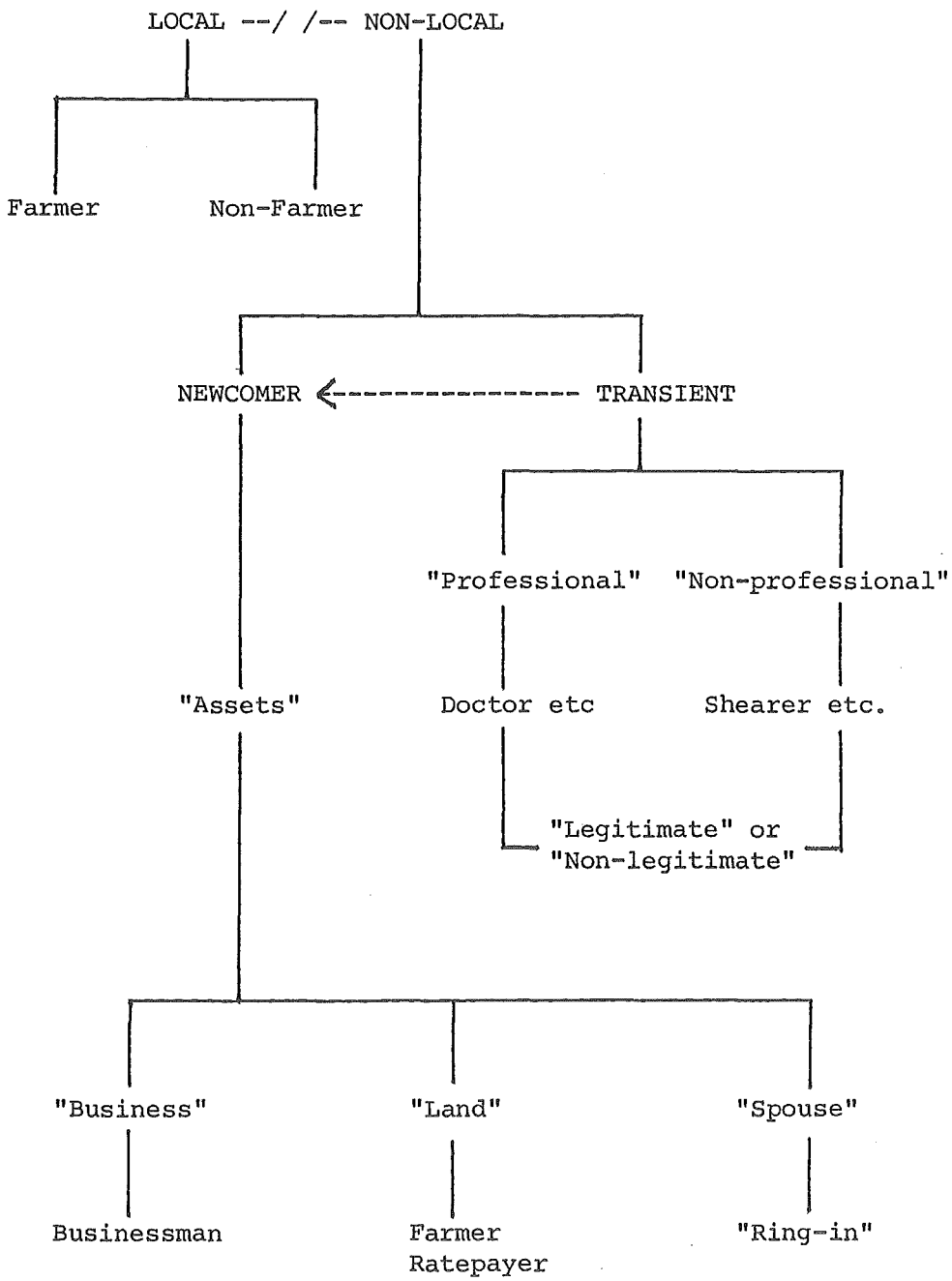
then, are "outsiders" who are farmers, businessman or ratepayers. Again, as with transients, their spouses and adult families would be put in the same category.

Not only are there newcomers who have "bought in" to the district but there will also be newcomers who have "married in", insofar as they have married locals. These will be referred to as "ring-ins".[63] The nature of the invested "assets" will differ between these two groups, of course, but there is still some relevance in considering them together. A key difference that will exist between them, however, is that the first group of newcomers (those who have "bought in") will be predominantly male, while the second group (those who have "married in") will be predominantly female.[64]

The dividing line between "newcomer" and "transient" is not as clear-cut as might be imagined, however. Between them is a continuum that allows for the transition from transient to newcomer status. The mere passage of time is not by itself a sufficient criterion for the transition, however. Of greater importance is the acquisition of "assets" in the local area - either a house, a smallholding, a farm or a spouse who is a local. Allied to this is the establishment of a network of friends in the local area that extends beyond the transient group. Being involved in a range of community activities, clubs or organisations would also help. As should be clear from the earlier discussion, however, any transition from non-local to local would be impossible. The broad outline of the discussion so far is summarised in Diagram 4.2.

DIAGRAM 4.2

LOCALS, NEWCOMERS AND TRANSIENTS



When we apply these categories to the 760 adults who were living in the district at the end of 1982, we find that 36% of them were locals, 46% were newcomers and the other 18% were transients - see Table 4.16.

Table 4.16 : Settler Status of Adults, 1982

SETTLER STATUS	Male N	Male %	Female N	Female %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
Local	182	46%	95	26%	277	36%
Newcomer	143	36%	208	57%	351	46%
Transient	70	18%	62	17%	132	18%
TOTAL	395	100%	365	100%	760	100%

Proportionately more males than females were locals (46% to 26%), while the opposite was true with regard to newcomers (57% of females but only 36% of males). This can be explained to a large extent by the patrilocality of the local marriage system. Local men tend to remain in the district after marriage, whereas local women, unless they marry local men, will tend to marry "out" of the district. Women from outside the district who married local men, would fall into the "ring-in" newcomer category mentioned earlier.[65]

Our earlier perception of the degree of transiency in the population changes, however, when we view this issue against the local/non-local categorisation. Given our previous discussion, it would be expected that there would be significant variations

in continuity/transiency between the three "settler-status" categories identified and the data in Table 4.17 bear this out.

Table 4.17 : Continuity by Settler Status, 1982

	Locals		Newcomers		Transients		TOTAL	
CONTINUITY	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
There in 1982	277	100%	351	100%	132	100%	760	100%
There in 1965	264	95%	125	36%	0	0%	389	51%
There in 1950	170	61%	59	17%	0	0%	229	30%
There in 1935	101	37%	11	3%	0	0%	112	15%
There in 1920	41	15%	2	1%	0	0%	43	6%
There in 1905	7	3%	0	0%	0	0%	7	1%

The data in this table clearly show that our earlier perception of transiency in the district needs to be qualified. The picture that emerges here is one of high turnover on the periphery (transients), moderate turnover at the intermediate level (newcomers) and relative stability at the core (locals).

The telling factor in the data in Table 4.17 is that well over one-third of the adult locals in the district at the end of 1982 had been living in the district since at least 1935, while the equivalent figure for newcomers was only 3%. A comparison of local and newcomer figures for the intermediate years of 1950 and 1965 reveals a similar marked discrepancy in favour of locals.[66] The figures for the transient group stand up to no comparison whatsoever in this regard. None of them had been in the district since 1965.[67]

Of the seven locals who had been in the district since 1905, five were women and two were men. We commented earlier on who they were.[68] The earliest that any newcomers had been in the district was from the 1920 period. There were two people in this category. One was a retired farm worker who had come to the district in 1916 and subsequently married a local farmer's daughter. The other was a shepherd's daughter whose mother died during the 1918 flu epidemic and who was then left in the care of a local family. She married a local shepherd, the brother of one of the local women mentioned above, and they subsequently acquired a farm in the district.

What we seem to detect here in reviewing the background to these locals and newcomers is a linkage between continuity and family involvement in farming. This is an area that needs to be explored further.

CONTINUITY AND FARMING

When we consider the occupations of adult males in terms of the "settler-status" categories, we find that 76% of male locals were in farm-related occupations with all but 17% of these being either farmers, retired farmers or farmer's sons working for their fathers (see Table 4.18). There was, however, a relatively high proportion of local males who were manual workers. This is a point to which I shall return later.

In comparison with the locals, the newcomers were split almost equally between the farm-related and non-farm-related categories (46% to 54%), whereas the occupational distribution of transients was more heavily weighted in favour of non-farm occupations (63% to 37%).

Table 4.18 : Occupation by Settler Status - Adult Males, 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Local N	Local %	Newcomer N	Newcomer %	Transient N	Transient %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
Farmer	76	42%	41	29%	0	0%	117	30%
Retired Farmer	16	9%	3	2%	0	0%	19	5%
Son working for Farmer Father	17	9%	3	2%	0	0%	20	5%
Other Farm Worker	21	12%	12	8%	26	37%	59	15%
Retired Farm Worker	9	5%	6	4%	0	0%	15	4%
FARM RELATED	139	76%	65	46%	26	37%	230	58%
Business	11	6%	31	22%	0	0%	42	11%
White Collar	7	4%	13	9%	31	44%	51	13%
Non-farm Manual	21	12%	17	12%	12	17%	50	12%
Other Retired	4	2%	17	12%	1	1%	22	6%
NON-FARM RELATED	43	24%	78	54%	44	63%	165	42%
TOTAL	182	100%	143	100%	70	100%	395	100%

The main points of significance to emerge from this data are the high proportions of locals that were in the farmer and manual categories; the high proportions of newcomers that were in the farmer, manual and other proprietor categories; and the high proportion of transients that were in the manual and non-manual categories.

Sixty-five percent of the district's farmers were locals; 74% of business men were newcomers; and 61% of white collar workers were transients. This might be expected, but 46% of farm workers were locals as were 42% of the manual non-farm workers.

Given the small proportion of the district's adult females who were in paid employment at the end of 1982 (either full-time or part-time), a similar consideration of "local-status" in the light of occupation would be much less meaningful for them. By and large, Kurow is a fairly traditional society dominated by traditional values, and a significant part of a woman's status therefore derives either from her husband's occupation (if she is married) or from her father's occupation (if she is single). No matter how much this might be decried in the light of more cosmopolitan values, it has a reality for local people that can not be ignored. I shall return to this issue later in the chapter.

If we take a look now at how long males in these respective farm and non-farm categories had been in the district we find, not surprisingly, that there is a stronger pattern of continuity within the farm-related group than within the non-farm-related group - see Table 4.19.

Table 4.19 : Continuity - Farm and Non-Farm Males, 1982

	Farm-Related		Non-Farm-Related		TOTAL	
CONTINUITY	N	%	N	%	N	%
There in 1982	230	100%	165	100%	395	100%
There in 1965	161	70%	63	38%	224	57%
There in 1950	102	44%	40	24%	143	36%
There in 1935	55	24%	17	10%	72	18%
There in 1920	25	11%	1	1%	26	7%
There in 1905	2	1%	0	0%	2	1%

The contrast before 1965 is the striking one insofar as a much higher proportion of the farm-related males had been in the district from that time.

If we ignore for the moment the continuity of some farm workers in the district, these data tend to point to the fact that farmers and their families have a stronger record of continuity in the district than do other occupational groups.

This impression is reinforced by the "generational" status of the district's children - see Table 4.20.

Table 4.20 : Generational Status of Children, 1982

	School		Pre-school		TOTAL	
GENERATION	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st Generation	136	42%	32	36%	168	41%
2nd Generation	47	15%	6	7%	53	13%
3rd Generation	27	8%	9	10%	36	9%
4th Generation	54	17%	26	29%	80	19%
5th Generation	56	17%	14	16%	70	17%
6th Generation	1	0%	3	3%	4	1%
TOTAL	321	100%	90	100%	411	100%

Just over 40% of the children were first generation in the district. If we consider the occupational background of these children's fathers, we find that the group with the lowest proportion of children who were first generation was the farmer group. Only 15% of farmers' children were first generation in the district while the equivalent proportions for other groups was as follows: business, 38%; non-farm manual, 52%; farm manual, 56%; and white collar, 78%.

The link between continuity and farming can also be established by looking at aspects of the backgrounds of the men and women who in 1982 would be considered to be "locals" within the district. As we saw before, 182 men and 95 women fitted into this category, and Tables 4.21 and 4.22 provide information on the occupational status of the men, the marital status of the women and the occupational background of both sets of fathers.

Table 4.21 : Occupational Status and Father's Occupation - Adult Male Locals, 1982

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	FATHER'S OCCUPATION			
	Farmer	Non-Farmer	TOTAL	
Farmer	74	2	76	42%
Working for Farmer father	17	-	17	9%
Retired farmer	13	3	16	9%
Non-farmer	21	52	73	40%
TOTAL	125 (69%)	57 (31%)	182	100%

The data in Table 4.21 show that 60% of the adult males who were locals at the end of 1982 were connected directly with farming - either as farmers, retired farmers or farmers' sons working for their fathers - and that 69% of these same men owed their status as locals to the fact that their fathers had been farmers in the district before them.[69] Since all but 52 of these local males (29%) had a direct connection with farming - either through family links or personal involvement - there appears to be a significant link between continuity in the district and farming as an occupation.

Bearing in mind earlier comments about the bases for a woman's status within a district such as this, we find a somewhat similar picture with regard to the females who were locals - see Table 4.22.

Table 4.22 : Marital Status and Father's Occupation - Adult Female Locals, 1982

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION		
MARITAL STATUS	Farmer	Non-Farmer	TOTAL
Farmer's wife	19	11	30 32%
Non-farmer's wife	7	26	33 34%
Single	16	16	32 34%
TOTAL	42 (44%)	53 (56%)	95 100%

Thirty-two percent of these women were married to district farmers, while 44% of them owed their local status to the fact that their fathers had previously been farmers in the district. This also tends to suggest that there is a strong connection between farming and continuity.

There are, however, 31% of the local males and 56% of the local females who were not originally from farming families. We noticed earlier the high proportion of manual workers who were in the "local" category, and this is probably related. How are we to account for this persistence?

The attachments of these people may have been to such things as locale, life-style and occupation. When we investigate the background to these "non-farming" local families, however, we

discover that thirty-five of the males owned residential sections in Kurow or Hakataramea Townships, six of the males owned rural smallholdings, two of the females owned land in their own right, the fathers of forty of the females had owned sections in either Kurow or Hakataramea Townships and the fathers of six of the females had owned rural smallholdings. It is not difficult to conclude from this that intergenerational continuity in a district like this is linked to occupation because of the mediating significance of property ownership.

CONTINUITY AND LAND OWNERSHIP

A detailed consideration of district land will be presented in the next chapter. For the moment, it will be sufficient merely to distinguish between three main categories of land in the district: farms, rural smallholdings and residential sections in the townships. The distribution of land ownership by occupational groups at the end of 1982 is shown in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23 : Land Ownership by Occupational Groups, 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Farm	Small Holding	Town Section	None	TOTAL
Farmer	111	3	0	3	117
Farmer's Son	0	0	0	20	20
Farm Worker	0	5	4	50	59
Business	0	12	27	3	42
White Collar	0	6	5	40	51
Non-Farm Manual	0	4	17	29	50
Retired	1	22	28	5	56
TOTAL	112	52	81	150	395

Sixty-two percent of the adult males owned land of some sort in the district, the overwhelming proportions of these being farmers, businessmen or men who were retired. Ninety-seven percent of the district's farmers owned land as did 93% of the businessmen and 89% of the retired males. The three "farmers" who owned smallholdings were sons working for farmer-fathers about to retire, likewise the three farmers who owned no land. The three "businessmen" were self-employed local tradesmen still living with their parents.

Thirty-eight percent of the adult males in 1982 owned no land whatsoever in the district, and of these, approximately one-third were farm-workers and another third were white collar workers. The white collar workers were transients, so their low ownership rate is understandable. Some of the farm workers would also have been transients, but the different ownership pattern between farm workers and non-farm manual workers is interesting: a much lower proportion of farm workers owned land than did non-farm manual workers, and this is no doubt the result of farm workers tending to live in "tied-houses".

In extending this to consider the possible linkage between continuity and the ownership of land, our expectation, of course, is that males whose families have had some connection with property in the district - whether as farmers, business-people or ratepayers - will tend on average to be the ones who have lived longest in the district and who are therefore more than second generation in the district. Table 4.24 gives an indication of the relative persistence in the district through time of land-owning groups.

Table 4.24 : Continuity by Land Ownership, 1982

CONTINUITY	Farm	Small Holding	Town Section	None	TOTAL
There in 1982	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
There in 1965	77%	65%	64%	35%	57%
There in 1950	55%	52%	51%	10%	36%
There in 1935	25%	27%	31%	3%	18%
There in 1920	7%	15%	12%	0%	7%
There in 1905	0%	2%	1%	0%	1%
TOTAL	112	52	81	150	395

This confirms the link between land-owning and continuity: men who owned land had been in the district much longer on average than men who did not. In terms of its implications for inter-generational continuity, however, i.e., continuity of families through time in the district, this requires some qualification. Table 4.25 addresses the issue of inter-generational continuity within these land-owning groups and it will be seen from this that 65% of farm-owners were at least second generation in the district, while the equivalent proportions for the smallholding and township section owners were only 40% and 43% respectively. Again, however, it should be noted that 35% of those males who owned no land in the district were at least second generation in the district.

Table 4.25 : Generation by Land-owning Category, 1982

GENERATION	Farm	Small Holding	Town Section	None	TOTAL
1st Generation	39	31	46	97	213
2nd Generation	17	8	9	15	49
3rd Generation	32	12	17	8	69
4th Generation	23	1	8	27	59
5th Generation	1	0	1	3	5
TOTAL	112	52	81	150	395

This discussion is rounded off by considering land ownership in relation to "settler status" - see Table 4.26. Given, however, that the local and non-local categories are linked to the issue of generation (non-locals being first generation, locals being second generation or more), the figures in Table 4.26 match those in Table 4.25.

Table 4.26 : Land Ownership by Settler Status, 1982

SETTLER STATUS	Farm	Small Holding	Town Section	None	TOTAL
Local	73	21	35	53	182
Newcomer	39	31	46	27	143
Transient	0	0	0	70	70
TOTAL	112	52	81	150	395

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide some contemporary background to the Kurow district. Differentiating the localities within the district served to highlight the fact that the focus of the study is on the townships and rural localities within the district and that the population in the hydro villages and in Campbell Park Special School in Otekaike are outside the scope of the study. In taking a preliminary look at the numbers of people who have lived in the district since 1878, three things were noted. First, the number of people living in the settled localities has varied little through time. Second, there has been quite considerable consistency in the numbers of people living in the district's two provincial segments through time. Third, the proportion of the district's population living in Kurow Township and its immediate vicinity has also remained fairly constant through time.

At the end of 1982 there were 1,171 people living in this district, in 368 households. The distribution of population and households between the townships and the rural localities was seen to be practically equal, although the average size of households was slightly higher in the rural localities. Two factors were identified as having had a significant impact on the contemporary population structure of the district: the number of retired and single adult households living in the settlements and the preponderance of family farms in the rural sector.

In terms of occupational structure, it was noted that the majority of the adult male workforce were in farm-related occupations with farmers themselves comprising just over a third

of that work-force, while the majority of the adult females were housewives. Kinship density within the district was seen to be quite high, particularly among farm households. Farming was also seen to be linked quite markedly to the length of time that households had been in the district.

In laying a basis for the discussion of continuity, a distinction was drawn between locals and non-locals, one significant way in which issues of continuity receive expression among people within this rural district. The determining criterion related not to how long an individual had been in the district, but whether or not the individual had been born and brought up in the district. Just over a third of the adult population living in the district at the end of 1982 could be classified as "locals". The majority of these were males (by a ratio of two to one), a consequence of patrilocality and an impartible inheritance system that favours males.

Two categories of non-locals were identified - newcomers and transients - depending on whether or not they held "assets" in the district. Three types of "asset" were identified - land, a business or a spouse - and the possibility was recognised of a transient being able to acquire one or more of these and hence make the transition to becoming a newcomer. Just under half of the 1982 adults could be categorised as "newcomers" with the other 20% being "transients".

Data from historical reconstruction confirmed that levels of continuity were highest among locals and lowest among transients, with newcomers being somewhere in between. This was the case both in terms of the relative lengths of time that

people from the different categories had been in the district and in terms of intergenerational continuity. The significance to this of farming as an occupation was found to be strong, but of much much greater significance was the factor of the ownership of land.

However, just under a third of the adult male locals owned no land in the district whatsoever, demonstrating that to be a local does not necessarily carry with it the implication of prestige. Many locals came from humble origins and still live in humble circumstances. Locals are not a homogeneous group with a clear-cut identity. There is differentiation within the category and the ownership or non-ownership of different categories of land would be one significant basis for differentiation.

Having identified the significance that the ownership of land has in relation to continuity we turn now to a more detailed consideration of land ownership and land-use within the district.

FOOTNOTES

1. The present tense in this section relates to 1982 when the field work for the project was completed. The material in this section (up to Table 4.1) originally appeared on pages 18-26 of Hall et al (1983).

2. In 1980, for example, the company's accounts showed that 30% of revenue was generated from Upper Waitaki hydro cartage contracts, as opposed to only 17% from livestock cartage. The rest of the revenue came from general cartage, the sale of gravel, sand, lime and superphosphate and renting out machines and trucks (Volume 1, Number 6 of the in-house magazine).

3. In line with rural trends elsewhere some erosion of services has taken place in Kurow. Since 1982 the railway station has been closed and the activities of the catchment commission scaled down.

4. There was a resident Anglican minister in Kurow from the 1890s through to the mid-1960s but there was never a resident Catholic priest. Shortly after 1982 another religious group was formed in the district. This was a charismatic fellowship that developed around a few families who had formerly been Presbyterians.

5. The locality was originally settled in two stages - Tahawai Settlement in 1894 and Kurow Settlement in 1908. Strictly speaking, the name Paddy's Flat applies only to this former settlement.

6. In the early 1980s there was also an Electricity Department work camp set up in Paddy's Flat. This was to house men who were to work on a power line extension below Kurow. With the abandonment of the Aramoana aluminium project, however, the work was suspended and the camp never used.

7. It was pointed out in the Preface that Kurow is an English-corruption of the Maori word "Te Kohurau". Local folklore also links the name, however, to Jacob Lundon, who lived in Kurow in the 1890s. Lundon was a Pole who had been born in Kurow in Poland and it is claimed that it was he who gave the name to the North Otago township, in commemoration of his Polish birthplace.

8. This locality around Kurow Township does not have a given-name so it will be referred to as Kurow Vicinity. It basically comprised Awakino and a valley behind Kurow known as Digger's Gully, but at times in the following chapters it will also be taken to include Paddy's Flat, Kurow Settlement and Kurow Creek.

9. Details of the settlement of Otekaike Station will be provided in Chapter 9.

10. This orientation to Duntroon on the part of some Otekaike households is a reflection of two main factors. First of all, Otekaike is in the Duntroon Presbyterian parish and secondly its telephones are linked to the Oamaru toll area which means that telephone calls to Kurow are not free.

11. When Otekaike Station was settled in 1908, Robert Campbell's homestead was too large to be taken over by any of the settlers. It was therefore used to house a training facility for delinquent boys - see Chapter 9.

12. One informant who had lived with his family in Aviemore Village in the mid-1970s commented on this as follows: "We were very isolated there. Kurow itself was never mentioned. It was the sort of place you only went to to pick up your supplies on a Friday afternoon. We had very little contact with it. In fact, in the three years we were there, there would only have been three of us involved in Kurow out of the whole of Aviemore Village."

13. Waitaki hydro was opened in 1934, Benmore in 1965 and Aviemore 1968. The lakes that formed behind these dams were eight square miles, thirty square miles and eleven square miles respectively.

14. Access to Waitangi and Te Akatarawa was originally gained from Wharekuri via William Cain's ferry. After Cain's ferry closed in 1890, an access road from Hakataramea was cut across the cliffs above the Waitaki River. Because of its precarious nature, this road was known locally as The Slip Road. Construction of the Waitaki Dam (1928-1934) rendered the Slip Road unusable and so a bridge was constructed further upriver. This was opened in 1935 but construction of the Aviemore Dam eventually rendered it unusable too. To replace it, the Aviemore Dam was built with an access road across the top of it.

15. The origins of the name "Wharekuri" are unclear. In the early 1850s there was a Maori chief named "Warekorari" who had a kaika at Hakataramea and "Wharekuri" may be a corruption of his name. The Maori word "Wharekuri" literally means "house of the dog", however, and since the name was originally applied to the accommodation house that stood there, this seems a strange choice of name. A photograph from the late 1880s, however, reveals the name of the accommodation house to be "Wharekauri" (house of kauri wood). This would have made more sense. To confuse matters even further, however, the locality appeared in the 1891 and 1896 censuses as "Wharekini".

16. Despite the fact that the name Wharekuri has fallen into disuse locally, it will still be used here for ease of reference.

17. According to Stevenson (1947:56), the name "Hakataramea" (dancing spear-grass) commemorates a Maori dance which took

place near the mouth of the Hakataramea River. The dancers wore sachets filled with a sweet scented gum extracted from the flower stalks of the taramea (spear-grass). See also Roberts (1913:101).

18. It was not just travellers who overlooked the Hakataramea Valley. Some district residents did too. During fieldwork in 1982, I took two men up the valley to show them where an ancestor had held a plot of land in the 1890s. One of these two men had actually worked for three years during the 1930s at Waitaki hydro and yet he knew nothing of the Hakataramea Valley.

19. When the railway line into the district was constructed in the late 1870s, there had been plans to extend it up the Hakataramea Valley and through the pass into the Mackenzie Country. It had been supposed, in fact, that the valley would be able to support a population of about 10,000 people as a result of this. As with many idealistic notions in that era, however, the plan never came to fruition although the railway line was at least surveyed to Maungatiro, twenty kilometres up the valley where a settlement was also surveyed. The settlement was a pipe-dream, too. The link to the MacKenzie Country was a sufficiently obvious one, though, that at least one author asserted that MacKenzie the sheep stealer used the pass to travel down through the Hakataramea Valley on his way south (see Ayson, 1889, page 45).

20. In 1968 Hakataramea Station was 10,000 hectares in size but it had been larger than this. When the New Zealand and Australian Land Company first took it over, the boundaries of Hakataramea Station ran from the bottom of the Hakataramea Valley to Burke's Pass in the Mackenzie country and comprised almost 200,000 acres (80,000 hectares).

21. At the time, this was a fairly contentious issue within the district and it is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 13.

22. This issue of outsiders buying up property for holiday homes is a matter of some concern to the people of Kurow and Hakataramea Townships. Not only does it force up the price of properties but it also makes it difficult for young couples to find accommodation when they get married. The Kurow Citizens and Ratepayers' Association was sufficiently concerned about the issue that they prepared a special report on the situation in 1978.

23. Mount Parker was the name of the last property in the district on the road to Waimate in South Canterbury and this is the name which will be used to refer to the locality situated between Station Peak (just downriver from Hakataramea Township) and Mount Parker itself.

24. Unless otherwise stated, the tables in this and following chapters have been generated from fieldwork data. It will be noted from this table that the term "children" is being

applied to people who are either at school (whether primary or secondary) or are pre-schoolers. This term will be applied consistently in this way in similar tables in later chapters.

25. A comment from one informant was instructive in this regard. She was a Presbyterian elder and had to do visiting in the hydro villages every quarter as part of her pastoral responsibilities. She said that there would often be different families living in the houses when she went back each quarter and, by and large, they knew nothing about the background of their neighbours. It was for this reason that she referred to the hydro villages as "little chunks of the city set down in the country".

26. An entry for Kurow did appear in the 1874 census. There were thirty-eight people resident in the locality then (twenty-seven males and eleven females). Since Kurow Township was not settled for another six years or so, however, these people would have been attached to the Kurow station homestead of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company.

27. From 1926, a formal distinction was made in the census between Kurow Township and Kurow Vicinity. Prior to this, individual entries appeared for Kurow Station, Kurow Creek, or Kurow Runs and Settlement etc..

28. The census data for Hakataramea Township is very confusing. In 1886 there was an entry for Hakataramea (6 people) as well as Sandhurst (42 people); in 1891 there was an entry for Sandhurst Village (78 people) and by 1896 this had been changed to Hakataramea Town (90 people). By 1901, however, there were entries for Hakataramea Township and Vicinity (264 people) as well as Sandhurst (21 people). From the early 1920s onwards, it becomes impossible to separate out the population of the Township from other locality figures.

29. The 1982 fieldwork data match these census proportions fairly well. According to fieldwork reconstructions, 36% of the 1982 population lived in the Canterbury localities and 64% in the Otago localities while 38% lived in Kurow and its vicinity - see Table 4.1.

30. The boys attended a range of boarding schools from John McGlashan in Dunedin, to Waitaki Boys High in Oamaru and a number of schools in Christchurch (Christ College, St Andrews or St Bedes). The girls mainly attended Waitaki Girls High in Oamaru, Timaru Girls High or Rangi Ruru in Christchurch. This is commented on in more detail in Chapter 12 (see footnote 21).

31. Reasons as to why there might be more female children than male in the district will be discussed in a later chapter - see the discussion of Table 12.3 in Chapter 12.

32. These figures have been calculated from data in Table 4.1.

33. This does not mean, however, that Kurow has become a place to which outsiders retire. On the contrary, remarkably few of the retired people in Kurow were outsiders to the district before they came to live there. The vast majority of them are either locals who have been brought up in the district or newcomers who chose to stay.

34. See Appendix 2 for details of the occupational classification scheme used in the study.

35. The female data has not been displayed in a similar table because of the low numbers involved.

36. This sub-division was referred to locally as "Taylorville". Not all the people in the subdivision were retired. There were one or two younger couples with children and the headmaster and his wife lived there also.

37. Hence the warning given to newcomers to be careful about what was said about people to others, since they would invariably be related.

38. Determining that a family had kin in other district households was a fairly straightforward matter. Ascertaining the number of households was a much more difficult task and it was not attempted in the present circumstances. Fifty-six of these households had kin living only in other households in the same locality as themselves, sixty-six had them living in other localities only and ninety-four had them living in the same locality as well as elsewhere in the district.

39. The non-occupational households with no kin in the district were basically retired couples who had recently retired into the district.

40. Because of the immediacy of the field work situation it was possible to make this distinction for 1982. However, it was not possible to replicate it for the earlier reconstruction periods. The numbers and proportions in this table differ from earlier cited figures because people could have kin in both categories.

41. The significance that is attached to maintaining a family presence on the land receives further substantiation in those instances where this can be maintained only through a daughter. In such instances, the woman remains on the land and her spouse comes into the district if he is not a local himself. In those cases where it is the daughter who remains on the land, then the property is inevitably managed as a family trust or company, often for the benefit of subsequent children.

42. The procedures used in this study to determine continuity of individuals were an improvement on those used in other similar studies. Working from such records as street directories, other studies have been able to generate information that relates solely to adult individuals and this

has resulted in incomplete picture being drawn. Given the basic deficiencies in such records, however, it could also be argued that the profiles generated by such studies were not only incomplete but also potentially inaccurate (see Pearson, 1980:186). These deficiencies have been overcome to a great extent in this study, because they allowed the tracing of continuity of particular individuals back to childhood, where relevant.

43. In the case of family households, these were deemed to have formed when the principal partners were married (or, in the case of de facto couples, began to co-habit). They continued to be treated as a household until the death of both of the principal forming-partners. In dealing with widows or widowers, then, continuity was measured from the time that they first began living in the district with their respective spouses - assuming, that is, that they were married when they first came to the district. Quite a number of households contained people who had been born in the district and had lived in the district as children prior to marriage. In such cases, the household continuity was measured only in relation to the formation of the family of procreation. In the case of single adults living on their own, the beginning of their "household" was treated as being the time when they first began living on their own.

44. Despite the improvements in procedures used to establish continuity, deficiencies have still to be acknowledged. Recording people's presence in the district at particular points in time is unable to cope with transience between periods, e.g., when someone comes to the district immediately after one of these periods and leaves immediately before another. It is thus possible for someone who is recorded as having been in the district at only one point in time to, in fact, have been resident for anything up to twenty-nine years.

45. The over-riding problem here, however, is that there is no comparable New Zealand material against which to measure the representativeness or otherwise of this continuity data.

46. Of the five women who had been in the district since 1905, the oldest had been born in the district in 1895. Her father had owned the livery stables in Kurow at the time although he later became a sheepfarmer in the district. In 1919 she married a grandson of the first Presbyterian minister in Kurow and from then until his retirement in 1965, her husband had been the manager of a local transport company and had operated a local farm with one of their sons. The husband died in August of 1982. Of the other four women, one was a shepherd's daughter who had married a local farm worker; one was a farmer's daughter who had married a musterer; and the other two were sisters, daughters of a local farmer. Both of these sisters had themselves married local farmers and were cousins of the woman who had been born in 1895. The two men who had been in the district since 1905 were both retired

farmers. One had been the son of an Otiake farmer and the other had been the son of a Kurow carpenter. The carpenter's son was married to one of the sisters mentioned previously.

47. To be considered as second generation in the district, the individual had to have been born in the district. Children who moved to the district with their parents were considered to be first generation along with their parents.

48. See, for example, Cummings, et al. (1977); Dobriner (1964); Dye (1963); Elias and Scotson (1965); Fleming (1979); Goldberg (1965); Gouldner (1957) and (1958); Griffen and Griffen (1978); Herberg (1953); and Merton (1949) and (1968).

49. Merton described the contrast in terms of "parochialism" and "ecumenicalism" (Merton, 1968:447).

50. An informant commented: "You've got to be born here, live here and die here before you get accepted as a Kurowite". Another said: "If I lived here for twenty-five years I'd still be a foreigner and there is this tendency that if you weren't born in Kurow, you don't belong". The first informant was a Kurow businessman and the other was a professional.

51. Talking in particular of rivalries between the two townships, one informant said: "You could have been born in Hakataramea and I think they'd still take the same attitude that you're not a Kurow person". Because of this rivalry between the two townships, the Waitaki River was referred to by one informant as the river Jordan.

52. If the issue has relevance at all, then it is probably limited to relationships within the local school. By and large, however, the local/non-local distinction is one that normally has significance only when applied to adults and this is how it will be treated in subsequent discussion.

53. This was established through interviewing local people and watching how they used such words as "local" and "non-local" in informal situations.

54. One informant, who was a professional, expressed the distinction in the following way: "You've really got three groups of people. You've got the 'permanents' or the 'aborigines' if you want to call them that. You've got the 'newcomers' who have come here permanently, and you've got 'transients'." Others referred to transients as "the mobile brigade".

55. Loneliness was consistently reported as being a problem for transient wives - especially wives of professionals. For this reason, support networks became important, especially among the women. One transient's wife reported being told shortly after she arrived in Kurow that she had three options: go crazy, get into knitting, dressmaking, spinning wool etc, or have an affair.

56. This was reflected in the friendship patterns formed by transients. A transient professional commented: "People are reluctant to get friendly with you because they know you are a transient. I remember one bloke told me over a few beers that he couldn't see the point of becoming very friendly with me because I wasn't going to be here in two year's time. That set me back a bit". It's for reasons like this that socialising among transients tends to be within their own group.

57. It was often the case in referring to married couples or single farm workers during historical reconstruction interviews that informants would refer to the high turnover among them and cite this as a reason why names could not be remembered. It was not unusual to hear comments such as "they came and went like flies". Despite this, there were many instances where names could be remembered.

58. This does not mean to say, of course, that there is no conflict between locals and these "legitimate transients". A minister who tried to alter the church building, a doctor who refused to be on call 24-hours a day or a country teacher whose teaching methods were not approved of, would all come in for criticism of some sort.

59. Many of my initial field work contacts were with staff of the Catchment Commission and I was aware of the fact that such contacts needed to be played down when interacting with other people in the district, particularly farmers who did not approve of the Commission's activities. Commission staff went out of their way to be involved in local activities but I still detected this element of suspicion in relation to them.

60. Both groups will also be involved in local clubs and organisations but the transients will be viewed as being less permanents than the newcomers.

61. If such sentiment was verbalised at all, it was usually with regard to businessmen who were seen to be charging more for goods or services than it was thought they should. The paradox in the situation was that local people, by not supporting local businesses as they should, ran the risk that the local services they provided would be lost.

62. If there is any doubt as to the validity of this, then one need only consider the significance that is attached to the political status of "ratepayer" within a rural district. In the late 1970s when consideration was being given to the formation of a community council in Kurow, there were some residents who were insistent that only rate payers should be allowed to vote on the matter.

63. This is my term and not one that was used by people in the research situation. Nevertheless, its significance as a descriptive label should be obvious.

64. Of the 143 males who were newcomers at the end of 1982, only about ten of them derived this status from the fact that they had married women who were locals. The rest were newcomers because they owned land or a business.

65. Especially among farming families, such women played a significant role as "keepers" of the family's historical heritage. Since they had married into the situation, they could not take family background for granted and thus had to learn the detail. It was often the case, therefore, that they knew more about their husband's family than the husband did.

66. Males tended to have a greater level of persistence than females.

67. Fieldwork for the project was begun in December of 1977. Between then and the end of the fieldwork (December 1982) there had been the following turnover among the transients: the headmaster left and so too did the doctor; there was a new executive officer at the catchment commission and a new chief soil conservator; the policeman left and there was significant turnover among teachers and stock agents; a new bank manager arrived just before the fieldwork commenced and he was expecting to leave soon after 1982.

68. Details of who these seven locals were is provided in footnote 46 above.

69. A comment should be made in passing on the seventy-three men who were non-farmers. Of these, 10% were non-manual workers, 18% were self-employed tradesmen or businessmen, 29% were in farm-related manual jobs, 28% in non-farm-related manual jobs and 16% were retired.

CHAPTER FIVE

LAND USE AND LANDHOLDING IN THE KUROW DISTRICT

INTRODUCTION

The point was made in Chapter 2 that land has to be seen as being an important factor in influencing the patterning of social life and social relationships in rural localities. The nature of the land will determine productive capabilities, and the ebb and flow of that productive effort will set significant parameters for social activity. Not only is land a factor of production in the rural sector, however, it also represents a major concentration of capital and wealth. As such, it has to be seen as being influential in shaping patterns of inequality and political power at the local level. These issues are what we turn to next as we look at the contemporary dimensions of land use and landholding in the district.

TYPES OF RURAL PROPERTIES

At the end of 1982, there were 152 rural properties in the district, including forty-six smallholdings, four commercial orchards, sixty-seven farms, thirty sheep runs and five sheep stations.[1] They ranged in size from smallholdings of one hectare to a sheep station of 38,402 hectares.[2] Productive activity on the farms, runs and sheep stations was of three types: "Mixed" (sheep-and-cropping); "Intensive Pastoral" (finishing-breeding of sheep); and "Extensive Pastoral" (grazing of sheep).[3] The Mixed category comprised seventeen farms, the Intensive Pastoral forty-six farms and eight sheep runs, and the Extensive Pastoral twenty-two runs and all five of the sheep stations.[4] The distribution of these property types by locality is shown in Table 5.1 overleaf.

Table 5.1 : Rural Properties by Locality, 1982

LOCALITY	Small Holding	Orchard	Marginal Farm	Mixed Farm	PASTORAL Intensive	PASTORAL Extensive	TOTAL
Kurow Vicinity	17	0	1	0	2	2	22
Otiake	6	3	0	3	7	3	22
Otekaike	11	1	0	2	12	3	29
Wharekuri	2	0	1	0	0	4	7
Haka Vicinity	3	0	0	0	1	0	4
Mount Parker	0	0	1	0	3	3	7
Waitangi	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
Haka Valley	6	0	1	10	16	3	36
Cattle Creek	0	0	0	2	13	7	22
TOTAL	46	4	4	17	54	27	152

We now look at each of these property categories in turn.[5]

Smallholdings

The smallholdings can be classified into three types: holiday homes, residential properties for district people and marginally productive units.

There were fourteen properties that could be placed in the "holiday homes" category, all owned by people who lived outside the district. Quite a few of these people had lived in the district at some stage, and still has kin there, but there were others who had no such connections with the district.[6] Most smallholdings of this type were about one hectare in size, although one was seventeen hectares.[7]

Another nineteen of the smallholdings could be classified as rural residential properties insofar as they were owned and occupied by district people, but were not put to any significant

productive use. The range in size here was similarly from one hectare to about sixteen hectares.[8] Eight of these owners would be regarded as being locals in the district but the rest were newcomers, many of them being retired.

While the size of their properties may not have been very large, the significance of owning "land" was not lost on some of these smallholders. One newcomer expressed the issue in the following terms:

> I notice a lot of people will say, 'How much land do you have here?'. It's an important thing to ask. They assess you on this. It's a normal sort of cataloguing, I suppose. We all do it to a different degree, don't we?[9]

The third category of smallholdings comprised thirteen marginally productive units where the owners supplemented other income by running some sheep, growing vegetables, or cultivating berry fruit on the property.[10] An example would be a third-generation local who worked as a farm-hand on a nearby farm but also ran about 300 sheep on seven hectares of land in Paddy's Flat that he owned with his father. Other smallholders were in a similar situation. Some were farm workers, some were agricultural contractors, but there were also a few who were local school teachers or Catchment Commission staff. These properties ranged in size from three to twenty hectares.

Portions of Paddy's Flat, Kurow Settlement and Otekaike had originally been settled as "working men's homes", and this was where the majority of these smallholdings were still to be found.[11] There were also a few to be found in other rural localities, however, such as Otiake, Wharekuri and Hakataramea Valley as well as in the vicinities of the townships.

Taken together, these smallholdings accounted for only a minute portion of the district's rural land area,[12] but the significance of this category lay more in the fact of its providing an opportunity for retired people to continue living in the district, for some people who had left the district to retain links with it, and for non-farm families to live in a rural setting and supplement income from other sources. However, the tendency for properties of this type to be bought up by outsiders for holiday homes was a growing concern for a number of local people. So too was the prospect of land-aggregation swallowing up many of these smaller properties. A smallholder expressed this latter concern in the following way:

> I remember when all these places round here were run by one man each. They had a piece of land to run a cow and a bit of garden, but nowadays it's all run by the ones who've bought up all the land. It's all gone back into big ownership. There's one place round here, and these people own twelve properties. They're still buying up more and more, and they'll buy up more if they can get it. Nobody else gets a chance to buy a bit of land because if you've got land you've got an asset and you've got security so nobody else can get it.[13]

Commercial Orchards

The first commercial orchard in the district was planted in 1910, in Otiake, by Charles Harris. Harris family tradition has it that, attracted by stories of the outstanding kitchen orchards that were to be found in Paddy's Flat, Charles Harris came across from his father's orchard in Central Otago to investigate.[14] Impressed by what he saw, he booked into the Kurow Hotel overnight. Next morning, after buying a spade from the local store, he set off down the road towards Otekaike,

testing the soil as he went. Just below Strachan's Siding in Otiake he came across soil that he thought was suitable and bought 100 acres for an orchard. He planted seventy acres in stone fruit - cherries, apricots, peaches, nectarines and plums - and the rest in apples and pears. It took five years before the orchard came into full production, but other orchardists followed in his wake. By the late 1920s, Charlie Harris's orchard was reputed to be the largest privately-operated orchard in the southern hemisphere.[15]

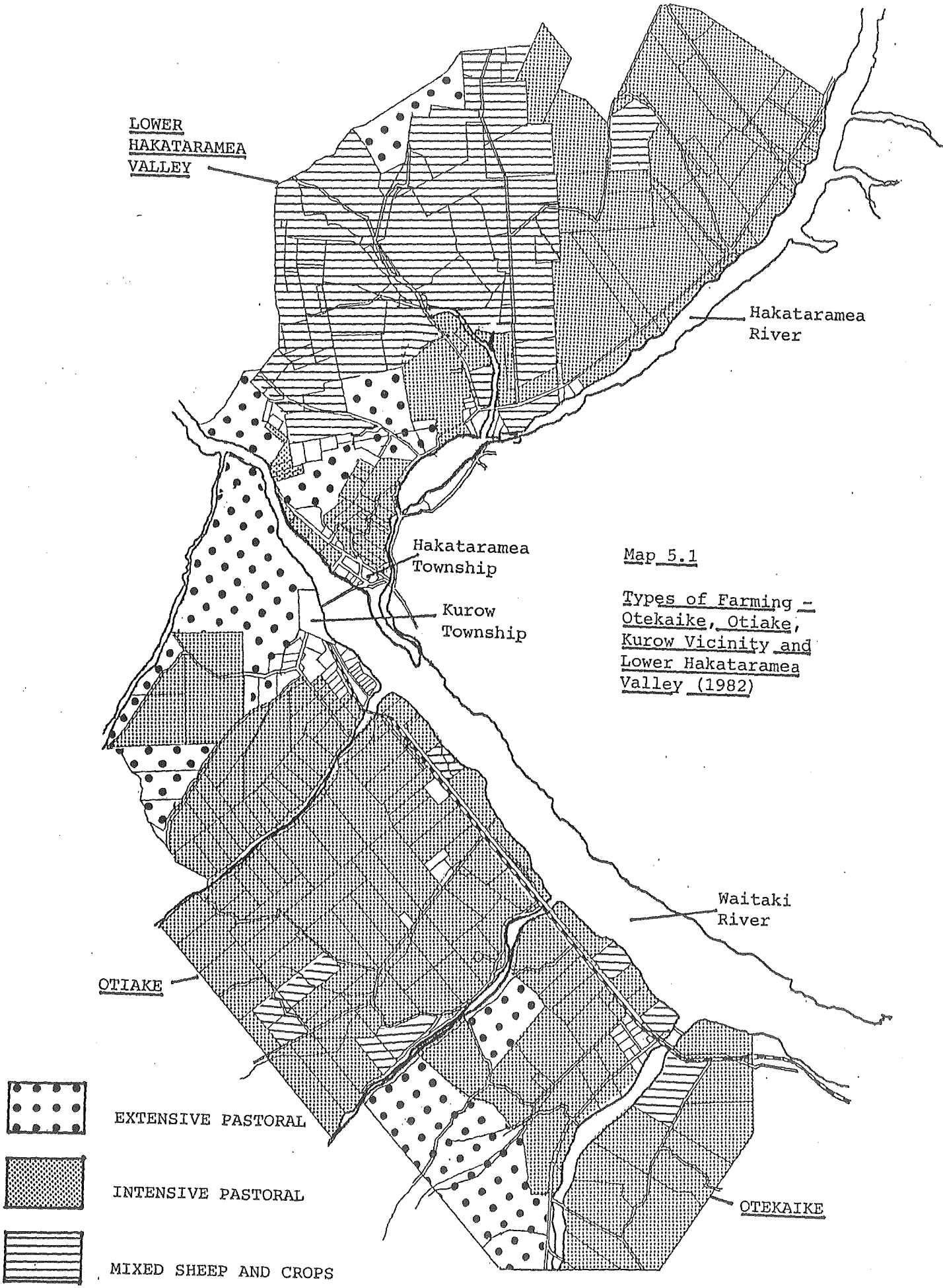
By 1982 there were four commercial orchards still operating in the Kurow district, three in Otiake and one of more recent origin in Otekaike. They ranged in size from twenty-five hectares to eighty-nine hectares, but none was operated by long-standing district families. Charles Harris's youngest son Elliot was still living in the district at the end of 1982, but he and his wife had retired off the family orchard in 1965 to live on the outskirts of Kurow Township.[16]

Mixed Sheep-and-Crop Farms

In 1982, the mixed sheep-and-crop farm category was the least significant of the farm types, both in terms of numbers and amount of land occupied. The seventeen farms in this category comprised only 11% of the rural properties in the district and occupied only 4% of the rural land. The average size of these farms was 492 hectares ranging from 96 to 864 hectares. Ten of the farms were operated by locals, while the other farmers were newcomers who had bought into the district over the previous twenty years. Only four of these farmers employed full-time, non-family wage-labour on their farms.

The mixed sheep-and-crop farms were concentrated mainly in the south-west of the Hakataramea Valley and in Otiake and Otekaike (see Map 5.1), although there were two properties in Cattle Creek where some cropping was also done. By and large, these mixed farms were suited to cropping because of the relative flatness of the land and the amount of rainfall they received. The rainfall hard against the Kirklistons in the western corner of the lower Hakataramea Valley, for example, was particularly high for the district - approximately thirty-five inches of rain per year as compared with thirteen on the other side of the valley.

For the farmers who were locals, a continuing involvement in cropping was part of family tradition. In 1915, for example, wheat from the "Hillside" property in the Hakataramea Valley had received a silver medal and certificate at the Panama Exhibition. The farmer on the property at the time was William Milne. Along with his brother Tom, William Milne had settled in the Hakataramea Valley in 1885,[17] and in 1982 wheat was still being grown on the property by their descendants, Chum Cleave and his son Allan.[18] Neighbours of the Cleave's - the Hayes on "Normanvale" and the McCaws on "Viewfield", "Windsor Downs" and "Cliffside" - were also carrying on long-standing family traditions of cropping in the Hakataramea Valley. "Normanvale" was purchased by the original Alpheus Hayes in 1882,[19] and Alex McCaw started farming on "Windsor Downs" in the mid-1890s.[20] Cropping was a feature of the farming on both of these properties from the early stages, and McCaw's three sons featured prominently in cropping activities in the Hakataramea Valley in the 1930s through to the early 1950s.[21]



Map 5.1

Types of Farming - Otekaike, Otiake, Kurow Vicinity and Lower Hakataramea Valley (1982)

A somewhat similar family tradition of mixed sheep-and-crop farming was to be found in Otiake and Otekaike, where all of the cropping at the end of 1982 - with the exception of one property - was carried out by members of the Grant family. Between them, the two Grant brothers, Archie and Donald, along with their respective sons, McInnes, Peter and Rex, operated five farms.

Donald and Archie's paternal grandfather, John Grant, had been an original settler in the Otiake locality in the early 1880s,[22] and his wheat-growing, along with that of some other district farmers, merited a mention in the Oamaru Mail of February 21st, 1890:

> Some local farmers exhibited this season's grain at the Oamaru Court Section in the Dunedin Exhibition. Local farmers were Mr Christian Hille, velvet wheat and rye, Mr John Orr, Kurow, velvet wheat, Mr Archibald McInnes, velvet wheat, Messrs W and T Milne, Hakataramea, velvet wheat and English barley and Mr John Grant, Otiake, red chaff wheat.

It was commented at the time that John Grant was getting fifty-three bushells of wheat to the acre as well as running sheep.[23]

For all of these farms in 1982, a fairly typical pattern would be to grow wheat, oats, barley and some small seeds, as well as run about 2,000 sheep.

While sheep and crops featured in the farming activities on mixed farms as well as intensive sheep farms, these two types of farms could be distinguished from each other in that, on mixed farms, the crops were mainly cash-crops, while on the intensive sheep farms, the crops were mainly feed-crops such as lucerne and rape. The proportion of farm income derived from crops would be

negligible on intensive sheep farms, while on mixed farms, this could range from 20% to 40% of the farm income.

Cropping had been quite a significant feature of the farming in this district in the past, but in recent years it had declined in importance as increasing numbers of farmers had moved out of cropping in favour of more intensive sheep farming. In Otiake in the 1940s, for example, most of the farms were mixed sheep-and-crop farms, but the sheep were run as extras and most farmers would have been growing about twenty-five hectares of wheat. At the end of 1982, in contrast, there were hardly forty hectares of wheat being grown in the whole of Otiake. The reasons for the shift were mainly economic, given the high cost of machinery needed for harvesting crops, but in some cases a concern about the declining fertility of land that had been repeatedly cropped was also a factor. I shall comment on these change factors in greater detail in Chapter 11.[24]

Intensive Sheep Farms

The forty-six farms and eight sheep runs in this category accounted for 36% percent of the district's rural properties and 15% of the district's rural land. The average size of these properties was 635 hectares, and they ranged in size from 134 hectares to 2,810 hectares. Just under two-thirds of them were operated by farmers who were considered locals. Full-time farm-workers were employed on eight of these properties.

These intensive sheep properties were basically of two types. First, there were properties that had formerly been mixed sheep-and-crop farms whose owners had decided to get out of

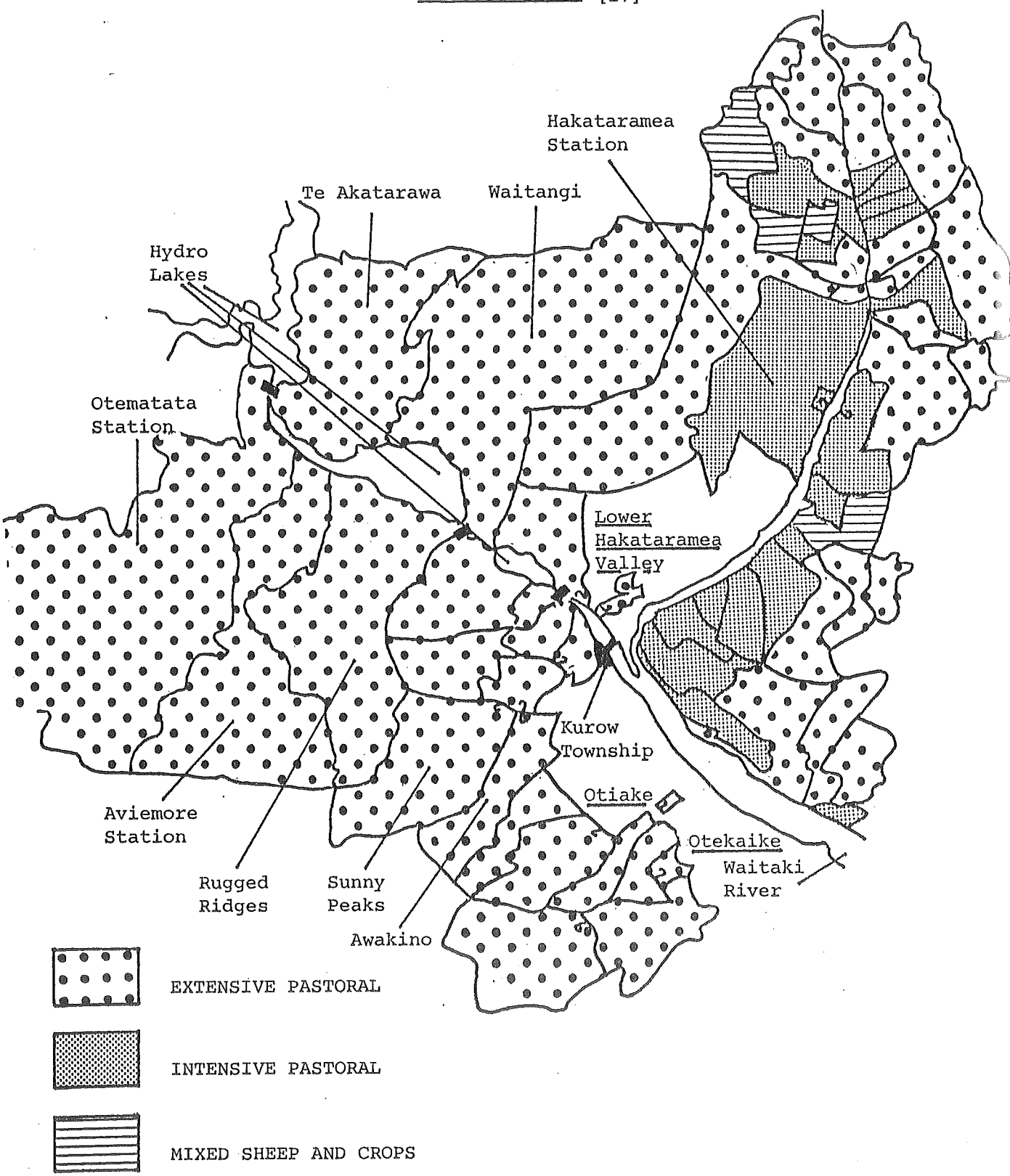
cropping for various reasons. Most of these properties were located in the lower end of the Hakataramea Valley and in Otiake and Otekaike (see Map 5.1). Some of this intensification in farming had been made possible either by on-farm irrigation in the Hakataramea Valley or by water-race irrigation in Otiake and Otekaike.[25] These properties tended to be the smaller ones in this category, carrying between 1,500 to 3,000 sheep.

Second, there were properties that had formerly been extensive pastoral farms but whose carrying capacity and general productive capability had been improved since the early 1950s with the advent of top-dressing and the eradication of pests, especially rabbits. These properties were generally over 1,000 hectares in size with a sizeable proportion of hill country. Their flocks would have been of the order of 6,000 sheep, and they would generally have run a few hundred head of cattle too, mainly for pasture management. These properties were located on the eastern side of the Hakataramea Valley and in Cattle Creek (see Maps 5.1 and 5.2).

Improved productive capability on both of these types of farms thus enabled these farmers to run sheep for their meat as well as their wool. In many cases also, sheep would have been raised to be sold as replacement stock for other farmers. The Duntroon saleyard down river from Kurow was a cut-off point in this regard. Farmers up river from the saleyard sold stock, while farmers on the plains below bought stock. The development in the 1970s of the Lower Waitaki irrigation scheme on the plains below Duntroon had had an impact on Kurow farming here.[26] Some Kurow farmers changed from Corriedale to Romney sheep as a result

Map 5.2

Types of Farming
Kurow District [27]



of the irrigation development because there was now an improved market for selling replacement ewes to farmers on the plains.

Extensive Sheep Farms

In terms of the size of their operation, the most significant of these farming types was the extensive pastoral category. While properties in this category comprised only 18% of the total number of rural properties in the district, they occupied 81% of the district's rural land - see Map 5.2.

Of the twenty-seven extensive pastoral properties, twenty-two were sheep runs and five were sheep stations. The sheep runs were smaller on average than the stations. The average size of the sheep stations was just over 21,000 hectares, while for the runs it was just over 3,000 hectares. The range in flock-size on the runs would have been from 3,000 to 10,000 sheep, but the two largest sheep stations were running 19,000 sheep and 25,000 sheep respectively. Farm workers were employed on eight of the runs and three of the sheep stations, but the biggest of the stations employed two married couples and eight to ten single men.

Eighteen of the runs and all but one of the sheep stations were operated by farmers who were considered locals in the district, and in most of these cases, they were at least second generation on the properties. The sheep stations merit special mention in this regard.

Otematata Station had been operated by the Cameron family since 1908, when Hugh Cameron acquired the lease to it.[28] He also held the lease to the neighbouring Aviemore Station at this time - he had acquired it in 1892. In 1982, his grandson Joe was

running both stations together for the family company.

Waitangi Station had also been a "family property" for some time. The lease to Waitangi was originally acquired by John Alfred Sutton in 1887,[29] and it was his grandson John who was running the property in 1982. Again, this was as a family company. John Alfred had, in fact, been in the Upper Waitaki since 1872 and indeed, prior to acquiring the Waitangi leases, had held the leases to Rugged Ridges and Te Akatarawa in partnership with his brother George.

Like Otematata Station and Waitangi, Rugged Ridges was another "family property". The lease to Rugged Ridges had been acquired by Herbert Black Munro in 1912. The original Munro in the Upper Waitaki, William Grant Munro, had established the Otematata accommodation house in the late 1860s.[30] He and his wife subsequently had nine sons and two daughters - all of whom remained in the Kurow or Omarama districts - so there has been a substantial Munro presence in the Upper Waitaki since then.[31] In 1982, Rugged Ridges was being run by Herbert Munro's grandson, Struan.

Joe Cameron's father, Walter, and Struan Munro's uncle, Thomas Alexander Munro, both married daughters of a Kurow store keeper, Frederick Thiele, and so there were kinship connections in these properties, too. Another of Walter Cameron's sons, Bob, had a run in the Mount Parker locality in 1982, while two of Thomas Munro's grandsons also farmed in the Kurow district in 1982, one on a run adjacent to Kurow and the other on an intensive sheep farm in the Haka Valley. Te Akatarawa was the

only one of the four sheep stations without a long family history,[32] but Struan Munro married Ina Whalan, the daughter of one of its former leaseholders.

OVERVIEW OF RURAL PROPERTIES

A summary of these rural property types is presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 : Rural Properties, 1982

PROPERTY CATEGORY	Land Holdings	% of Land Holdings	Land (Ha's)	% of Land	Av Size (Ha's)
Smallholdings	46	30.3%	276	0.1%	6
Orchards	4	2.6%	222	0.1%	56
Marginal Farms	4	2.6%	201	0.1%	50
Mixed Farms	17	11.2%	8,362	3.7%	492
Intensive Pastoral	54	35.5%	34,301	15.2%	635
Extensive Pastoral	27	17.8%	182,788	80.8%	6,770
TOTAL	152	100.0%	226,150	100.0%	1,488

Three main points emerge from this. First, it is worth noting that, although smallholdings occupied such a small proportion of the total rural land in the district, nevertheless they comprised a fairly high proportion of total landholdings. Second, while extensive pastoral properties comprised such a small proportion of landholdings, they nevertheless occupied a high proportion of the district's rural land. Third, the differential between the mixed-farm category and the intensive-sheep category shows that the latter was the more important of

the two in terms of proportions of both landholdings and area occupied.

We can extend this to consider the economic value of these categories, based on Valuation Department figures relating to the capital value of properties. The figures that were current at the end of 1982 were some three years out of date,[33] and were a reflection of government valuation rather than market valuation,[34] nevertheless these figures can give a useful approximation of the relative economic values of the different property types - see Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 : Capital Value of Rural Properties, 1982

PROPERTY CATEGORY	Capital Value	% of CVal	Average Cap Value
Smallholdings	$792,020	2.6%	$17,218
Orchards	$330,500	1.1%	$82,625
Marginal Farms	$67,800	0.2%	$16,950
Mixed Farms	$3,458,300	11.4%	$203,429
Intensive Pastoral	$10,940,415	36.2%	$202,600
Extensive Pastoral	$14,630,778	48.5%	$541,881
TOTAL	$30,219,813	100.0%	$198,815

If we leave the smallholding category as it is but collapse the other categories such that orchards, marginal farms, mixed farms and intensive sheep farms are considered together as "intensive properties" then the relative importance of the three categories can be seen from Table 5.4.

What this shows is that a disproportionate amount of the "landed-wealth" in the district - as measured by the capital

value of the land - was to be found in relatively few properties, i.e. the extensive pastoral properties.[35]

Table 5.4 : Comparison of Property Types, 1982

PROPERTY CATEGORY	% of Land Holdings	% of Land	% of Capital Value
Smallholdings	30.3%	0.1%	2.6%
Intensive Properties	51.9%	19.1%	48.9%
Extensive Properties	17.8%	80.8%	48.5%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

A further indication of the extent to which capital value was concentrated within particular categories of property is shown if we recategorise properties according to size rather than productive activity. Given changes that took place in farming activity in the district in the early 1950s, the categories of "mixed sheep-and-crop" farms and "intensive finishing-breeding" farms were really only applicable from then onwards.[36] Prior to that, they lost their meaning as categorisation devices.[37] Since a key intention in later chapters will be to compare landholding patterns from 1890 to 1982, a more durable basis for comparison is needed and a useful strategy here was to categorise the properties by size, thus allowing changes in landholding patterns to be monitored. With this in mind, properties under twenty hectares were treated as "smallholdings", farm properties between twenty-one and eighty hectares were treated as "small farms", those between eighty-one and 404 hectares were treated as

"middle farms" and those farm properties above 404 hectares were treated as "large farms".[38] Given the nature of the terrain that sheep runs and sheep stations occupied as compared with farms, it seemed to make sense to retain them as distinct entities in this comparison.[39] Applying this categorisation to the 1982 land provided a distribution as shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 : Characteristics of Landholding Categories, 1982

PROPERTY CATEGORY	Land Holdings	% of Land Holdings	% of Land	% of Capital Value
Smallholdings	46	30%	0.1%	3%
Orchards	4	3%	0.1%	1%
Small Farms	3	3%	0.1%	0.2%
Middle Farms	33	22%	4%	17%
Large Farms	30	19%	12%	29%
Sheep Runs	30	19%	40%	36%
Sheep Stations	5	3%	44%	14%
TOTAL	152	100%	100%	100%

The main points of interest from this table are: the high proportion of district land that was occupied by large farms, sheep runs and sheep stations (96% in all); and the correspondingly high capital value that they represented (79%).

This brings us to the issue of types of land title. People's orientations to land, and the uses they make of it, will obviously be influenced to some extent by whether they own the land or rent it. Table 5.6 therefore gives an indication for 1982 of the relative proportions of freehold and leasehold land in each category of rural properties.

Table 5.6 : Proportions of Freehold and Leasehold Land (1982)

PROPERTY CATEGORY	Land Holdings	% OF LAND Freehold	% OF LAND Leasehold	TOTAL LAND (Ha's)
Smallholdings	46	74%	26%	248
Orchards	4	48%	52%	318
Small Farms	3	66%	34%	119
Middle Farms	33	88%	12%	8932
Large Farms	30	81%	19%	18890
Sheep Runs	30	53%	47%	89411
Sheep Stations	5	24%	76%	108232
TOTAL	152	43%	57%	226150

The majority of land on smallholdings, small farms, middle farms, large farms and sheep runs was held in freehold title, while the opposite was true with regard to orchards and sheep stations. The main point to emerge from the data in this table, however, is that 57% of the rural land in this district was held in leasehold title with the other 43% being freehold.

There was a significant difference here, however, between the two provincial segments of the district - see Table 5.7.

Just over half of the district's land area was in South Canterbury (56%) with just under half of it (46%) being held in leasehold title. In contrast to this, the proportion of leasehold land in the North Otago sector of the district was much larger (70%).[40]

This difference was a reflection of two main factors. In the first place, as we shall see in Chapter 6, the two sectors had significantly different settlement patterns. By the time the

Table 5.7 : Types of Land Title by Provincial Segment, 1982

LAND TITLE	SOUTH CANTERBURY SEGMENT Land (Ha's)	%	NORTH OTAGO SEGMENT Land (Ha's)	%	TOTAL DISTRICT Land (Ha's)	%
Freehold	67,905	54%	29,678	30%	97,583	43%
Leasehold	57,919	46%	70,648	70%	128,567	57%
TOTAL	125,824	100%	100,326	100%	226,150	100%

North Otago land was being subdivided and settled as small grazing runs in the 1890s, there had already been substantial freeholding in the Hakataramea Valley in South Canterbury. Some of this freeholding had taken place during the speculative boom in Canterbury in the late 1870s. There was no equivalent freeholding boom in Otago at that time.

The second factor that made a difference was differing land-use capabilities. Much of the North Otago land in the district was hilly or high country and was suitable only for extensive pastoral farming. Given the nature of the pastoral enterprise, sheep runs and sheep stations tended to be held in crown leases, hence the high proportion of leasehold land. The relative proportion of such land in the Canterbury sector was much smaller, hence the smaller proportion of leasehold land there.

These differences were reflected in the different farming emphases in the two provincial segments. Intensive and mixed

farming were more important in the South Canterbury localities than they were in the North Otago localities, where extensive pastoral farming was much more significant - see Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 : Type of Farming by Provincial Segment, 1982

	SOUTH CANTERBURY SEGMENT		NORTH OTAGO SEGMENT		TOTAL DISTRICT	
TYPE OF FARMING	Land (Ha's)	% of Land	Land (Ha's)	% of Land	Land (Ha's)	% of Land
Mixed Farms	6,827	5%	1,535	2%	8,362	4%
Intensive Pastoral	26,817	21%	7,484	8%	34,301	15%
Extensive Pastoral	92,023	74%	90,765	90%	182,788	81%
TOTAL	125,824	100%	100,326	100%	226,150	100%

As we shall see in Chapter 11, the main change that had taken place in farming in the district was a shift, after the early 1950s, from extensive pastoral farming and mixed farming into intensive sheep farming. This change reflected land being made to realise its farming potential. Rabbit infestation and extensive soil erosion had been major problems in the district until the late 1940s. However, with the establishment of rabbit boards and the Waitaki Soil Conservation District Committee, together with more extensive top-dressing of pastures and the application of fertilizers, these problems were gradually brought under control.[41] As a result of this, much farm land in the district was able to used for more intensive farming and this was particularly so in the Hakataramea Valley and in Cattle Creek. There was not the same potential or flexibility in the North

Otago sector of the district because of the predominance of high-country, but there were certainly increases in the stock-carrying capacity of the land over all.[42]

Lastly in this section, I shall comment on types of ownership. Land, whether freehold or leasehold, is basically held in one of three types of ownership - single, joint or company ownership. How this land was distributed among these three categories (plus the additional two of deceased estate and public body) and how this was reflected in the capital value of the land is shown in Table 5.9.

Most of the joint ownerships were between a farmer and his wife or male relatives, although a few were between a farmer and business associates. All of the companies were "local" companies insofar as they represented the financial interests of local farming families. There is little doubt that these companies had been formed for tax purposes. While their number was small relative to the total number of landholdings, the amount of land that they controlled and the capital value that they represented, made this category quite a significant one.

Table 5.9 : Ownership Categories, 1982

OWNERSHIP CATEGORY	Landholdings N	%	Land Area (Ha's)	%	Capital Value ($'s)	%
Single	68	45%	52,125	23%	8,405,440	28%
Marital	35	23%	19,802	9%	4,588,238	15%
Other Joint	26	17%	34,557	15%	6,305,085	21%
Company	21	14%	102,503	45%	9,369,850	31%
Public Body	1	1%	13,269	6%	975,500	3%
Deceased Estate	1	1%	3,894	2%	575,700	2%
TOTAL	152	100%	226,150	100%	30,219,813	100%

Women appeared as title holders in relation to forty-four of these properties (28% of the total), but in only four cases was this as a single title-holder, and all four of these titles related, not surprisingly, to smallholdings. Women were joint title-holders in forty of these properties. Thirty-five of these joint titles featured women as "wives", nineteen of them smallholdings with the rest being mixed farms or sheep farms. The other five joint titles involved, respectively, a collectivity with other women (one smallholding), two sisters (two smallholdings), an aunt with a nephew (one intensive farm) and as a widowed mother with a son or sons (two extensive farms). In proportional terms, then, women appeared as title-holders in relation to 52% of the smallholdings, 12% of the mixed farms, 26% of the intensive sheep farms and only 9% of the extensive sheep farms.[43]

It will be recalled from the previous chapter that 62% of the men in the district owned land, with the majority of these being men who were farmers, in business or retired. Ninety-seven percent of farmers owned land, 93% of men in business and 89% of men who were retired. Of the 38% of men who owned no land, approximately one-third were farm workers and another third were white collar workers.

THE FARMER'S YEAR

It was commented at the beginning of the chapter that the ebb and flow of productive effort on farms would set significant parameters for social activity in the district. In rounding off this discussion, therefore, it would be appropriate to outline

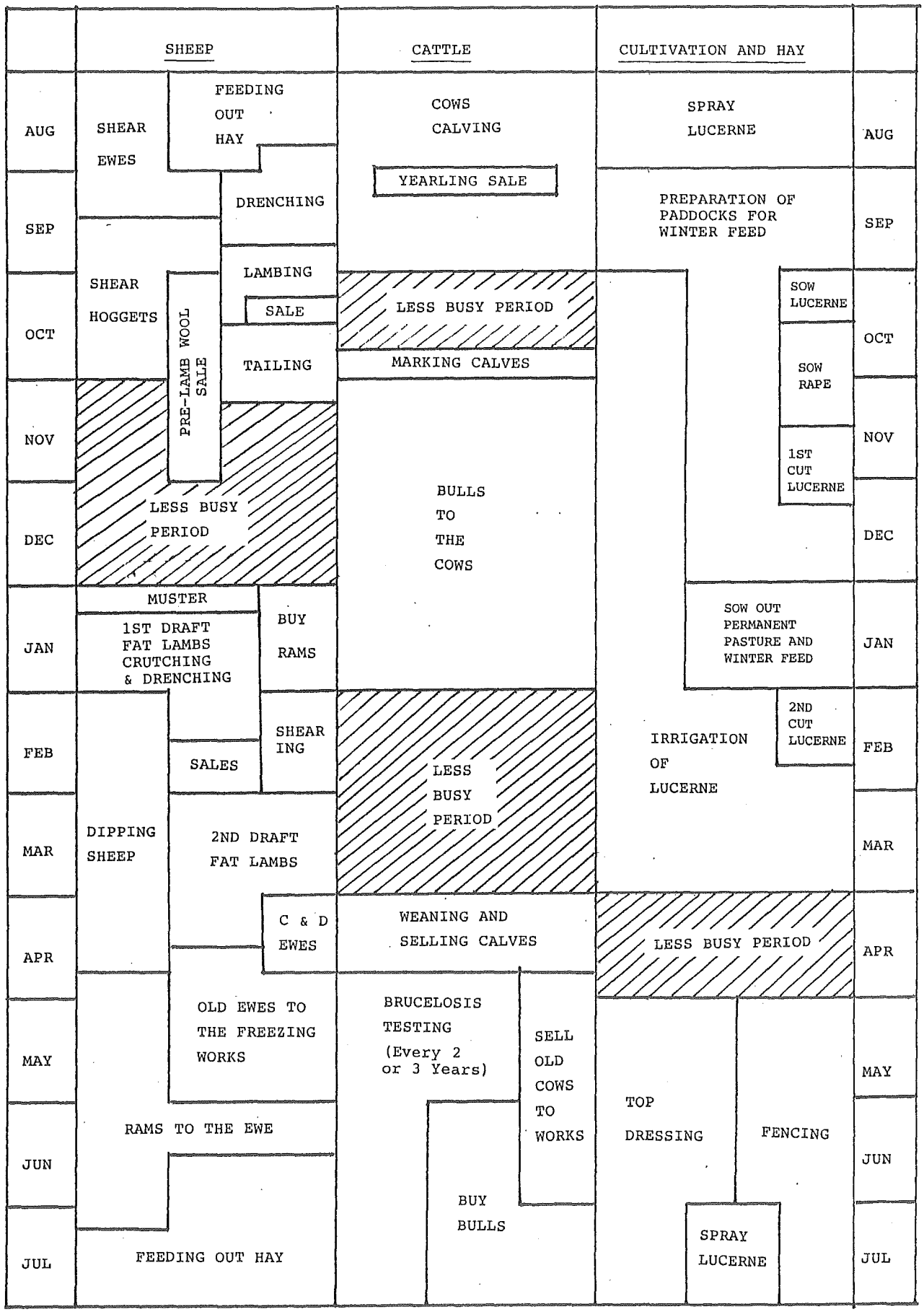
the round of farming activity during the year. A typical yearly-cycle of farming activity on an intensive sheep farm in the district is shown in Figure 5.1. This relates to a property in Cattle Creek but we can use it as an ideal type for comparison with other properties.

The farmer in question owned 2,000 hectares and ran 3,000 sheep. His main income came from wool and fat lambs. He also ran about forty head of cattle, mainly for pasture management but some for sale. Farming activity on the property was divided into three categories: sheep, cattle and cultivation. The cultivation-work was geared towards providing supplementary-feed for the stock. The cattle-work and cultivation-work were both fairly straightforward and therefore require no particular comment. The sheep-work was the most important of these three, and this is where our attention will therefore be focused.

The "sheep-year" starts in August with pre-lamb shearing. Shearing commences towards the end of July around Kurow and then the shearing gangs work their way up the Hakataramea Valley through August into the first two weeks of September. Most farmers in Cattle Creek shear in August but a few might leave it over until February. There is still a possibility of cold weather in late August, and sheep are less able to stand up to the cold if they have just been shorn. This can be countered to some extent by blade-shearing, since, in comparison with machine-shearing, the blades leave a bit more wool on the sheep.[44] On the other hand, there is the feeling among some farmers that pre-lamb shearing encourages the ewes to look for shelter after they have lambed. Most farmers in the district had therefore switched

FIGURE 5.1

THE FARMER'S YEAR



to pre-lamb shearing during the 1950s. The hoggets, or one-year-old ewes, would not be shorn until after the ewes, since the main priority was to get the wool off the ewes.

Wool would be sold throughout the year, but the main wool sales are during October and November. The wool from the Hakataramea Valley is generally sold at the Timaru and Dunedin sales.

Lambing starts towards the end of September, when calving is almost at an end. On this property, lambing and calving were allowed to take their own course out on the farm. The farmer found this to be preferable to supervising the process in the farm yards.[45]

The main sheep drenching is done in the autumn and in the spring but the lambs are drenched every six to eight weeks through the autumn. The first phase of sheep-work came to an end in the beginning of November with completion of the tailing of the lambs. Tailing, mustering and carting hay were generally the main occasions for cooperation between neighbours. This was on a strictly reciprocal basis, and most of the farmers in the locality cooperated with each other on these jobs.

Sheep-work begins again in early January with a muster prior to the first drafting of lambs for the freezing works. The lambs are crutched and drenched prior to going to the works. Between the beginning of February and the end of April all of the lambs have gone to the works - apart from replacement stock - with the rest of the sheep being dipped and shorn again if necessary. The ewes are crutched and drenched prior to being put out with the rams or being sent to the freezing works. The rams

are put out with the ewes from April 25th until the beginning of July. Hay is fed out from the middle of June until the end of August, depending on the weather.

The busy times on this property, then, were August until Christmas and again from the second week in January until the end of February. The "not so busy" time was May until the middle of June.

The schedule of farming activities differs somewhat from locality to locality within the district, but by and large the same sort of sheep-farming programme is followed on most farms in the district, whether they are mixed sheep-and-crop farms, intensive sheep farms or extensive sheep farms. When we compare this farming schedule, for example, with the cycle of activity carried out on an extensive pastoral property in Otiake and a mixed sheep-and-crop farm in the Hakataramea Valley, we find many more similarities than differences.

We look first at the extensive pastoral property. This 6,000 hectare property included high country on the Saint Mary's Range as well as hill-country that was less steep. The farmer in question thus has a farm-flock as well as a run-flock. The farm sheep are Romneys, while the run sheep are a cross-bred Merino-Romney. At the end of 1982 approximately 10,000 sheep were being run on this property, of which 6,500 were breeding ewes.

These breeding ewes comprised approximately 1,500 each of two-tooth, four-tooth, six-tooth and eight-tooth sheep.[46] The rest of the sheep comprised 1,000 wethers for hill-grazing and 2,000 replacement hoggets (one-year-old ewes). There were also 200 rams on the property.[47]

From the 6,500 breeding ewes, the farmer would expect to get, on average, a lambing average of 100%. Twelve hundred ewe lambs are kept as replacements, while 140 half-bred wether lambs are also kept for hill-grazing. The balance of the ewe lambs are sold to other farms for breeding, while the remainder of the wether lambs are fattened and sent for slaughter to the freezing works on the coast.

In comparing this farm's yearly cycle with the ideal-typical one presented earlier, one or two differences appear significant. One main difference lay in the fact that, given the higher altitude of his grazing country, this farmer did no pre-lamb shearing since it was thought to be too risky in the circumstances. As a result, his main shearing was done in November and December when the farm ewes, the hoggets, the rams and the hill wethers would be shorn, about 6,000 to 6,500 sheep altogether. The rest of the run stock would be shorn in mid-February, and this would take about a week. They would be dipped and then sent back out. The ewe lambs would be shorn in January.

Apart from the differences in shearing, this farmer's scheduling of cultivation, feeding out, lambing and tailing would be the same as that shown in Figure 5.1, although he often drenched his sheep twice. The ewes would be drenched prior to tupping in May, but they would also be drenched and crutched in July/August prior to lambing. The lambs themselves would be drenched in November and then drafted in January and February.

The rams would be put out to the farm-ewes on April 25th and to the run-ewes three weeks later. This was to ensure that hill-lambing took place a little later, when the weather would be

more favourable. In May, the hill-wethers would be mustered in for eye-clipping and ring-crutching. They would then be put out on the winter country until November or December. The farmer tried to schedule his work such that the farm-sheep-work would be over before the run-sheep-work began. December through to February was the busiest time on this farm, with the period round about when the rams went out as the least busy.

We compare this now with the sheep-work done on a mixed sheep-and-crop farm in the Hakataramea Valley. At the end of 1982, the farmer on this 438 hectare property was growing forty hectares of wheat, twenty-eight to thirty-six hectares of small seeds as well as running 2,000 sheep and 200 head of cattle.

His sheep schedule was remarkably similar to that portrayed in Figure 5.1. The rams went out to the ewes on April 25th, the ewes and the rams being drenched ten days before. The drenching was done by a contractor in only a day and a half where previously it had taken weeks for the farmer to do it by himself. Feeding out was held off until the middle of June, if possible, and would continue until about September, depending on weather.

Shearing was done by a local machine-shearing contract-gang and was a pre-lamb shear. The ewes would be shorn in the first week of August, taking about a week. In recent years, however, like many of his neighbours, this farmer had started to shear the ewes twice, and this week-long second shearing was done at the end of March. The purpose of this second shear was to maximise the income from wool. The rest of the sheep were shorn at the end of October into the first week of November. Because he did a second shear, there was no need for crutching.

Lambing usually started about September 20th and lasted for four weeks. The lambs would then be weaned and shorn during January with the first draft of wether lambs going to the freezing works at the end of January. Apart from replacements, all of the lambs would be off the property by the end of May. Any old ewes that were going to the freezing works would be drafted in February.

His cattle schedule was also very similar to that presented in Figure 5.1. There were some differences, however, with the cultivation-work. He sprayed his lucerne in August. He began preparing his paddocks for winter feed in December and expected to have them sown down by the end of January or the beginning of February. The lucerne was sown in February, whereas the rape was sown at the beginning of December. The first cut of lucerne was done in November. Depending on the weather, he might also get a second cut in March. He also made meadow-hay between December 25th and the middle of January. His top-dressing was done by a contractor over a two-week period in winter. He put four hundred tons of lime on 320 hectares with a truck.

The main difference in farming-practice on this farm, of course, related to the cash-cropping that was done. A typical cropping cycle on this farm was as follows. A grass paddock would be fallowed with a chisel plough in November. It would be ploughed twice over a six-week period and then cultivated with a grubber every three weeks until the end of March. The final grubbing would be done with harrows. It would then be deep-ploughed with a mould-board plough at the end of March or the beginning of April. The paddock would be tine-harrowed, grubbed

and sown down in April. The sowing would be done by the first week in May at the latest. The sowing ratio would be something like 100 pounds of seed per two hectares with one and a half hundred-weight of sulphurised superphosphate.

The paddock would then be left until September when it would be checked for weeds, aphids, rust and so on. If it needed spraying, then this would be done by a contractor at the end of September or the beginning of October, either from the air or from the ground. Sometimes the spraying might be done two or three times as necessary. The wheat would be harvested in February with a header. On average, forty hectares of wheat would take two days to harvest. Weather permitting, the wheat straw would then be burned.

From here, a number of options could be followed, but more often than not, a quick-growing winter feed crop such as rye-corn, oats or rye-grass would be planted in the paddock. The sheep would then be put onto this in late August or early September. The paddock would be deep-ploughed with a mould-board plough in early October before being cultivated and sown in November with four bushels of barley to the hectare with three hundred-weight of sulphurised superphosphate. The barley would then be harvested in February along with the wheat from other paddocks, but the barley straw would not be burned. It would be baled for use as supplementary feed for the stock in winter or used as bedding for pigs. The paddock would probably be sown again in barley straight after this, giving a four- to four-and-a-half-year cycle of grass paddock to wheat, to barley for two seasons and then back to grass paddock. This might be altered to

barley/barley/oats rather than wheat/barley/barley depending on preference.[48] There might be some slight variations in detail here between farmers, but by and large the cropping that was done in the district followed the above pattern.

The busy times on a mixed sheep-and-crop farm like this are from the end of September until the beginning of November, when they are lambing and tailing. There is then a bit of a lull in the sheep-work until just after Christmas, when shearing and drafting lambs for the works commences. The busy time with cropping was harvest time and January through March.

Generally, spring and summer are busy times with lambing, shearing, harvesting and so on, while autumn and winter are the less busy times. It is therefore to be expected that social activity in a district such as this, particularly in the rural localities, would reflect this ebb and flow of farming activity. The advent of television certainly brought a decline in support for organised social activity in rural areas, but whatever social involvement there is in the rural localities is influenced by how busy things are "on the farm". One non-farmer commented on how this affected the local bridge club that met in the Hakataramea Valley:

> The whole bridge season is centred round the farming season. There are a few transients involved, but the backbone of it would be the farming community. When they start to get busy, we finish. It's their busy season now (October) so we finish about the end of the month.[49]

ASSOCIATIONAL LEADERSHIP

As we saw earlier, despite being the single largest occupational group in the district, farmers comprised only one-third of the adult employed males. Nevertheless, given the fact that so many of them were locals and hence at least second-generation in a process of land-inheritance, we might reasonably expect that they and their families would feature prominently in providing leadership for local organisations and for district representation on regional, provincial and national bodies. This, in fact, was the case.

In the early 1980s, there were approximately seventy voluntary associations and local organisations active in the Kurow district, including churches, assorted sports groups, a volunteer fire brigade, branches of the Returned Servicemen's Association, Masonic Lodge, St John's Ambulance and Lions.[50] At the end of 1982, farmers or their wives provided leadership for approximately forty of these groups. They occupied key positions in the lay leadership of the Presbyterian, Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. The presidents of the more important sports clubs - jockey club, rugby and golf - were farmers, as were the chairmen of the various school committees in the district. Leadership roles in the PTA and in the Community Library Committee were taken by farmers' wives. Indeed, the only groups where farmers were not dominant tended to be township groups, such as the fire brigade, the citizens' and ratepayers' association and the Kurow memorial-hall committee.[51]

Farmers also tended to play a leading role in local government. One of the two local county councillors was a farmer

(the other was a businessman). The chairman and vice-chairman of the Waitaki Catchment Commission were farmers, as were the chairmen of the various rabbit boards.

In some cases, farmers' involvement was also at the regional, provincial and national levels. Local farmers had served terms as regional and provincial presidents of Federated Farmers, as members of the Dominion Council of the National Party and as Chairman of the Wool Board. Local farmers or their wives had also served as members of the Waitaki Electric Power Board and the Waitaki Hospital Board. Their wives have also been well represented on the national executives of the New Zealand Parent Teacher Association, Plunket and Women's Division of Federated Farmers as well as on Arts Councils and the Otago Education Board. As an indication of the extent to which landholding was interrelated with leadership in a district such as this, it is worth noting that of the eighteen wealthiest farmers in the district in 1982 (as measured by the capital values of their properties), all but five were involved in leadership positions of importance from the local to the national level.

Land has indeed been influential in shaping patterns of inequality and political power within this district and the way in which this has emerged and been consolidated through time will be charted as we turn now to consider the historical development of the district.

FOOTNOTES :

1. The sheep stations were Te Akatarawa (11,852 ha's), Rugged Ridges (12,810 ha's), Highland Farm (13,269 ha's), Waitangi (21,466 ha's) and Otematata Station (39,854 ha's). All but Highland Farm were situated around the hydro lakes. Highland Farm was a Lands and Survey property in Cattle Creek. The distinction between sheep runs and sheep stations is made on the basis of two main criteria. First of all, there was the size of their respective operations - the sheep stations occupied more land and ran more sheep on average than the runs. Secondly, there was the nature of their respective tenures - the sheep stations tended to be held under Crown pastoral leases while the runs were held under a variety of other Crown leases such as small grazing run leases, deferred payment licenses or renewable leases of farm land.

2. The smallholdings were under twenty hectares in size, the orchards ranged in size from twenty-five to eighty-nine hectares, the farms ranged from twenty-eight to 2,255 hectares, the sheep runs from 852 to 10,567 hectares and the sheep stations from 11,445 to 38,402 hectares.

3. This differentiation derives from that used by the New Zealand Meat and Wool Boards and corresponds to their categories - Hill and High County South Island (extensive pastoral), Finishing-Breeding Farms South Island (intensive sheep) and Mixed Cropping and Finishing Farms (mixed sheep-and-crops). The relevance of this categorisation was discussed with local informants before being used. See Supplement to the New Zealand Sheep and Beef Farm Survey, NZ Meat and Wool Boards' Economic Service, Wellington, February, 1986.

4. In addition to this, there were four farms that could be categorised as marginally productive units. These ranged in size from twenty-eight to 110 hectares and so were slightly larger than smallholdings. They were owned and operated by non-farmers such as an agricultural contractor, a farmer's son, a farm manager and a school teacher.

5. The marginal farms will not be considered in any detail here.

6. We benefitted from this when it came time for the period of full-time fieldwork to round off the data-gathering phase of the research. The range of options that we faced when it came to finding accommodation in the district for eight months were quite limited but fortunately, one of these "absentee" landowners was a university administrator from Christchurch. Since he and his family were not intending to use the cottage during the time of our fieldwork we were able to rent from him.

7. The largest of these smallholdings was, in fact, owned by a retired farm worker who lived in Oamaru but who had lived on the property with his wife for some time prior to this. To

this extent, this was a somewhat unusual case within this category.

8. The largest of the smallholdings in this category was behind Kurow Township and had a rather attractive two-storey house on it. The property was owned by one of the businessmen in the township and this fact did not go without comment among some of the locals.

9. This informant was the wife of a local businessman.

10. These properties were mainly located in Paddy's Flat although there was a market garden on the outskirts of Hakataramea Township.

11. Details of these settlements will be provided in later chapters.

12. As we shall see later, smallholdings accounted for 0.1% of the district's rural land area and 2.7% of its capital value.

13. This informant lived in Paddys Flat. An indication of how land aggregation has taken place in this locality and in others can be obtained from the relevant diagrams in Appendix 4.

14. Information on the Harris family and on orcharding in general in the district was obtained from Charles Harris's son Ellie.

15. Given the size of his business, it was somewhat paradoxical that Charles Harris aligned himself politically with the Labour Party. At the 1935 election, he was chairman of the local branch of the party.

16. An interesting aspect to this situation was that Ellie Harris was the youngest son in the Harris family. This was quite a noticeable pattern of inheritance in the Otiake and Otekaike localities during the 1930s and 1940s.

17. The Milnes were originally from Morayshire, in Scotland where their father had been a farmer. They arrived in New Zealand in 1868. Thomas Milne was a member of the Waimate Count Council for a number of years .

18. William Milne's eldest daughter Martha, married Joseph Cleave in 1918. Cleave was a contractor on Hakataramea Station at the time. Chum Cleave was the eldest son of Joseph and Martha.

19. Alpheus Hayes had been born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1847. He came to New Zealand in 1871 and, in the same year, opened a timber mill in Waimate. "Centrewood", his Waimate property (2,000 acres freehold and 14,000 acres leasehold), was bought after he sold his timber company. In 1882, he and a partner purchased land in the Hakataramea Valley that was subsequently to become "Normanvale". In 1885, Alpheus Hayes

became the sole owner. The property was run by his son Norman until 1937, when it was taken over by Norman's son Alpheus Hayes Jnr. Details of the Hayes' family history can be found in Hayes (1978).

20. Alex McCaw was born in Ayrshire, Scotland in 1859. His father was a farmer but, being the youngest son, and having little prospect of inheritance, McCaw left Scotland. He was in Canada in 1876 and shortly after that he came to New Zealand. He was working as an agricultural contractor in the Ngapara district when he married Annette Seth-Smith and around 1895, in partnership with her brother Basil, he purchased the "Windsor Downs" property in the Hakataramea Valley.

21. In addition to their farming, they also operated a tin mill in the Hakataramea Valley.

22. John Grant Snr had been born in Banffshire, Scotland in 1836. His father was a weaver. When John Grant married Jessie Grant in 1862, his occupation was given as "Farm Servant" (although having the same surname, John and Jessie were not related). The Grants moved to New Zealand with their five children in 1871 where John worked as a maltster or stillman in Dunedin for a few years. When Otiake was settled in 1878, he purchased land there and started farming.

23. Oamaru Mail, January 10th, 1890.

24. See Chapter 11.

25. The Upper Waitaki irrigation scheme started in 1966 and supplies an area of 1,380 hectares between Kurow, Otiake, Otekaike and Duntroon. The water comes from Lake Waitaki. This was extended in 1967 to supply an additional 485 hectares. There were also a few private irrigation schemes on farms in the Hakataramea Valley

26. Background to the development of this irrigation scheme and its implications for farming in the Lower Waitaki is provided in Gillies (1977).

27. Hakataramea Station has been included in this map although by 1982 it had been divided up into five smaller properties.

28. The Camerons were of Scottish descent. Hugh and his wife Sarah (nee Preston) had ten children, and of these, four sons and a daughter remained in the Waitaki Valley.

29. The parents of John Alfred Sutton arrived in New Zealand from England in 1841. John Alfred was born in Dunedin in 1850. He originally worked as a bank clerk but then, in 1872, he came with his brother George to the Upper Waitaki. The Sutton family celebrated their centenary on Waitangi Station in January of 1987.

30. William Grant Munro was from Invernesshire in Scotland. Some background to the Munro family is provided in the early sections of Chapter 10.

31. The Munro presence in the Upper Waitaki has ben immortalised in the suggestion that it is the land of the three M's - Munros, Merinos and Matagouri (See Neave, 1980).

32. It will be remembered that the fifth sheep station was the Lands and Survey property, Highland Farm.

33. These valuations had been done in October of 1978. Another valuation was being completed towards the end of 1982 but the figures from this were not available in time to be incorporated in the study.

34. It would, of course, be expected that market valuations would have been higher than government valuations, but we have no way of determining how much higher these would have been.

35. In contrast to this, the properties with the highest capital values in Kurow Township were the two hotels ($185,000 and $120,000) and the Waitaki Supply Store ($88,500). The valuations for residential properties in the Township ranged from around $8,000 to $30,000.

36. In recognition of this, Chapter 11 will compare farming activity in the district between 1950 and 1982 and document a significant shift from extensive to intensive farming.

37. The rationale for this statement will become clearer in Chapter 11 where the argument will be presented that changes that took place in farming in the district in the late 1940s substantially altered the pattern of farming, making intensive sheep farming more of a possibility than it had been before.

38. Hectares are only used for 1982 data. Prior to that, the acre-equivalents for these categories are as follows: Smallholdings - less than 50 acres; Small Farms - between 51 and 200 acres; Middle Farms - between 201 and 1,000 acres; Large Farms - above 1,000 acres.

39. It is obviously the case that 1,000 acres of arable farmland will be qualitatively different from 1,000 acres of hill or high country - hence the justification for categorising the farm land separately from runs and sheep stations.

40. Virtually all of these leases were Crown leases. Of the 80 leases, 18 were ordinary leases (22%), 20 were Renewable Leases of Farm Land (25%), 28 were Deferred Payment Licences (35%), 3 were Leases of Small Grazing Runs (4%) and 11 were Pastoral Leases (14%). While pastoral leases accounted for only 14% of all leases held in the district, the land that was held under these pastoral leases (105,318 ha's) accounted for 82% of all leasehold land in the district (128,567 ha's).

This reaffirms the importance of extensive pastoral farming within the district.

41. See Chapter 11.

42. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 11.

43. This clearly under-represents the value of the economic contribution that women make within the traditional family farm context.

44. The sheep on this property were shorn by a blade-shearing gang from Timaru.

45. The only exception here might be with heifers that were in calf. Since there was likely to be more problems with these, they would be brought into the yards to calf. Generally speaking, though, farmers would tend to wait until the cows were three years old (rather than eighteen month heifers) before breeding from them.

46. These are sheep in their second, third, fourth and fifth years of development respectively. Sheep start breeding when they are two-tooths and, on this property at least, the average breeding life of a ewe would be five years. When they reached five years they would be sorted, the good ones would be sold to down-country farmers and the rest would go to the freezing works to be slaughtered or boiled down.

47. Wethers would last nine years on average and rams five years. The only replacement stock that would be brought onto the property would be rams. The farmer bought about fifteen rams a year from Nelson - to make up for the fifteen older rams that would be killed each year for dog-tucker. Apart from this, all other stock would be bred on the farm.

48. Two crops of barley could be grown one after the other because it was less hard on the soil than wheat was. A better cycle, though, would be a five-year one that saw the paddock being sown in a root crop after the wheat to build the fertility of the soil up again.

49. This informants was the wife of a local businessman.

50. As part of the fund-raising activity for the Kurow Centennial Sports Complex, a localised telephone directory was produced that covered the area from Otematata to Duntroon. Local clubs were listed in the back of this and those that were active in the Kurow district numbered seventy-four.

51. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 12.

PART THREE

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

In the following chapters, the historical development of the district will be dealt with in four main periods: initial settlement - 1848 to 1890; consolidation - 1890 to 1920; the middle years - 1920 to 1950; and the contemporary scene - 1950 to 1982. This division reflects major developments at both the national and local levels.

The year 1848 marks the beginning of the pastoral age in New Zealand as pastoral runs were taken up and runholders began to graze their sheep on the unfenced native grasslands of the Wairarapa and the South Island. The occupation of such land in North Otago was completed in three waves. In the first wave, 1848-1853, much of the land on the coast was occupied. In the second, 1853-1856, land between the coast and Kurow Gorge was taken up. The final wave was between 1856 and 1860, when land further inland in the Kakanui high country and in the Upper Waitaki was occupied.

The 1860s marked the golden years of pastoral farming in New Zealand but by the 1880s this had been circumscribed by the effects of prolonged depression and the pressure towards more intensive sheep farming that came in the wake of the commencement of the refrigeration trade to Great Britain. The extensive properties of the runholders were also coming under increasing threat of subdivision and settlement in response to the demands of those who wanted a widening in the access to land. The immigration and public works policies of the Vogel government had brought more people to New Zealand in the 1870s. They had also resulted in the expansion of railway lines into the rural hinterland. Both contributed to increasing pressure for

subdivision. These economic, social and political pressures came together in the election of 1890, when the Liberal Party was voted into government and, among other things, began to implement its programme of land reforms. During these years, the foundations were being laid for a different economic, social and political order in New Zealand and the impact of this was felt at the local level. Subdivision of the pastoral estates brought closer settlement of the land, townships were established, schools, hotels and churches were opened and family farming began to emerge as a viable alternative to the extensive sheep farming of pastoral companies.

Between 1890 and 1920, high wool prices, the development of the refrigeration trade and the growth of the dairy industry resulted in uninterrupted economic growth in New Zealand. The main benefits of this were felt in the North Island, but rural districts in the South Island were not unaffected by this prosperity. Rural localities developed as a result of land settlement, and this fostered continued growth in the rural townships that serviced them. But new settlement not only meant increased business, it also meant more children for schools, more members for local associations and increased employment opportunities for a mobile workforce. Major land settlements in the Kurow district between 1880 and 1910 therefore contributed significantly to the social and economic growth of the district prior to World War I.

At the national level, 1920 marked the end of the war and the beginnings of the rural depression. Locally it marked the formal transition from horse transport to motorised transport.

In July, 1920, Munro's livery stables in Kurow became incorporated into the Kurow Motor Garage and Service Company Limited, and a new transportation era in the district had begun.

From 1920 to 1950 there were major social and economic changes in New Zealand, largely brought about by the fifteen years of economic hardship that accompanied the great depression. The election of a Labour government in 1935 represented a significant turning point, however, and the years immediately prior to and after the second World War brought economic recovery and then boom.

Apart from the impact of the depression, these thirty years were dominated in the Kurow district by two main developments. The first was the building of the Waitaki Dam just a few miles upriver from Kurow Township. The dam was built between 1928 and 1934, and a workforce of thousands was required for what was literally a "pick-and-shovel job". A project of such magnitude obviously had an impact at the local level. It left its mark nationally, too, since Nordmeyer and MacMillan, two men who were to have such a crucial role to play in the formation of the Labour Government's welfare policies in the 1930s, lived in Kurow at the time, as Presbyterian minister and doctor respectively. In association with Gerry Skinner, who also worked in the Kurow district and who was later to become a cabinet colleague of theirs, these men were involved with the hydro workers and were concerned about their working and living conditions. The seeds of the nation's welfare policies were therefore sown in Kurow during this period.

The second development of significance arose out of the increasing realisation, at both national and local level, that something needed to be done in rural districts to remedy the related problems of soil erosion and rabbit infestation. At the district level, this led in 1948 to the formation of the Waitaki Soil Conservation District Committee (forerunner of the Waitaki Catchment Commission) and also to the establishment of a number of local rabbit boards. The late 1940s and early 1950s were watershed years in farming in the Kurow district because of this.

The years from 1950 through to the early 1980s were marked by a long boom lasting until 1965-66 followed by a gradual decline into economic depression. The farming sector was sheltered from most of the impact of this depression because of interventionist policies of successive National governments, but this changed in the mid-1980s with the restructuring emphasis of the Labour government. Farming in the Kurow district during these years responded to the ebb and flow of national economic life at the same time as local farmers grappled with the problems of prolonged drought. Drought had been a recurring problem for Kurow farmers since the beginnings of European settlement, but the improvements in farming since the early 1950s made it all the more imperative that productivity not be sacrificed to it. As a result of this, irrigation took its place during this period alongside top-dressing and over-sowing as a significant factor in transforming farming in the district.

This period after 1950 also saw the expansion of hydro facilities in the Kurow district and in the Mackenzie Country. These years, more than any other, saw the focus of Kurow Town-

ship's service functions shift somewhat from the rural sector towards playing a supportive role in the servicing of this hydro development. While hydro development continued in the Upper Waitaki through to the early 1980s, construction work in the district began to wind down around 1965 with the completion of Benmore Dam. It was then that the transportation facilities in the district underwent rationalisation, as a number of North Otago transport firms amalgamated into a regional company.

The mid-1980s saw further de-escalation of rural services in the district. Completion of the Upper Waitaki hydro construction projects contributed to the decision to cut the rail service to Kurow and the level of servicing provided by the Waitaki Catchment Commission was curtailed as the conservation problems of the catchment were brought under control. Access to land continued to be a contentious issue, however. Seventy years after local pressure had initially been marshalled to have Hakataramea Station subdivided for closer settlement, the government still refused to acquire the station, and in 1978 it was bought by a private syndicate of South Canterbury farmers. The matter was a divisive one in the district, thus serving to re-emphasise the significance that land has had since initial settlement.

In the next nine chapters, the historical development of the district will be looked at in detail. Five chapters systematically review key aspects of the district's social structure during the four main periods, and the other four adopt a case-study approach and highlight particular developments of significance within the district.

Chapter 6 sets the scene by outlining the settlement that took place in the district between 1848 and 1890 and by highlighting the dominant role that two British pastoral companies played in this: Robert Campbell and Sons and the New Zealand and Australian Land Company. The other overview chapters (8, 10 and 12) will then use data from the reconstructions of 1905, 1920, 1935, 1950, 1965 and 1982 to analyse changes in the district's population structure, occupational structure, kinship density, marriage patterns, property ownership, sources of mortgage finance, continuity and leadership of local associations. This material is summarised in chapter 14.

The issues to be explored in the case-study chapters include: land, labour and community formation in 1890 (chapter 7), the settlement of Otekaike Station in 1908 (chapter 9), the watershed years of the late 1940s (chapter 11) and the Hakataramea Station issue of 1978 (chapter 13).

CHAPTER SIX

PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT

1850 to 1890

INTRODUCTION[1]

In January of 1844, camped just inland from the sea on the southern bank of the Waitaki river, Edward Shortland listened to his Maori guide Huruhuru talk of the country inland from where they were stationed. In his diary entry for January 13th, 1844, Shortland recorded the following commentary on that discussion:

> From his description, it appeared that there were extensive grass plains in the interior of this part of the island, similar to that which we were now traversing, and, no doubt, well adapted to pasture sheep. ... We may ... carry on the imagination to another century - when this now desert country will no doubt be peopled - when the plains will be grazed on by numerous flocks of sheep, and the streams, now flowing idly through remote valleys, will be compelled to perform their share of labour in manufacturing wool. (1851:207)

Little did Shortland realise on that January day in 1844 how close to eventual reality his imaginations were to be as these inland districts were settled and developed.[2] Sheep were indeed to dominate this development, and of these inland districts, nowhere was this more true than in the Kurow district.

THE PASTORAL AGE

According to Condliffe (1959:20), the years 1850-1882 constituted the "pastoral age" in New Zealand's history.[3] As the government opened up land for settlement, particularly in the Wairarapa and in the South Island, sheep farmers took out pastoral licenses over large runs and began to graze their flocks on the unfenced native grasslands.

The occupation of pastoral land in North Otago began in 1848, the year of the founding of the Otago settlement. Prior to that, the only Europeans in the region had been sealers and

whalers.[4] Between 1848 and 1853 much of the land on the coast was occupied. This was the first wave of pastoral settlement in North Otago. The second wave occurred between 1853 and 1856, when almost the whole of the region up to the Kurow gorge was occupied. In the third wave, 1856-1860, the high country of the Kakanui's and the Upper Waitaki was settled. Speaking of this period, the North Otago historian, K.C. McDonald, commented:

> In these years ... we may picture eager seekers of 'country', singly or in groups, generally on horseback, probing the land beyond the bounds of existing runs. A tract having been chosen and mentally defined by natural landmarks, the prospective runholder rode back to Dunedin to lodge his application. There the Commissioner accepted a deposit of twenty pounds, allotted a number, and marked off the area on whatever rough sketch-map existed. It remained for the pastoralist to acquire a flock, perhaps from an established runholder or perhaps imported direct from Hobart or Melbourne, and to get it on the run. Only when he had proved effective occupation did he get his license. (1962:41)

An article in the Otago Witness of December 4th, 1858, summarised the incentives for this in the following way:

> In a new country, pastoral pursuits naturally present the most inviting field for the settler. The grassy downs, the hills, from base to slope snowline, clad with various verdure, seem to invite the lowing herds and the bleating flocks; and especially in a country like this, so rich in grasses, so well-watered, so free from wild animals, pastoral pursuits must be, to many, pleasant and profitable.

The grass on the hillsides may have been green and inviting, but the economic prognosis contained in this article was far from accurate. By the time the serious work of subdividing the South Island sheep stations was begun in the 1880s, many of these optimistic, would-be pastoral farmers had

been ruined, either by worsening economic conditions or by scab, snow, rabbits or drought (Vance 1965:135).[5]

The settlement of the land had begun in reasonably prosperous times. The downland runs in North Otago had been taken up by 1856. In South Canterbury, a similar situation existed. But the sensation that accompanied the capture of James Mackenzie, the sheep thief, in March of 1855 had also drawn attention to the possibility of the existence of unclaimed land further inland. It was another year, however, before applications were successfully lodged for any of this land (Pinney 1971:180). Knowing about available land was one thing, but it still had to be shown that sheep could be successfully grazed on such high country. It was only after this had been established that applications were made for this country. By the end of 1858, all of this high country land behind the downland runs in North Otago and South Canterbury had been applied for, and in some cases had been occupied.[6]

The population of North Otago was still rather small in the 1850s. A provincial census taken on the last day of 1854 revealed that North Otago had a total European population of 107, of whom 48 resided in the Waitaki Valley. By the 1856 census, the Waitaki population had doubled to 82, and half of these were English.[7] The number of Maoris in the population was extremely small by comparison.[8]

Commenting on this period of settlement, K.C. McDonald concluded:

> By the end of the decade of the fifties, North Otago, apart from a few small sections, was still Crown land, partitioned into about 30 sheep runs carrying in all 120,000 sheep. The landscape had

> been little changed by its scattered occupants. It was still a land without roads, towns, schools, churches or courts. Conditions of living were rigorous and testing. (1962:61):[9]

On May 26th, 1859, the first sections in Oamaru were sold, and by 1860 the Otago Witness was saying:

> Already Oamaru presents the appearance of a place of considerable business and bustle, especially when the steamer arrives.[10]

By the end of 1861, Oamaru's population numbered 207, and by 1864, when the first edition of the Oamaru Mail was published, this had risen to 730.[11] The impetus for growth was provided by the opening up of agricultural land close to the township and by the discovery of gold in the Lindis Pass area.[12]

By September of 1858, each of the thirteen main sheep stations in the Upper Waitaki had been applied for and settled (see Table 6.1). The preponderance of Englishmen among these first settlers is quite striking and, indeed, this pattern carried through to 1890.[13] Between 1853 and 1890 there were fifty men who were involved, either singly or jointly, in holding leases on these sheep stations in the Upper Waitaki. Seven of these were of indeterminable national origin, but of the rest, thirty-one were English, eight were Scottish, two were Irish and two were Australian.

Such Scotsmen as there were in the Upper Waitaki during this period were mainly shepherds or boundary keepers. Pinney comments:

> The solid reliable boundary keepers were Scottish. Some had been born in poverty and inured to primitive housing and wild weather. They were used to sheep and brought with them the ancestors of our sheep dogs. Alone in their isolated huts many of them read the Bible by the light of home-made mutton-fat candles in which maggots cracked and popped. (1971:132)

Table 6.1

Initial Settlement of Sheep Stations
in the Upper Waitaki
1854-1858

SHEEP STATION	Approximate Area (Acres)	Date of First Application	Nationality of Applicant	Name of Original Applicant
Ben Lomond	35,000	January 1854	English	William H. Valpy
Otekaike Station	51,200	September 1854	English	Samuel Pyke
Station Peak	75,000	October 1854	English	John Parkin Taylor
Kurow Station	47,000	December 1856	Scottish	John McLean
Hakataramea Station	120,000	February 1857	English	Sir William Congreve
Otematata Station	65,000	March 1857	English	Rev John Chapman Andrew
Hakataramea Downs	20,000	March 1857	English	Joseph Longden
Rocky Point	45,000	March 1857	English	Jospeh Longden
Benmore Station	200,000	April 1857	Scottish	Ronald McMurdo and George and Edmund Hodgkinson
Waitangi Station	72,000	September 1857	English	Edmund Gibson
Te Akatarawa	20,000	May 1858	English	Thomas Carter Moorhouse
Rugged Ridges	60,000	September 1858	English	Reginald Julius and Harrie Carr Robinson
Omarama Station	181,440	September 1858	English	Harrie Carr Robinson
TOTAL	991,640			

This material has been extracted from Robert Pinney :
Early South Canterbury Runs, AH and AW Reed Ltd, 1971 and Early Northern Otago Runs, Collins, 1981.

Leasehold was the operative tenure for most of this land, the reasons for which are obvious. The available population that could settle the land was small, and better land was available elsewhere in the colony. There was therefore little incentive for settlers to freehold this land and so, with an eye to opening up the country and bringing in some revenue, the government had adopted the leasehold system (Pinney 1971:22).

With much unclaimed land being available in North Otago and South Canterbury in the 1850s, many settlers without sufficient capital for the venture were enticed into taking up huge leases at relatively low rents. Stock was scarce at the time because of the demand for sheep from runholders in Otago and Southland, so the price of sheep was high. While this was initially problematic to the settler in his attempts to get established, at least it offered the prospects of a good return from a breeding flock.

By 1865, however, there were definite signs that the times of prosperity were about to come to an end. Natural increase had relieved stock shortages, and prices fell. After this came, in quick succession, the London crash of May 1866, a severe winter in North Otago in 1867 and the lowest wool prices in London for twenty years in 1868 and 1869. This unfortunate combination of events brought ruin to many sheep farmers who were trying to operate with insufficient capital.

While some runholders in the Upper Waitaki managed to weather the storm of the late 1860s, nevertheless there were many others who did not.[14] In the wake of their demise emerged the consolidation of company landholding in the Upper Waitaki that

was to be such a feature of landholding in the region during the subsequent twenty to thirty years (see Diagram 6.1).

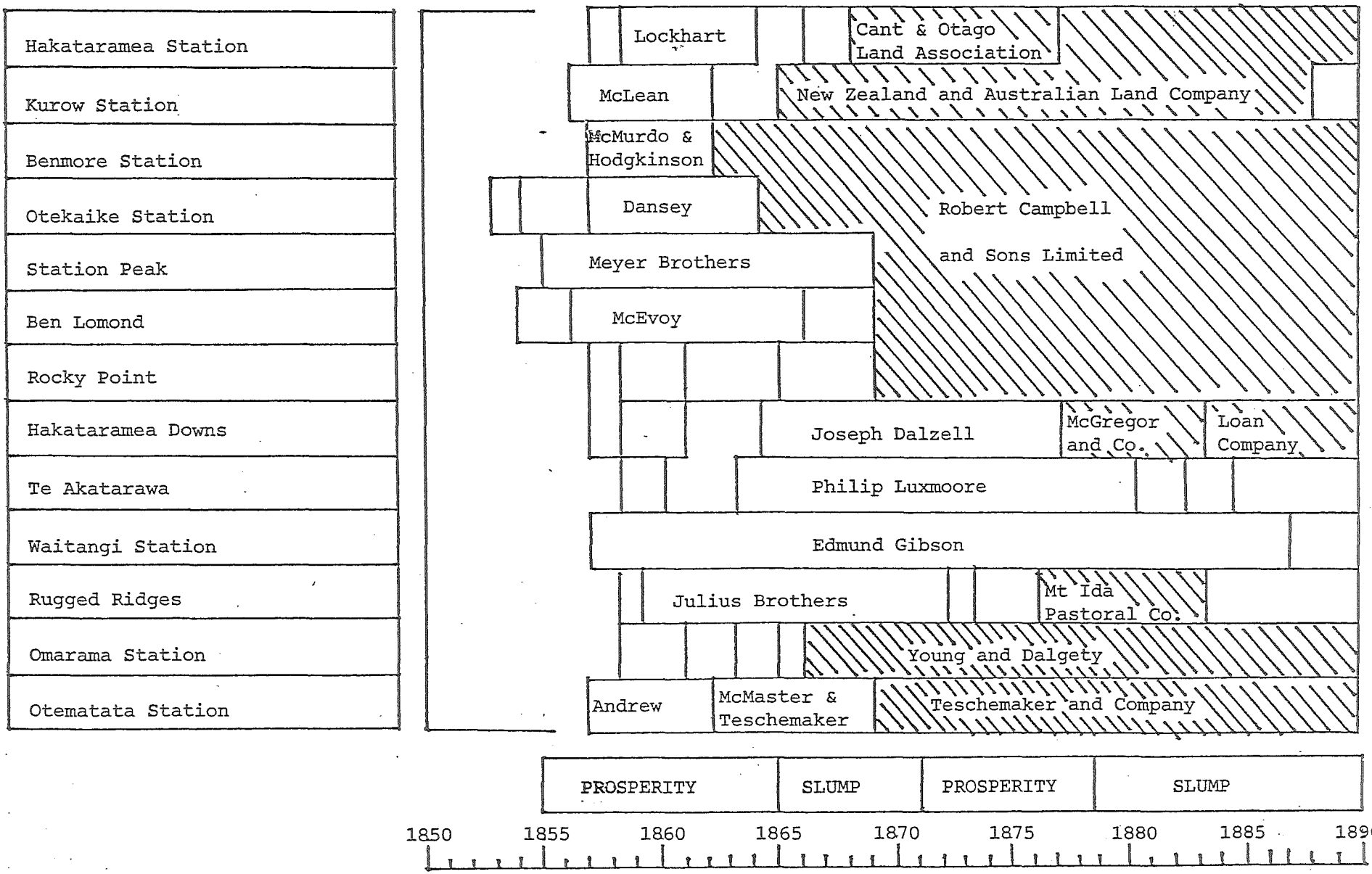
Two companies dominated in this regard : the Glasgow-based New Zealand and Australian Land Company and the English family firm of Robert Campbell (subsequently known as Robert Campbell and Sons Limited). By 1870 these two companies between them held title to just over half of the pastoral land in the Upper Waitaki and therefore were very significant in shaping the future development of the region.[15] As such, they merit special mention and in doing so, particular attention must be paid to the four main sheep stations that they held in the Kurow district - Otekaike Station and Station Peak (Campbell); Kurow Station and Hakataramea (Land Company).

ROBERT CAMPBELL AND SONS LIMITED[16]

Robert Campbell was originally from Buscot in Berkshire, England, and had been educated at Eton. He arrived in Otago in the company of an elder brother around 1859 and would have been only 16 at the time.

In partnership with William Anderson Low, Campbell acquired Benmore Station in the Upper Waitaki in April 1863 for 36,000 pounds.[17] The station then comprised 200,000 acres and had between 14,000 and 15,000 sheep on it. The Campbells also had interests with Low in Galloway Station, also in the Upper Waitaki. In 1864, Campbell acquired Otekaike Station from William Dansey, and this became the headquarters for the family's New Zealand estates.[18] In 1869 he acquired three more properties: Ben Lomond, Station Peak and Rocky Point. Ben Lomond

Diagram 6.1
Major Landholdings in the Upper Waitaki, 1853 to 1890



was situated just below Otekaike Station, and so this extended Campbell's boundaries beyond Otekaike Creek to the Maerewhenua River. Station Peak was on the other side of the Waitaki River from Otekaike and included land on the eastern side of the Hakataramea Valley. Rocky Point adjoined Station Peak in the upper portions of the Hakataramea Valley.

By 1876, Campbell had a massive network of landholdings all over Otago and Southland. In North Otago alone, he held nearly three hundred thousand acres. By 1877 he was the largest sheep farmer in North Otago, with a combined flock of 155,000 sheep.[19] It was with some justification, then, that K.C. McDonald referred to Campbell as "the doyen of the sheep kings" (McDonald, 1962:75).

As one commentator has pointed out, however, what was striking about these properties was that they were managed, in effect, as one run:

> Where modern runholders think of summer and winter country as two aspects of a ridge, or two levels of a valley, Campbell's managers evidently thought in terms of river basins. The sheep were moved quite freely across the boundaries of the runs, which at one point stretched from Rhoborough Downs, Ben Ohau and the Ahuriri River down to Maerewhenua. (Scoular, 1977:6)[20]

Campbell, in fact, was operating these properties on behalf of the family firm, Robert Campbell and Company and, as such, he was part of a chain of command that stretched back to London. Major decisions relating to the operation of the runs had to be referred there. This overseas connection had beneficial results for the operation of the runs insofar as the company had access to sources of funds outside New Zealand. This

meant that it was easier for the Campbells to survive local periods of economic difficulty in New Zealand. The nature of this overseas connection, however, tended to mean that available capital was used for the extensive acquisition of land rather than for the internal development of particular runs.[21]

The extensive Campbell properties were run by managers while Campbell busied himself with public and other duties. He was a member of the House of Representatives and, later, of the Legislative Council. He was the first chairman of the Waitaki County Council and was also a member of the Oamaru Harbour Board. He was a member of the Senate of the University of New Zealand and was also one of the first governors of Waitaki Boys High school in Oamaru. He was also a shareholder and director of the Duntroon-Hakataramea Railway Company and the Oamaru Woollen Mill Company.

In 1881 Robert Campbell returned to England and, as a result of family discussions, a new company, Robert Campbell and Sons Limited, was formed to take over the running of the New Zealand properties.

Robert Campbell was only 46 when he died in 1889. His father had died in England two years previously. The series of family deaths continued when Robert Campbell's widow died a mere four months after her husband,[22] but the collective Campbell New Zealand properties had been managed over the years by a succession of extremely capable managers and so the company was able to survive the deaths without major disruption to its pastoral affairs. Within twenty years, however, the company's interests in the Upper Waitaki had been dissolved with the

successive subdivisions of Station Peak (1890 to 1906), Otekaike (1908) and Benmore (1916). Of the Campbell sheep stations in the Kurow district, Otekaike had been the more important.

Otekaike Station[23]

Otekaike Station was originally known as run number 28, and its initial boundaries were Kurow Creek and Otekaike Creek. Between these two creeks, the property ran back from the Waitaki River to the summit of the Saint Mary Range. The run had first been licensed to Samuel Hillier Pyke on 11 September 1854, but Pyke did not retain it for long. By 1856 it was in the possession of John Parkin Taylor. Pyke and Taylor had both originally been "overlanders", coming to the Waitaki from Nelson in response to land pressure there. Both had initially held land on the other side of the Waitaki River in South Canterbury and, like Pyke, Taylor did not hold the lease to Otekaike for long. In 1857 Taylor sold the property to William Heywood Dansey and left for Southland, where he was later appointed Superintendent of the province. Dansey was an Englishman, the son of a clergyman and had been educated at Exeter College, Oxford.

There is a mention of stock in the transfer of the property to Dansey, so there must have been sheep on the run before 1857. By 1859, Dansey had 5,350 sheep on the property and was beginning to get himself established. In 1861, local limestone from the back of the property was quarried and a simple dwelling erected close by the cave which Taylor had used for his accommodation. Stocking a run during this period was extremely expensive, with sheep costing as much as fourteen pounds a

head.[24] Nevertheless, during Dansey's term of ownership, the number of sheep on Otekaike doubled such that by the time the property was transferred to Robert Campbell in 1864, there were 12,300 sheep on it.

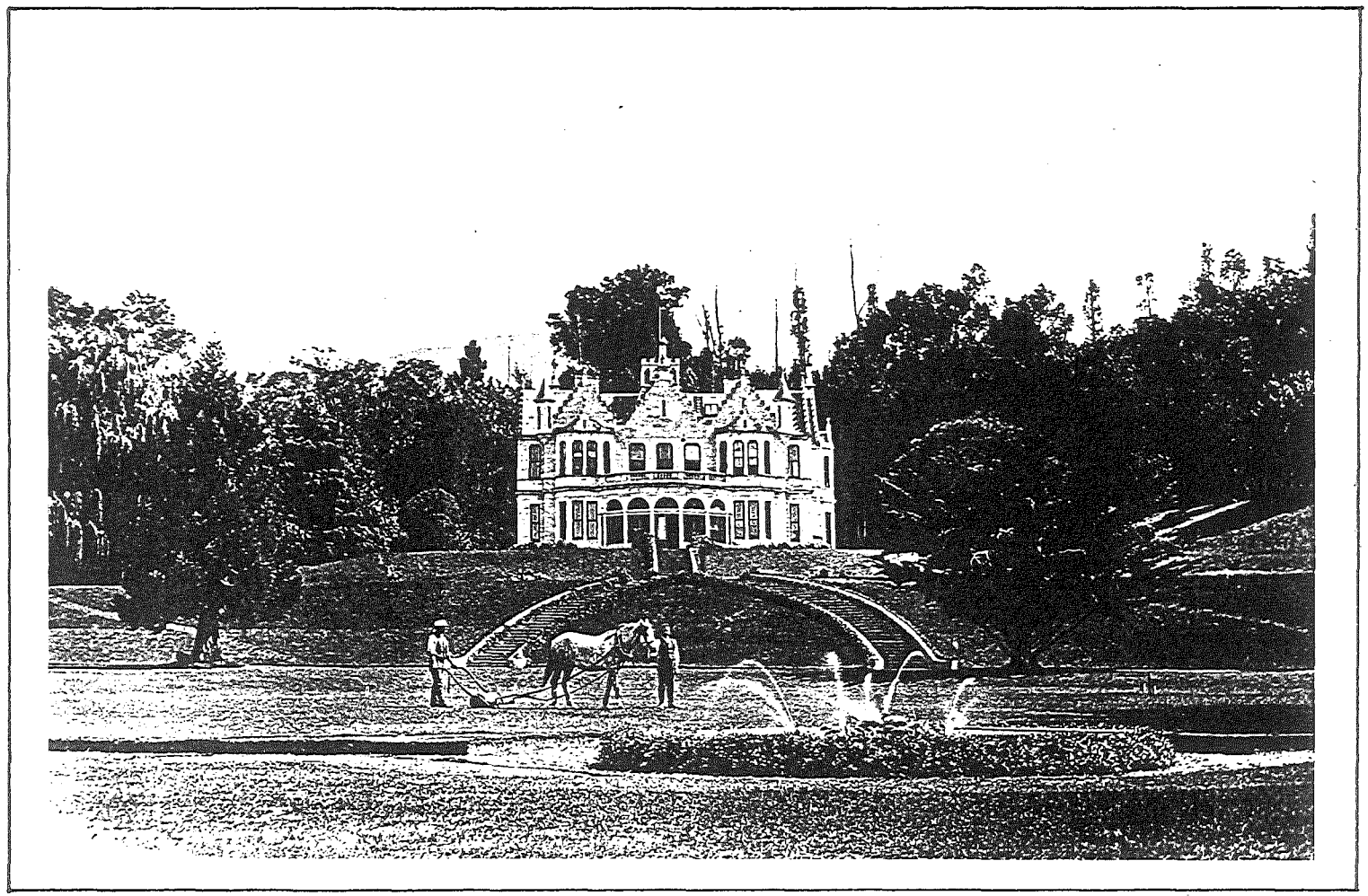
Commenting on these early years of the station's history, the North Otago historian, G.B. Stevenson, said:

> The history of the earliest years at Otekaike is similar to that of many other runs. It may have been that they were acquired more in the way of speculation than genuine farming, but there is no doubt that the difficulty of transport over roadless country and the utter isolation of the earliest settlers tended to dampen their enthusiasm for pioneering in the back country. Lack of finance for stocking at prohibitive prices must also have caused many of the earliest settlers, or squatters as they were known, to sell out without making very much effort to settle down and farm their property. (n.d.:2)

By 1868, Campbell was running 24,000 sheep on Otekaike. Dansey had laid the foundation for the station but Campbell, with access to overseas capital, was able to build on this. In Stevenson's estimation, he eventually made it into "one of the most important in New Zealand" (Stevenson, n.d.:2).

Two things that were noteworthy about Otekaike during this period were Campbell's stud merino flock and the station's impressive homestead and grounds. Built while Campbell was back in England during 1875-6, the homestead was reminiscent of baronial dwellings from the old country. Stevenson described it as being:

> ... aloof and dignified, a typical English manor, complete with conservatory, wide lawns, avenues, gravel drives, ponds, water lilies, peacocks on the terraces, extensive stables and lodge and all the other trimmings required by the Victorian nobility. (Ibid.)



[Kurow Museum]

Otekaike Station Homestead
Late 1890s

The lifestyle that went with the mansion was equally dignified. Balls, functions and district picnics were commonplace and, indeed, were consistent with a "squirely" role.

The lease for run 28 expired in 1878, and the government resumed 9,000 acres of it. The land lay between Kurow Creek and Otiake Creek, west of the station homestead and, being mainly flat land, it was settled as small farms. This was the beginning of the Otiake locality. Campbell retained the remainder of Run 28. An area of Ben Lomond was similarly resumed by the government and offered for sale in 1880.

At the time of the transfer of titles to Robert Campbell and Sons Limited in 1881, Otekaike Station comprised approximately 19,000 acres of freehold land and 37,000 acres of leasehold land.

Robert Campbell and his wife died childless, and no Campbell lived again in the Otekaike homestead until Robin Campbell, a nephew, took over the supervision of the company's Waitaki properties in 1897. Robin Campbell and his wife continued Otekaike's tradition of the grand lifestyle up until the station was sold in 1905.

Station Peak[25]

Station Peak was on the Canterbury side of the Waitaki River, a little up river from Otekaike. It was situated in the angle of the Waitaki and Hakataramea Rivers and extended eight miles along the Waitaki River front as well as sixteen miles into the Hakataramea Valley to Rocky Point.

Station Peak was originally allotted as three runs of 25,000 acres each. By 1856, all three runs were being operated by Henry Meyer, although two were still not in his name (Pinney, 1971:246). Meyer was an 26-year-old Englishman, the son of a businessman. By 1863 Meyer was running 17,800 sheep on Station Peak. This had risen to 32,000 sheep by 1867. He held the station with his brother Charles until 1869 when, in response to the effects of the downturn in the pastoral industry, they sold the station to Robert Campbell. The station was sold for 40,500 pounds, with 41,000 sheep, 13,500 lambs, 50 cattle, 16 horses and 33 miles of fencing (Pinney, 1971:248). At virtually the same time, Campbell also bought Rocky Point and so extended his holding up the easterly bank of the Hakataramea River until it met Hakataramea Downs.[26]

According to Pinney, Station Peak and Rocky Point were run together and totalled 122,000 acres. The stock returns were nearly always for over 60,000 sheep. The main drafting centre for the stock was at Table Top, but the manager's homestead was four miles down river from Hakataramea. The Station Peak manager from 1872 to 1874 is thought to have been W.G. Rees, but by 1877 it was Robert Roe Orr, a relative of Campbell's mother.

In the late 1870s, as a result of the speculative land boom in Canterbury, attempts were made by interlopers to freehold land in the middle of the station and thus force the sale of at least the top half of the property. Campbell was forced to take countervailing measures in order to maintain an access corridor of land between the two segments of the station and the interlopers were successfully repulsed. As Pinney commented,

however, the end of the freeholding period marked the end of the times of prosperity, and "hard times are at their worst on stations run by distant companies" (1971:252).

Stock returns show that in 1888 and 1889, 62,000 sheep were being run on Station Peak. The station's days were numbered, however. The Crown Lands Commissioners classified 20,000 acres of the station's more accessible hill country as suitable for dividing into eight small grazing runs, and on July 18th, 1890, shortly after the deaths of Robert Campbell and his wife, the sale of the Station Peak runs was held.[27]

The Campbell company retained the more northerly of the leases but were forced to relinquish these also in 1892. They still retained enough freehold land, however, to run 30,000 sheep,[28] but the economic times were hard. On March 23rd, 1892, William Shirres wrote to his father from Aviemore Station near Otematata:

> I don't think you altogether comprehend the great fall, especially in Merino wool, that has taken place. As an instance, Station Peak wool, one of Campbell and Sons, Limited, stations, was withdrawn at an average of nine and a half pence in London about this time last year. Sale after sale it was withdrawn until last December it averaged sixpence. ... Since then there has been another fall of about 10 per cent (Shirres, 1964:260).

In the early 1900s Edward Harris became the manager of the depleted Station Peak. He was married to the sister of Robin Campbell of Otekaike. He was given the task of disposing of the freehold land and this was completed in 1904.[29]

THE NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIAN LAND COMPANY[30]

The other major pastoral company in the Upper Waitaki in the 1870s was the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, hereafter referred to as the Land Company. The Campbell company was an English concern, but the Land Company was Scottish.

In the late 1850s there was a number of syndicates and pastoral associations being formed in Britain with the purpose of buying up land in Australia and New Zealand.[31] The beginnings of the Land Company can be found in the Holme's Association, founded in Glasgow in November of 1858 and headed by Matthew Holmes, an Irishman. An important acquisition of theirs in New Zealand was the Totara Estate in North Otago, just south of Oamaru. One man who had money invested in the Holme's Association was James Morton, a Glasgow financier.

The quick returns from pastoral land that were expected by investors did not materialise. Development costs of such estates in New Zealand and Australia were high, and properties had to be held for a considerable period of time before bringing the anticipated returns (Parry 1968:9). For the ventures to be developed properly, capital and expertise was required. James Morton was to provide these.

In 1866, under Morton's guidance, a number of these syndicates, including the Holme's Association, were amalgamated to form the original New Zealand and Australian Land Company. The Company was incorporated on March 8th, 1866, with capital of two million pounds. As a result of the mergers, it held title to twenty-seven estates in Otago and Southland as well as some suburban land and approximately two million acres of leasehold

land in Australia. James Morton was appointed the company's general manager. He remained in the company's head office in Glasgow, while oversight of the operation in New Zealand was provided by the company's colonial agent, John Douglas, and its newly appointed superintendent, Thomas Brydone.[32]

At this stage, the Land Company's operations in New Zealand were restricted to Otago and Southland, where it operated a number of large sheep stations - Kurow, Ardgowan, Totara and Moeraki in North Otago, Kawarau in Central Otago, Clydevale, Waitepeka and Merrie Creek in South Otago and Edendale, Spar Bush and Aparima in Southland. In 1877, however, it extended into Canterbury when it merged with the Canterbury and Otago Association, a company that owned estates in Canterbury - The Levels, Acton, Pareora and Hakataramea - and in Otago - Deep Dell.[33]

The merger, when it came, was a rather obvious one. The two companies shared the same agricultural and pastoral interests in New Zealand, they both had the same general manager - James Morton - their boards of directors were virtually identical, and they both operated from the same building in Glasgow, and with the same staff! The new company, formed as the result of an act of Parliament,[34] retained the name of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company and was incorporated on October 26th, 1877, with capital of two and a half million pounds.

Morton remained general manager of the new company for only another year. He was a major shareholder in the City of Glasgow Bank, and, when it collapsed in October of 1878, he resigned and was replaced as general manager by William Soltau Davidson.[35]

The significance of the Land Company to New Zealand's pastoral industry cannot be overlooked. They were responsible for the beginnings of the frozen-meat trade to Britain in 1882[36] and also for the development of the Corriedale sheep.[37] At one stage, the Company was New Zealand's largest landowner, apart from the Crown. It held a total of 550,000 acres, ran 334,000 sheep, 6000 cattle, owned 824 horses and had 6000 acres in wheat and 13,500 acres in turnips (Parry 1968:7).

Summarising the Land Company's significance, Martine said:

> Large land and investment companies, for the most part British based, played an important role in nineteenth century New Zealand. Some were purely speculative enterprises which bought land and were then content to sit back and wait for prices to increase until large profits could be made by selling. At the other end of the scale were those who invested the capital of their shareholders in developing and improving the land in New Zealand to the benefit of all parties, thus paving the way for intensive farming and closer settlement. The biggest and most successful of these concerns was the New Zealand and Australian Land Company. (1982:14-15)[38]

Other commentators have not been so complimentary in assessing the contribution of the Land Company. In his history of South Canterbury, for example, Gillespie said:

> The New Zealand and Australian Land Company ... played an important part in the development of South Canterbury, though it was too much concerned with paying dividends and too little concerned with conserving soil fertility in the days when the soil was thought to be inexhaustible. (1971:310)

The Land Company owned two main sheep stations in the Kurow district, Kurow Station and Hakataramea Station. Some background to both of these will now be provided.

Kurow Station[39]

Kurow Station was originally known as run 23, extending from the Waitaki River to the Saint Mary Range, bounded downstream by the Kurow Creek and upstream by Fern Gully Creek at Wharekuri. Altogether it comprised about 47,000 acres.

According to Pinney (1981:89) run 23 was first applied for by John Borton, but he withdrew his application in favour of claims he had on larger tracts of land downstream in the Duntroon district. The vacant run, known at that stage as "The Gorge", was then applied for by John McLean, who was granted a fourteen-year lease from December 22nd, 1856. Pinney assumes that McLean had previously been a shepherd on Maerewhenua or Ben Lomond. McLean died under mysterious circumstances in 1862, and in 1863 the run was bought by Douglas and Alderson, agents for a number of British land syndicates. The new owners paid 15,000 pounds for the run, which then had 11,681 sheep run on it (Pinney 1981:89). Douglas and Alderson held Kurow Station for only three years, when it was transferred to the Land Company, and a new fourteen-year lease was issued from December 22nd, 1866.

From 11,681 sheep in 1863, the flock size was built up to 19,026 in 1870. A valuation was done on the station just prior to the expiration of the lease in 1880. From 1875 to 1879 inclusive, the flock averaged 24,921; the rent was 635 pounds for 46,495 acres; the working expenses per annum averaged 1,938 pounds, the wool clip, 5,536 pounds and the surplus stock, 1,781 pounds. The number of sheep shorn in those years varied from 20,242 to 21,456. The manager during this time was Robert Little.[40]

When the fourteen-year lease expired in 1880, the station was divided into five runs, totalling 43,050 acres.[41] The Land Company secured four of these runs (34,280 acres) and were granted a ten-year lease from March 1st, 1881.[42] The rent was doubled to 1,250 pounds.

The manager in the early 1880s was Alexander Chapman, but he left the company's employ in 1886 after a disagreement with the superintendent, Thomas Brydone. The settlement of Kurow Township had begun by this stage, and there was local pressure to have the station subdivided. In 1888 the Crown resumed the leases of Kurow Station and let them as nine small grazing runs.[43] The Land Company continued to run stock on its freehold land until it sold this in 1890.

The Land Company held Kurow Station for only some twenty years, but it was to be a different story with Hakataramea Station.

Hakataramea Station[44]

The original applicant for Hakataramea Station (run 158) was Sir William Congreve, an thirty-year-old English baronet. His application was made on February 25th, 1857, for 20,000 acres at the junction of the Waitaki River and the westerly bank of the Hakataramea River. The lease conditions required that such a run be stocked within a year, and Congreve perjured himself by signing a false declaration that he had stocked the run as required. The matter was the subject of a formal enquiry by the Waste Lands Board, during which Congreve claimed that he understood that Meyer of Station Peak would provide the necessary

stock and so had signed the declaration, but Meyer denied any such involvement. The Waste Lands Board severely reprimanded Congreve, but he was not required to forfeit the run (Pinney, 1971:113-114).

It is not known when the transfer of title took place, but Pinney reports that by May 4th, 1858, the rent for the run was being paid by George Duncan Lockhart, brother to a Scottish baronet (1971:114).[45] In 1859-60 he was the Timaru electoral district representative on the Canterbury Provincial Council. In June of 1857, prior to the Congreve enquiry, Lockhart had already lodged applications for other land in the Hakataramea Valley, and he eventually controlled all of the west side of the valley as well as land beyond the pass at the top. By 1863 he was running at least 26,500 sheep on the station (Pinney, 1971:117).

Pinney comments, however, that run boundaries at the top of the Hakataramea Valley were ill-defined at the time, and so in the early 1860s Lockhart found himself embroiled in litigation when he was accused of selling land over which he held no title (Pinney, 1971:115-116). The heavy costs of litigation undermined his financial position,[46] and in 1864, Douglas and Alderson bought Hakataramea Station on behalf of the New Zealand and Otago Agricultural and Land Investment Association for 44,000 pounds. The ubiquitous James Morton was general manager of the Association and its principal shareholder.[47]

Alderson died in 1865 and on August 6th, 1868, the New Zealand and Otago Agricultural and Land Investment Association voluntarily wound up its affairs, and assets were transferred to the Canterbury and Otago Association on February 3rd, 1869.[48]

The boundaries to the station were properly established soon after this, and the task of fencing part of the property - at an average cost of 55-58 pounds a mile - was begun (Parry, 1968:19). At that time 32,000 ewes were being run in the valley, a further 24,000 sheep being run in the Mackenzie country across the Hakataramea Pass.[49]

In 1876, the Agricultural College Reserve land on the station was thrown open for sale at two pounds per acre. Since this included the best land in the valley, it obviously caused concern to the station's owners. William Davidson was anxious to retain the low-lying country, since this was essential to the farming operation. He succeeded in doing this by freeholding strategic strips of land of between twenty and thirty acres each. By then buying up blocks of land between the strips that had been "spotted", the Association eventually freeholded about 22,000 acres of land, mainly around the homestead.[50]

A more serious threat was posed in the late 1870s when a group of speculators led by John McGregor, an Oamaru engineer, attempted to split the station in half by freeholding large tracts of land in the middle reaches of the Hakataramea Valley. This is commented on later in the chapter but the intention of the speculators was obviously to cut off the stock routes between the homestead and the top end of the station. Like Campbell on the other side of the Hakataramea River, the station's owners did some freeholding of their own to try to counter the threat, but they were eventually forced to establish an outstation at Round Hill to service the northern segment of the station.

In 1877 the Canterbury and Otago Association merged with the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, but with the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank on October 2nd, 1878, the financial basis of the new company must have been extremely precarious. By November 8th, 1878, McGregor and his partners had contracted to buy Hakataramea Station - reputedly for 120,000 pounds with 21,800 acres of freehold and 62,500 sheep[51] - but for some inexplicable reason the deal fell through, and the station remained in the hands of the Land Company. Parry assumes that the finance companies behind the company took fright and pulled out of the deal (1968:23). The land freeholded by McGregor and his partners - including Hakataramea Downs - was eventually acquired by the Land Company in 1900, thus eliminating the barrier to its operations in the middle of the valley.

Unlike Robert Campbell and Company, the Land Company survived the threats to its ownership of Hakataramea Station and, although depleted through time with the resumption of leases by the Crown, the station remained in the Company's control until 1968. That part of the story will be told in chapter 13.

SETTLEMENT OF THE KUROW DISTRICT

In the early 1850s, the Maori chief "Warekorari" had reported that there was lignite coal to be found inland from his kaika at Hakataramea. With fuel scarce in the region, this find was seen as significant and the then District Commissioner, Walter Mantell, visited the district to investigate. The lignite venture did not come to much, but as a result of his visit Mantell believed that he had found the ideal site for a bridge

across the river, just west of where Kurow Township now stands. He also envisaged locating a town close by the bridge that, in his estimation would eventually become the most important town in the South Island. Like the lignite, the plans for the town and the bridge did not come to much, but the seeds of an idea had been sown.

Such settlement as there was in the district during this time - apart from around sheep-station homesteads, that is - was centred around accommodation houses and ferries. Ferries across the Waitaki were operated by Maori, but the first government ferries started about 1858. According to Gillespie (1971:234), John Merry was the first man to operate a ferry at Hakataramea. He commenced in 1860 and operated a ferry and accommodation house for about five or six years. The ferry crossed just below Kurow gorge, and the accommodation house, on the South Canterbury side of the river, was known as the Upper Ferry accommodation house. In 1866 it was taken over by William Ross, a Hakataramea blacksmith, while the ferry business was taken over by Christian Hille and William Cain.[52] Cain later operated a ferry in his own right opposite Waitangi.

Christian Hille was a German who had been working for Dansey of Otekaike Station as a boundary rider.[53] In 1861, however, he opened the Westmere accommodation house beside Kurow Creek, and not long afterwards it was visited by the Reverend Simeon Elwell, who described it in the following terms:

> The inn consisted of three rooms on the ground floor - a kitchen and a bar, general sitting room and a small side room. The storey above these three rooms consisted of two bedrooms, one for Christian and his wife and the other for the travellers. The house was built of weatherboards. (1878:226)

Besides Westmere and Upper Ferry, the other accommodation houses in the district were at Wharekuri, Otematata and just below Mount Parker at Penticotico.

In the 1874 census the population of the Upper Waitaki numbered 156 people (123 males and 33 females), 32 at Benmore, 27 at Omarama, 12 at Otematata, 5 at Rugged Ridges, 12 at Wharekuri, 38 at Kurow and 30 at Otekaike. Since there was no settlement at Kurow at that time, these 38 people must have been attached to the Land Company's Kurow Station.

With the lessening of the slump of the 1860s, the Vogel government embarked in the 1870s on policies of borrowing overseas money for national development and of encouraging immigration. The circulation of capital from Vogel's public works policy combined with improved wool prices to usher in a new period of prosperity and optimism that lasted until 1878. Two implications of significant consequence for the Kurow district flowed out of this prosperity. The first of these has been referred to already and that was the spate of unparalleled free-holding speculation that erupted in Canterbury in response to the easy availability of capital. The other was the impetus given to the building of roads and railways and the consequent encouragement that this gave to pressure for closer settlement of the estates.

Freehold Speculation

During the 1870s, leasehold land could be freeholded for two pounds an acre anywhere in Canterbury, and in many cases the target of the freeholding was the large sheep stations.

During 1873 and 1874, John McGregor, a civil engineer from Oamaru, freeholded extensive acreages out of Elephant Hill station in Waihaorunga. Then, in 1876 and 1877, 8,700 acres in the Hakataramea Valley were freeholded out of Robert Campbell's Station Peak property. The acreage may not have been large, but its location was strategic since the intention was to drive a wedge between the upper and lower portions of the estate and thus render the whole unmanageable.[54] In response to this threat, Campbell had to take countervailing freeholding measures of his own in order to secure an access corridor of land through this speculative wedge - see Figure 6.1.[55]

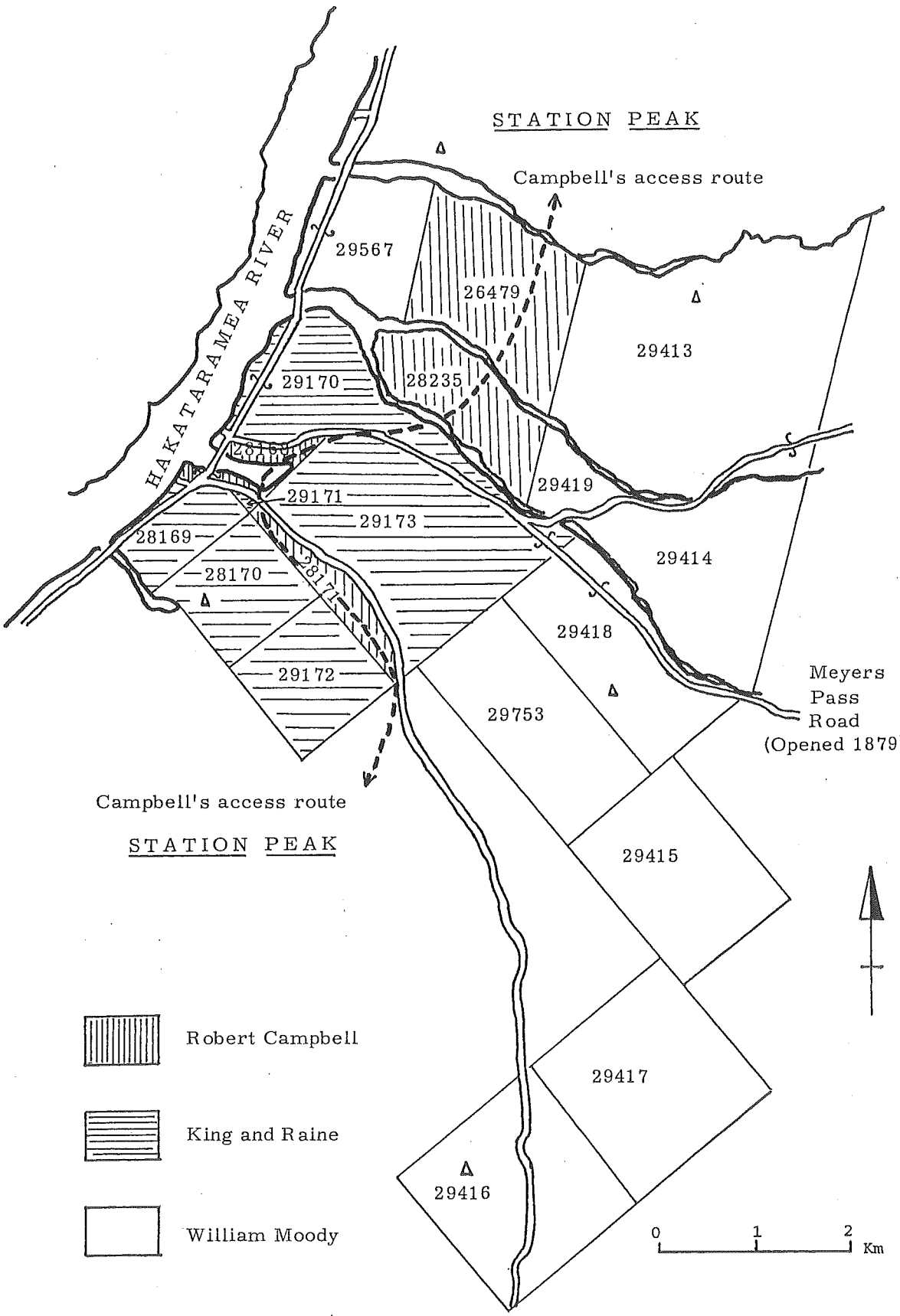
It may have been the case that the Station Peak speculators were in collusion with McGregor - they used the same surveyor, if that is anything to go by - because, at exactly the same time as segments of Station Peak were being freeholded, McGregor was freeholding 15,500 acres out of Hakataramea Station in an attempt to similarly drive a wedge between its upper and lower portions. He was successful where the Station Peak speculators were not, and by November of 1878 he and his partners had contracted to purchase Hakataramea Station in toto.[56] For reasons that are unclear, however, the purchase fell through, despite the fact that the owners of Hakataramea Station had been severely crippled by the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank in October of 1878.

The extensive nature of McGregor's speculation in the district is of interest for a number of reasons. As a civil engineer he had been closely involved with the Oamaru Harbour Board which, under Vogel's public works policy, had received

MAP 6.1

STATION PEAK LAND SPECULATION

1877



twenty four thousand pounds of loan money. Pinney estimated that McGregor received eight hundred pounds a year commission for his work for the Board (1971:84). He was also involved in other public works engineering projects in Oamaru and Dunedin, and thus, as Robert Pinney has commented, McGregor could truly be said to have benefitted from government policies of the period (Pinney 1971:84).

The Coming of the Railway

In 1878, after the abolition of the provinces, an arrangement was made between Waimate and Waitaki counties to erect a bridge across the Waitaki river just below Kurow gorge.[57] The government and the two county councils each agreed to pay five thousand pounds toward the cost of the project. In October of that year, while the bridge was under construction, a heavy flood in the river damaged piers and approach-ways and the project was allowed to fall into abeyance. By June of 1878, John McGregor was involved in the project, and in July of the same year, the Duntroon and Hakataramea Railway Company was formed.[58] John McGregor was the managing director, and the principal shareholder was Robert Campbell.[59] Both men had much to gain from the extension of the railway, not only up to Kurow gorge, but also across the river into South Canterbury. The company was formed with the intention of extending the railway from Duntroon to the bridge site and then across the bridge and up the Hakataramea Valley to connect with Fairlie and the Mackenzie country. It was envisaged that, as a result of this, the Hakataramea Valley would subsequently support a

population of some ten thousand people.[60]

On July 11th, 1881 the railway to the bridge site was opened. Kurow Township meanwhile had been surveyed and sections sold. The railway was operated by the government, although it remained the property of the Railway Company. On November 7th of the same year, the bridge was opened and, since it was to be a combined road and rail bridge, the cost was to be borne in equal shares by the government and the two county councils, as with the earlier proposed project.

From its very beginning, however, the bridge venture was beset with difficulties. The Waitaki County Council considered that the bridge was unfit for use and refused to pay its share.[61] The bridge suffered flood damage in January of 1882 and then again in February of 1883. There was also local discontent with what were considered exorbitant tolls charged on the bridge. The company had difficulty getting rates levied to support the operation of the bridge and, as a result, by February of 1884 it was seriously in debt to the government and to others. The resolution of these difficulties involved the government taking over the company's operations in April of 1885. The railway line was never extended up the Hakataramea Valley,[62] and allegations were made locally that the whole scheme had been set up to benefit the interests of the large property holders without placing those interests at any great financial risk.

Despite the controversy that surrounded the coming of the railway into the Kurow district, there can be no doubt that it brought changes which eventually threatened the interests of the large landholders.

Even prior to Kurow Township being surveyed, however, there was a nucleus of people living in the vicinity, either on farms or attached to sheep stations or in the construction teams building the railway line and the bridge.

The Reverend Alexander Todd from St Paul's Presbyterian church in Oamaru visited the people of the district during this time, and he recorded details of these visits in a book of reminiscences.[63] On March 19th 1879, he visited Otekaike Station:

> In the afternoon we reached the palatial residence of the Hon Robert Campbell, Otekaike. This is one of the finest houses I have seen in New Zealand, built of sandstone quarried from the hill behind. The turrets and gables etc are of the Elizabethan style of architecture. And the grounds around corresponded to the beautiful dwelling, but beyond there was nought but grassy hills.

The following day he visited the Kurow Station homestead of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company and the bridge site.

> After taking lunch at the Company's station, I visited the people near the bridge and arranged to hold a service on my return and baptise some children. The bridge, when finished, will be a great boon to the district and so will the railway.

On that same day, he continued travelling beyond Kurow to the sheep runs further up the Waitaki valley.

> As we continued on our journey, gusts of wind came sweeping down the valleys and gorges and raised clouds of dust, which swept along the river banks. We passed three heavily loaded wagons with wool from Morven Hills. The station at Rugged Ridges has improved in its appearance. There is now a fine garden and the stables and woolshed near the house are more homelike than they formerly were.

His "up-country" trip concluded on March 31st.

> We resumed our journey homeward. We noticed that the railway bridge over the river Otekaike was almost finished. In a short time the other streams on the line will be bridged and then the railway from Oamaru to Kurow will be opened.

When the Reverend Todd returned to the district in February of 1881 he found that things had indeed changed.

> Leaving Duntroon early next day, I proceeded to Kurow, visiting several settlers by the way. The government during the past two years has opened up a part of the country near Kurow by selling the land on the deferred payment system. What was recently a single uncultivated plain is now an agricultural district, dotted over with houses. The railway line is finished as far as Kurow and this affords a means of transit for the grain. There is every probability that in a few years there will be a large population on the land around. At Kurow there is now a railway station, goods sheds and other buildings and it is expected that a school will be shortly established.

The completion of the railway and the bridge coincided with the townships on both sides of the river being surveyed and settled - Kurow and Hakataramea (initially known as Sandhurst). The extension of the railway into the district undoubtedly contributed to the government's decision to cut land off Otekaike Station and Kurow Station for settlement as small farms. The main consequence of this was that Otiake was established as a family-farm locality between the two stations. A school was opened in Kurow in February of 1882 and another in Otiake that same year. The initial enrolments were small, but the beginnings of community formation were there. Houses were built, stores were opened and hotels were established. By the census of 1886 there were 91 people living in Kurow Township[64] and 42 living in Sandhurst. As the population increased, so too did local pressure to have the land broken up for closer settlement.

Pressure for Land

Around 1886, the manager of Kurow Station, A.H. Chapman, wrote a memo to Thomas Brydone, then chief executive of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, in which he commented to his superior on this local agitation:

> A strong demand for land has lately settled in here. All the land thrown up for settlement is now taken up and people are speaking about the land left upon the run and saying much of it is better suited for settlement than any of the land made available was, which is quite true. I have not heard of any petition being got up to get the land opened but one never knows when such a thing might take place.[65]

Brydone replied to Chapman's warning by stating that he had enough influence in Dunedin to stop anything of this kind. Between 1886 and 1888 the Land Company sacked Chapman from his position as manager of Kurow Station. The ostensible reason was that he had been agitating among the local people and "putting them up" to exert pressure for closer settlement of Company land. Brydone accused Chapman of this in a letter dated February 11th, 1888, and Chapman replied a few days later. Writing at length, he provided a valuable insight into the social conditions in the district at the time.

> I am of the opinion that the folks hereabout are a middling, clear-headed and intelligent people, not to be either "put up" or "put down" by the talking, agitating or hostile endeavouring of any one, be that one whom he may. People will likely deal with the Company just as the Company by its officers deals with them. What they want is the country occupied by the Company here and they would likely want it just the same if it were occupied by others. To suppose this widespread agitation is my doing or that of any one man is the most utter nonsense imaginable. The people were led by the late government to expect to get the land and naturally resent the action of the present government which seeks to keep it from them - after many (of whom I am one) have made all necessary preparation for settling thereon.

As far as the Company was concerned, however, Chapman's agitation extended beyond "putting the people up". He was also accused of having put up some of the capital for the erection of the Kurow Hotel. The significance of this as far as the Company was concerned was expressed by Brydone as follows.

> You committed a mistake in going into the hotel proprietorship which I could not overlook as it was the means of originating the loss of so much country to us and making Kurow unprofitable to hold.

Brydone's analysis here may have been simplistic but the annoyance at having to give up pastoral land out of Kurow Station was unmistakable.[66] In replying to Brydone's letter, Chapman offered his own opinions on the matter.

> I say the erecting of Bill Goddard's premises and me finding the money had no connection with the Company losing that bit of land for settlement. ... I should say that it was caused by the genuine demand for land for settlement in the district and by the advancing current of civilization specially directed hither by the advance of the Kurow railway.

An interesting aspect to this correspondence was the way in which Brydone appealed to "company loyalty" as a counter to whatever community-based motivation might have underlain Chapman's actions. This came out quite forcibly in Brydone's letter of February 11th, 1888, when he said:

> I can hardly imagine you would be so mean and ungrateful as to turn around in this manner on the people who have done so much for you and your family during the last twenty two years. When you were left orphans, did not the Company support the widow and the fatherless and provide a house, food and fuel for your mother as long as she chose to remain on Clydevale, and what position would you have been in but for the good employment you got for so many years from the Company.

Chapman's reply, dated February 17th is worth quoting at length, because it reveals another side to the story:

> You say "when you were left orphans did not the Company support the widow and the fatherless". In this I go back a little farther and say, did not my father lose his life in the Company's service, by what was perhaps too much zeal for his employer's interests by prolonged exposure while swimming across the Romokaku River. ... Again, did not my brother Willie also sacrifice his life in the Company's service. He a strong healthy young man of 22, sound and vigorous was told by the station manager to keep stirring a large boiler of boiling arsenic and other chemicals. Willie was not conversant with their nature. The manager did not warn him to avoid the fumes. He had to keep at the job all day and the result was such irritation of the lungs from inhalation of poisonous vapours that a blood vessel was ruptured ... In a few months he also died. Now here was two lives, the best in my father's family, sacrificed to the exigencies and necessities of the Company's service. Yet in recalling those times you do not find them worthy of mention, but begin your reproaches with "when you were left orphans" etc. Most people would say the Company had a good right to do something for the widow and the fatherless ... and I say it was the survivors in such case which supported the widow and fatherless. The Company's part was the passive benevolence of continued employment to those survivors, by which it certainly lost nothing.

In the face of Chapman's "advancing current of civilization", the Upper Waitaki was transformed from a squatter district into a family-farm district and the seeds of this change began to come to maturity in the second half of the 1880s.

By 1885 there were 28 small farms in the Otiake locality between Otekaike Station and Kurow Station. The Land Company's leases on Kurow Station were resumed by the Crown in 1888 and the land was subsequently re-leased as eight small grazing runs as well as a number of smaller farms in the Wharekuri locality. Across the Waitaki, in the Hakataramea Valley, some land that lay

behind the Land Company's gridironing on the west side of the valley had been freeholded as farms, but the main subdivision that took place on the Canterbury side of the district was in 1890, when 21,000 acres of Campbell's Station Peak property were settled as eight small grazing runs.

In 1890 the landholding in the district was still dominated by the large runholders - in terms of the total amount of land that they controlled and the number of sheep that they ran - but the small farmer (whether on a freehold farm or on a small grazing run) was numerically on the ascendancy. It was out of the commonality of interest among these small farmers that a different kind of "community" began to be formed in the Kurow district.[67]

Whereas the population in the squatter district had been dispersed and localised around sheep-station homesteads, now it was beginning to be more concentrated in specific localities with schools to provide a community focus and settlements to carry out service functions.[68] The local stratification system also underwent changes as it was broadened to include small farmers, teachers, bank agents, artisans, shopkeepers, railway workers and so on. The nationality mix also became more heterogeneous. Many of the large runholders continued to be of English origin but the small farmers tended to be men who had been Scottish shepherds or Irish agricultural farmers. With this change, a strong Presbyterian influence came into the district. Such then, were the beginnings of the Kurow district.

FOOTNOTES :

1. There is a lot of detail in this chapter but the justification for this lies in the fact that what is being documented are the processes by which territorial boundaries to the district were established and community formation was begun as runholders and pastoral companies occupied the land and settlers struggled to have the larger of those land-holdings broken up for closer settlement. It will be seen that strategies of exclusion and usurpation (see chapter 2) played an important part in the ensuing struggle.

2. Shortland could not possibly have anticipated how water was also to play quite a different role from the one foreseen by him. His emphasis was on pastoral production, but later generations were also to recognise the potential that this same water could have for hydro-electric power schemes.

3. Writing in 1936, Condliffe divided the economic development of New Zealand farming into three "well-marked" periods. These were (1) 1840 to 1850 - years of self-sufficient agricultural farming; (2) 1850 to 1882 - the pastoral age; and (3) 1882 onwards - the development of more diversified and smaller-scale farming after refrigeration had opened up external markets.

4. According to McDonald (1962:14), no Europeans were seen in North Otago until the 1830s, when whaling increased on the east coast of the South Island. He claims that Europeans first resided in the region when a party from the whaling ship "Magnet" landed at Moeraki on December 26th, 1836 and established a whaling station there. In 1842, the Maori population at Moeraki was estimated to be about 200 and McDonald reports 17 Europeans being there in 1843 when Shortland visited (1962:23).

5. Of these problems, none had more serious long-term implications than rabbit infestation. Released in Southland about 1863, Scottish rabbits quickly bred and spread northwards. There was some initial enthusiasm for them from the settlers insofar as they offered the prospect of some sport and an alternative to mutton, but their presence was to prove destructive in the longer term. Rabbits were almost certainly across the Waitaki River and into South Canterbury by the 1870s. By the mid-1880s it had become a serious enough problem for the Government to erect a wire-netting rabbit fence from the Waitaki River opposite Kurow to the Mount Cook homestead. This was done in 1887 to prevent rabbits crossing from Otago into the Mackenzie country. Numerous Acts of Parliament were passed to control the developing nuisance. The first of these was the Rabbit Nuisance Act of 1882, by which inspectors were empowered to compel a landowner to destroy rabbits on his property. There was much opposition to this, however, since most owners believed they could handle the problem themselves. The "rabbit problem" is discussed in more detail in chapter 11.

6. Some of this settlement had been prompted by the over-stocking of runs in the Nelson region. On April 22nd, 1853, Samuel Stephens, who later that year took up a lease on part of Elephant Hill station on the Waitaki, wrote: "Mr S.H. Pyke rode down to the beach with me relative to an exploring journey to Canterbury and Otago in search of a sheep run for myself and others - with a view of providing for the surplus increase of our flocks in the Wairau district. This step has become necessary to those who have runs of limited amount like myself - the pasturage being already nearly fully stocked. There is supposed to be a considerable quantity of pasturage unoccupied in the Canterbury province" (quoted in Pinney 1971, page 78). Like Stephens, Samuel Pyke also leased part of Elephant Hill Station. He then occupied Otekaike Station on the other side of the Waitaki River.

7. Of the Waitaki population of 82 in 1856, 42 were English-born, 13 were Scottish-born, and the remaining 27 had been born in Ireland, New Zealand or elsewhere. By the 1856 census the total population in North Otago had risen to only 180. Of these, 54 had been born in England, 46 in Scotland, 5 in Ireland, 66 in New Zealand and 9 elsewhere (see McDonald 1962:61).

8. According to McDonald, the Maori population in North Otago was never too large (1962:13). Since the Otago Maori lived south of the limits of kumara cultivation, they were nomadic hunters and gatherers, and McDonald maintains that when the moa age passed there was little in the treeless region that was attractive to them. He cites the fact that when Walter Mantell was in the region in 1848, he estimated the Maori population of the Waitaki to be about 31. Roberts maintains that warfare among the tribes had depleted the number of Maoris in the region. At the time of white settlement, however, there were small kaikas at Moeraki, Waitaki mouth, Awamoko mouth, Hakataramea and Omarama.

9. Commenting on food on the runs in the late 1850s, McDonald says: "Food was monotonous, mainly based on the staples of potatoes, mutton, damper and tea. Milking cows were kept on some runs and butter and cheese were made. Where wheat was grown, it was ground in a hand mill" (1962:54). Things had not improved much by the 1870s. In 1876, William Shirres was a cadet on Otematata Station, and on March 4th he wrote to his sister in Britain: "I rise in the morning between 6 and 7 o'clock, have breakfast - tea without cream and mutton, no butter - dinner at 12 o'clock - tea without cream and mutton, no butter, generally an apple pie after tea at 5 o'clock - tea without cream and mutton, no butter - no supper - bed at nine or ten. I always get my meals alone and have generally the sitting room to myself." Loneliness was another problem that was often mentioned in letters of the time. In that same letter Shirres commented: "I am in the heart of the country on the borders of Otago. There are very few neighbours and the nearest church is 70 miles away" (quoted

in Shirres, 1964:177).

10. Quoted in McDonald (1962:66).

11. In 1864 Oamaru was described as a "respectable-sized village" and was recognised as the "capital" of North Otago (Roberts, no date).

12. There were gold rushes in North Otago at the Lindis Pass (1860), Maerewhenua (1869) and Livingstone (1874). There was even some prospect of a gold-mining centre being opened up at Kurow in the 1870s, but this never eventuated. While gold brought prosperity to the province and to the urban sector, it brought conflict with the farmers. Pinney comments: "The gold rushes from 1861 onwards, imposed a great strain upon the sheep farmers, the only previous inhabitants in a lonely, hungry and often fuel-less land" (1981:11).

13. Commenting on the North Otago situation during this period, McDonald said: "As a class, the runholders were rather different from the rank and file of the colonists. They tended to be English rather than Scots. Many of them were men of birth and education" (1962:54). A similar situation also existed in the Mackenzie country at the time (see Gillespie 1971:98).

14. Among the runholders who survived were Joseph Dalzell on Hakataramea Downs, Philip Luxmoore on Te Akatarawa, Edmund Gibson on Waitangi and the Julius brothers on Rugged Ridges.

15. If we add to this the holdings of Young and Dalgety (Omarama Station) and Teschemaker and Company (Otematata Station), we find that by 1870, 83% of the pastoral land in the Upper Waitaki was held by companies.

16. Material for this section has been drawn from four main sources : McDonald (1962), Pinney (1981), Stevenson (n.d.) and Scoular (1977).

17. A detailed discussion of the operation of Benmore during the Campbell ownership can be found in chapters 3 and 4 of Pinney (1981).

18. There was an Australian branch to the Campbell family which was prominent in landholding there. According to Stevenson, it first appeared as R. Campbell and Co. in Sydney in 1802 and was engaged in the sealing trade. In the late 1820s, the company appeared to have branched into whaling and owned ships as well as shore stations in Tasmania and New Zealand. In 1825 they purchased the land on which the Australian federal capital, Canberra, now stands and gave the name Duntroon to the area which is now occupied by the Military College outside Canberra. In 1840 they had a share in the Sydney syndicate which negotiated with the Maori chiefs for the purchase of the whole of the South Island of New Zealand and also two hundred thousand acres in the North Island. The

Treaty of Waitangi cut short those plans, however (see Stevenson, op cit, page 3).

19. By 1877 the total number of sheep in the whole of North Otago was 531,690, 56% of which were on the runs. This means that there would have been about 300,000 sheep on the North Otago runs. Campbell accounted for just over half of these sheep.

20. Rhoborough Downs had been acquired by Campbell in 1873, while Ben Ohau was held in joint ownership for four years from 1870 (Scoular, 1977:6-7).

21. Writing to his father from Omarama in October of 1876, William Shirres commented: "The Campbells made a great deal of money by buying stations the last time wool was low about six or seven years ago" (Quoted in Shirres, 1964:180).

22. Campbell's wife had been Emma Josephine Hawdon, the eldest daughter of Joseph Hawdon, Member of the Australian Legislative Council. Pinney describes Hawdon as having been "in his day a famous Australian overlander" (1981:168). The Campbells had been married in Christchurch in December of 1863. Mrs Campbell died of pleurisy and jaundice. Among the bequests she left was 5,000 pounds to the Dunedin Hospital Trustees and 6,000 pounds for the purpose of erecting an Anglican church and parsonage in the Waitaki valley (Oamaru Mail, April 24th, 1890).

23. Some of the material on Otekaike Station in this chapter has been drawn from Hall (1985a).

24. Oamaru Mail, March 3rd, 1908.

25. Information on Station Peak is taken from chapter 33 of Pinney (1971).

26. Campbell and Low bought Rocky Point from a Scotsman, James Aitken.

27. This will be commented on in greater detail in the next chapter.

28. In addition to using their freehold land, the Campbell company also rented the land in the middle of the valley, at Hurstlea, that had been freeholded in 1877.

29. Pinney reports that the Campbell Company's final stock return for the station was submitted in 1906 (Pinney, 1971:254) but the station would have been greatly depleted in size by then. On November 29th, 1904, 38,385 acres of the freehold land on the station had been sold in 20 lots (information from the sale pamphlet).

30. The main sources of information on the New Zealand and Australian Land Company are Parry (1968), Palmer (1971), Pinney (1971 and 1981) and Cuff (1982).

31. Parry suggests that in the early 1860s there were about fifteen such Land Associations in London and Glasgow.

32. Douglas was part of the firm of Douglas and Alderson and Company, which also acted as New Zealand agents for a number of other pastoral companies. It eventually was incorporated into the National Mortgage Agency and Co. Ltd. Brydone was born in Scotland in 1837 and came to New Zealand in 1868 as company superintendent. He wielded an important influence on the company's development during the years he was superintendent.

33. The Canterbury and Otago Association was itself formed out of the merger of a number of other land associations on April 28th, 1865, and the new company was incorporated with capital of 500,000 pounds.

34. This merging required a special enabling act of Parliament since, under the then Companies Act, the two firms would have had to go into liquidation before they could merge.

35. William Soltau Davidson was an extremely important figure in the development of the Land Company's interests in New Zealand. Parry described him as "the most remarkable man in the Company's history" (1968:12). He was born in Scotland in 1846 and was the son of a banker. His early training was in business, and he came to New Zealand around 1865 to work for the Canterbury and Otago Land Association at the Levels in Canterbury. He eventually became Superintendent and General Manager of the Land Company in New Zealand. For a discussion of Davidson's influence, see chapter 2 in Parry, 1968.

36. This began from the Land Company's Totara Estate in North Otago.

37. The Land Company registered the first three Corriedale studs in New Zealand. Number one was established at Moeraki, number two at Hakataramea Station and number three at The Levels.

38. The Cuff book was published to mark the centenary of the frozen meat trade.

39. The main source of information on Kurow Station is chapter 13 of Pinney (1981).

40. This information is taken from Pinney (1981:90).

41. Pinney assumes that the rest of the land was composed of freehold land plus Kurow Township.

42. The fifth run was taken by G.A. Sutton. In 1887, the Suttons settled on Waitangi Station across the Waitaki River.

43. Details of the subdivision will be discussed later in the

chapter. Chapman got one of the runs and his wife got another.

44. The main sources of information on Hakataramea Station are chapter 14 of Pinney (1971) and Parry (1968).

45. According to Pinney, G.D. Lockhart was the third son, from the second marriage, of Robert Lockhart of Castle Hill, Cambusnethan, and Stonehouse, Scotland. Lockhart's son was later to inherit his uncle's title of baronet (Pinney, 1971:114).

46. When Lockhart's affairs were wound up on May 6th, 1864, his debts amounted to 64,000 pounds (Pinney, 1971:116).

47. The following comment appeared in the Timaru Herald of January 5th, 1866, relating to a social event that was held at the station on Christmas day 1865: "... the employees of Messrs Douglas, Alderson and Co, and inhabitants of the Hakataramea district assembled together within two miles of the Hakataramea Station, where a good course had been laid out, to have a day's racing. ... The amusements of the day were somewhat diversified by a few free fights, in which a celebrated pugilist, yclept the 'Black Prince', greatly distinguished himself" (quoted in Pinney, 1971:117-118).

48. Pinney's version of events does not match with that of Parry (1968) or Cuff (1982) here. Pinney makes no mention of the New Zealand and Otago Agricultural and Land Investment Association in relation to the transaction of 1864 and has Douglas and Alderson transferring the property to another syndicate, Hankey and Co. in 1867. By 1865, however, Hankey and Co. had already been incorporated into the Canterbury and Otago Association (Parry, 1968:10). The confusion may relate to the fact that John and Thomas Hankey were both directors in the New Zealand and Otago Agricultural and Land Investment Association. See also Cuff, 1982:20. Parry does comment, however, that from June 1968, rent for the Hakataramea leaseholds was being paid by Hankey and Co. (1968:18). Disentangling the nature of the interlinkages between these syndicates is no easy matter.

49. Gillespie (1971:325) provides some interesting detail on wage levels at the time on Hakataramea Station. In 1870, the manager was getting 350 pounds per annum. Yearly salaries for others of the station workforce were: book keeper, 100 pounds; cadets, 50 pounds; shepherds, 60 to 65 pounds; head groom, 75 pounds; ploughmen, labourers, cooks, and bullock drivers, 52 pounds. Musterers were paid six shillings and eightpence a day while on the muster (Parry, 1968:21).

50. Apparently the Association also sought to protect the hinterland of the station by "gridironing" strips of land on either side of the roads in the valley in order to prevent prospective land-seekers getting access to the land behind.

51. Reported in the Waimate Star of November 5th, 1878 (see Parry, 1968:23).

52. According to Gillespie (1971:235), Hille's punt carried 80 to 100 sheep at a time as well as goods and passengers. It consisted of two boats, each about twenty feet long with a beam of eight feet, joined by heavy timbers which supported decking and railings. A travelling pulley ran along a heavy steel cable across the river, and the rudders of the boats were so adjusted that the river currents helped to drive the craft from bank to bank.

53. One of the daughters, Anna Louisa, married Alex Chapman, manager of Kurow Station and subsequently Kurow runholder. There are still Chapmans farming in the Kurow district. Others of Hille's children also either married locally or farmed locally.

54. The Station Peak speculators were John King and William Sherwood Raine, commission agents of Timaru and William Moody of Kakanui. Moody's intentions are a little unclear insofar as he was the Oamaru manager of the Canterbury and Otago Land Association at the time.

55. Some of this freeholding was done in the name of the Station Peak manager of the time, Robert Roe Orr. This was clearly an instance of "dummyism", something that the Campbells had been accused of in other land dealings.

56. McGregor's partners were Charles Ritchie Howden (founder of the New Zealand Distillery Company), his brother-in-law William Fraser (later Sir William Fraser) and W.J.M. Larnach (Minister of Public Works in 1878). In 1883, the sections that they had freeholded out of Hakataramea Station were transferred to the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Company. The Loan Company had obviously been the source for much of the speculative capital used by McGregor and his associates.

57. The idea for a bridge at Kurow had been raised on December 5th, 1877, when, at a meeting of the Waitaki County Council, a petition was discussed "in favour of bridging the Waitaki River at the Kurow ferry". The minutes of the meeting record that "a conversational discussion ensued but no decision was come to in the matter (minutes of Waitaki County Council, December 5th, 1877). The subsequent decision to proceed with building the bridge would no doubt have been bolstered by the fact that in November 1878, the approaches to the Kurow ferry were destroyed by a flood (minutes of Waitaki County Council, November 7th, 1878).

58. The company was registered in the New Zealand Gazette of July 31st, 1878 and was formed in accordance with the provisions of the District Railways Act of 1877.

59. The names of the shareholders in 1884 were Campbell, Judge Ward, Meek, Gilchrist, Guthrie, Burt, Fraser and McGregor.

60. Other schemes current at that time envisaged large-scale settlement of the Hakataramea Valley. In the mid-1870s a gentleman by the name of Count d'Haven had contemplated a scheme whereby thousands of Belgians would be settled in the valley, making it an industrial as well as an agricultural centre (see the editorial in the Oamaru Mail of Feb 24th, 1908 where mention is made of this). None of these schemes materialised, and, in fact, the railhead did not advance beyond Hakataramea Township.

61. Discussions of this can be found in the minutes of the Waitaki County Council between December 5th, 1877 and December 31st, 1889.

62. An amended plan involved taking the railway line fifteen miles up the valley to Maungatiro. The land was surveyed with this in mind, but the project never eventuated. Maungatiro was the homestead block for Meek's Hakataramea valley properties and was also convenient to the top segment of Campbell's Station Peak.

63. This book was published in 1905 by the Otago Daily Times and was entitled Memorials of the Past. Todd had been born in St Andrews, Scotland, in 1821 and was ordained into the ministry in 1858. He sailed for New Zealand with his wife in 1859 and was inducted as minister of St Paul's Presbyterian church, Oamaru, on May 12th, 1869.

64. This excluded the twenty people (16 males and 4 females) who were attached to Kurow station at the time.

65. Chapman kept copies of his correspondence with Brydone, and the letters were retained by the Chapman family in Kurow.

66. It has been suggested that as the economics of large-scale pastoral production altered in the wake of the setting up of the refrigerated-meat trade to Britain, so this softened the blow for large-scale landholders who were forced to relinquish land for closer settlement (for a discussion of the issue see Brooking, 1981a). The argument would be that they did not require such extensive pasturages any more since the emphasis was changing towards intensive farming for meat, so, in fact, these large landholders welcomed the opportunity to reduce their holdings. There is certainly no indication of this in the Brydone/Chapman correspondence. The Land Company had pioneered the frozen-meat trade, but it was to be quite a number of years yet before the economic potential was to be realised and these longer-term implications for pastoral production were to be felt.

67. Differences developed between Kurow and Omarama in this regard. Whereas Omarama continued as a squatter district for a few more years until its large sheep stations were also cut up for settlement, Kurow began to develop as a small farm district from the mid-1880s. The affiliations between the

districts have never been completely lost but, to a large extent, both districts followed different developmental paths from the 1880s onwards.

68. The schools in Kurow, Otiake and Wharekuri were opened in 1882. The school in Hakataramea valley opened in 1884 and in Hakataramea Township in 1891.

CHAPTER SEVEN

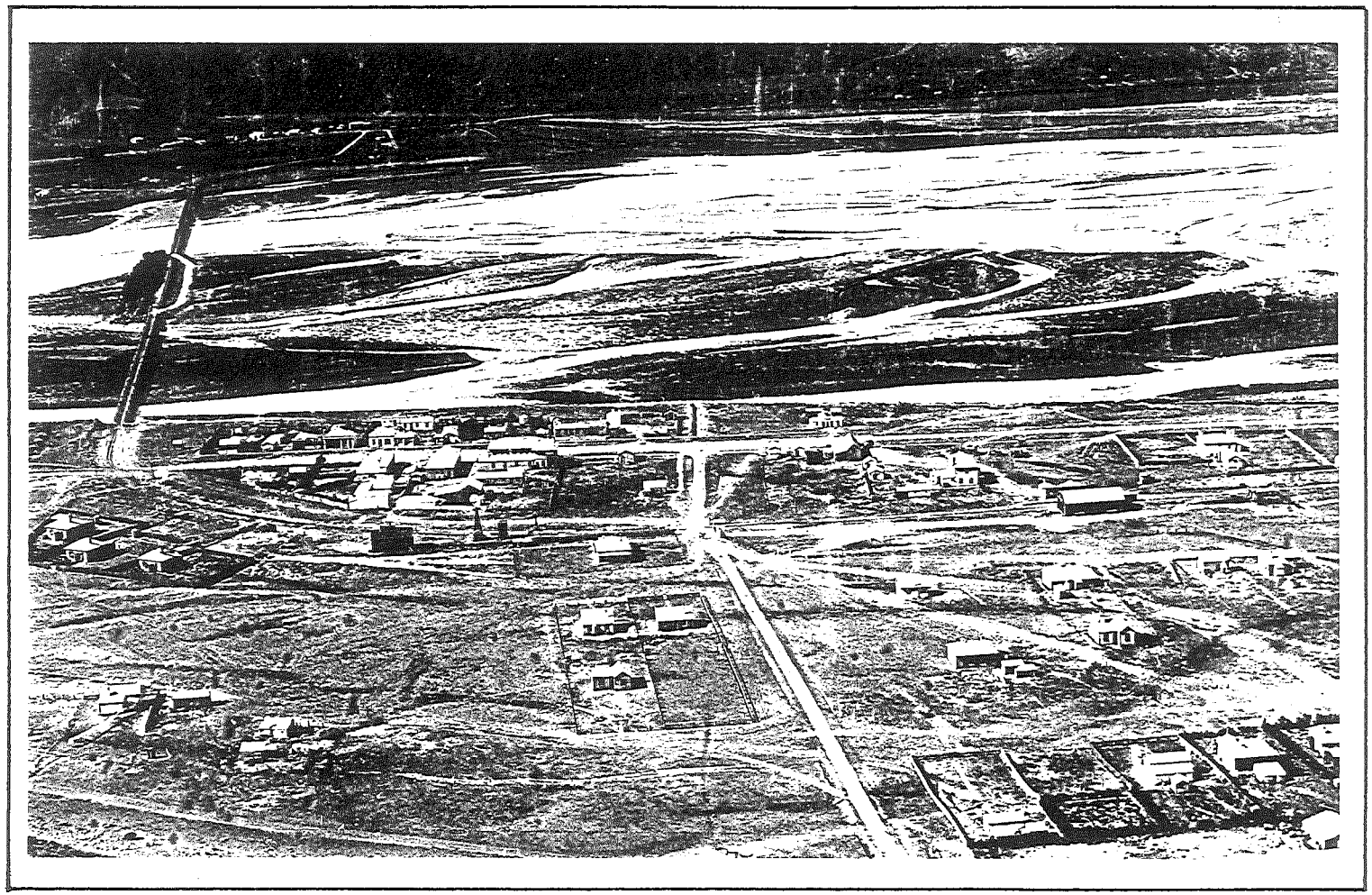
LAND, LABOUR AND COMMUNITY FORMATION IN 1890

INTRODUCTION[1]

The journey took three hours. Leaving Oamaru at 4.15am, the train did not arrive in Kurow in the foothills until 7.15am. From there the traveller could catch Goddard's Royal Mail coach to Omarama in the Upper Waitaki and even travel on to Wanaka in Central Otago, but George Robinson was only going as far as Kurow. An Oamaru dentist, Robinson visited Kurow periodically on business, and his advertisement in the Oamaru Mail of December 10th, 1890, indicated that between the hours of 10am and 6pm on Monday, December 15th, he could be consulted at Delargy's Hotel in Kurow.

Assuming that Robinson caught the morning train rather than the late train the night before, then the sun would have risen well before he passed through Duntroon village and then on into the Kurow district. The shadowy outline of the Papakaio and Georgetown Hills on the left would have given way to the magnificent view of Mount Dommett and the Saint Mary's Range basking in the early morning sun.[2] The up-country districts had a different feel to them from the down-land plains. Approaching Otekaike, at the entrance to the Kurow district, there was the sense of beginning to arrive somewhere. The rugged sweep of the St Mary's Range on the left and the crumpled profile of the Hunters Hills so close on the right across the Waitaki River, seemed to converge up ahead at the Kurow gorge.

Just before the gorge a township was being formed, and this was where George Robinson was headed. Kurow did not amount to much in 1890, but there were two hotels, a bank, some stores, two blacksmith's shops, a school and a few houses there.[3] At



[Fred Chase]

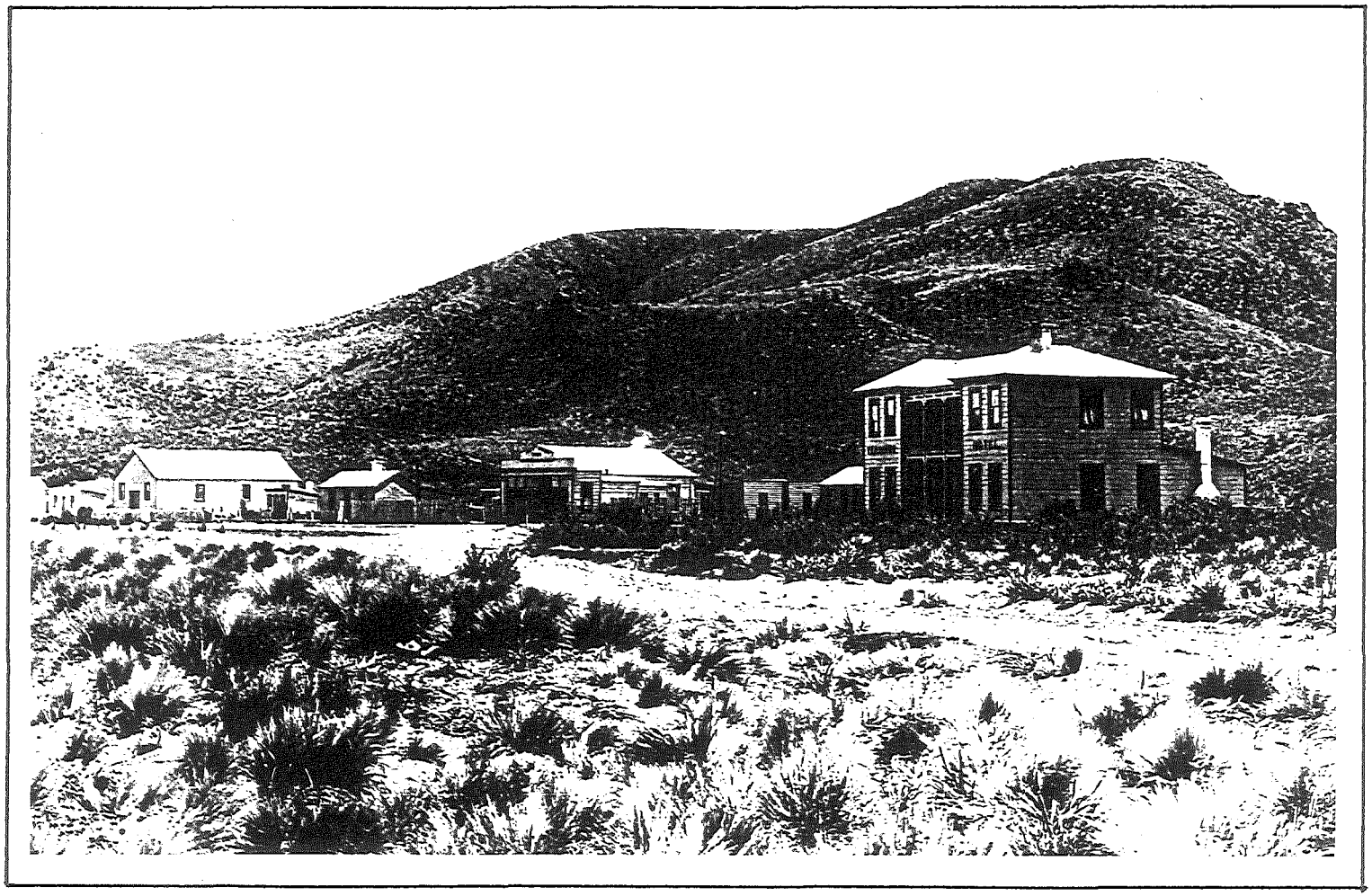
Kurow Township from Kurow Hill, 1898
Hakataramea Township Upper Left Across Bridge

the 1891 census, the population of Kurow Township was reported as 140. The railway crossed the Waitaki River at Kurow, and the railhead was at Hakataramea Township on the other side of the bridge. In 1890 Hakataramea Township was known as Sandhurst,[4] and it consisted of Molloy's Terminus Hotel, Barclay Brother's store, a blacksmith's shop and some houses. The 1891 census showed that there were 78 people living in Sandhurst.

There was no school in Sandhurst. It did not open until 1891. Elsewhere in the district there were schools in the localities that had so far been settled - Otiake, Wharekuri and Hakataramea Valley, but school enrolments were not large. In 1890 there were 57 children at the Kurow school, 20 at Otiake, 27 at Wharekuri and 21 at Hakataramea Valley.

What sort of district was it that George Robinson was visiting in December of 1890 ? First of all, it was a district that was undergoing economic and social change. Land was being progressively subdivided for closer settlement, and the social infrastructure of community organisation was developing as a result of this. Settlement increased the population of the district, it also brought a need for local infrastructure to be developed and increased the need for cooperation as well as the likelihood of conflict.

Secondly, it was a district that had come through a year of political ferment in relation to both land and labour. The year had begun with a public meeting to press for the subdivision of Robert Campbell's Station Peak property, and it ended with John McKenzie being elected to parliament as the local representative for the electorate of Waitaki. Some sheep



[Kurow Museum]

Hakataramea Township in the 1880s
Hakataramea Hall, Barclay Brothers Store and Terminus Hotel

stations in the district had already been sub-divided, others were the focus of agitation, and all of this was in response to a fairly vociferous "cry for land".

However, the land question was not the only topic of political significance in the district. Of equal importance was the labour question as workers consolidated their union organisation and local farmers responded by joining the Oamaru-based Farmers and Employers Union. Meetings on this issue were also held in the district during the year.

Despite the changes that had taken place in the district as a result of land settlement, there were still marked inequalities in land ownership and wealth. Certainly, the writing appeared to be on the wall for the large landowners, especially when Ballance's Liberal Party won the election in December of 1890, but inequities were firmly entrenched in the district's social and economic fabric, with pastoral companies and other large land owners still economically dominant. During 1890, such inequities served to unite local sentiment in the struggle over issues that were also being articulated at the regional, provincial and national levels.

INEQUITIES IN LAND OWNERSHIP

Commenting in April of 1890 on inequities in land ownership, the Wellington Evening Press stated "as a patent fact" that extreme discontent existed in the colony with regard to the then current system of dealing with Crown land: "It is asserted, with much show of reason, that rich men and women owning hundreds and thousands and even tens of thousands of acres are continually

buying more of these Crown Land sections, doubtless not in their own names but in the names of every member and every connection of their families".[5] Developing from this, the Oamaru Mail stated as common belief the fact that Lands Boards were being "steadily worked" in the interests of "rich people" and "speculators".[6] They might just as easily have added "pastoral companies" to the list of "beneficiaries". A leading article in the Dunedin Herald in March of 1890 commented how "... in the south island at least, the eyes of the country have been everywhere picked out by the companies".[7]

The manner in which the companies had accomplished this did not go without comment in the newspapers. In the Kurow district alone, the Land Company was accused of having influenced the outcome of crucial land balloting,[8] concern was expressed at "dummyism" that had been carried out by employees of both the Land Company and Robert Campbell and Sons[9] and it was noted how, when run leases came up for renewal, the large runholders did not oppose each other in the ballot.[10]

The favouring of the Land Company in the balloting received particular attention from the Oamaru Mail in a January 21st editorial:

> The ballot in the hands of Mr Commissioner Maitland is the "open sesame" to the Company and over the portals of the Otago Land Board room should be written "Abandon hope all competitors against the Land Company who enter here".

The Oamaru Mail summed up such feeling in September when it said:

> In every way the big man is given the advantage over his poorer neighbour. He can get large tracts of grazing country at half the cost to the latter and with little or no competition, while the poorer man has to cut his own throat if he gets a piece at all.[11]

Government policy was seen to favour the large landowners and some newspapers were identified as being apologists for such policy. The North Otago Times was referred to by the Oamaru Mail as being "the ministerial apologist for the middle island" on the land issue[12] and Sir Robert Stout referred to the Otago Daily Times as a "ministerial bugleman who is prepared to tootle any tune or time the ministerial baton indicates".[13] For its part, the Oamaru Mail was staunchly pro-settlers and strongly supported their efforts to have the larger estates broken up for closer settlement. From the settlers' point of view, the villains of the piece were Atkinson the premier and Richardson, his Minister of Lands. The Oamaru Mail described Richardson as "a man in whose nose the pastoralists have put a ring".[14]

The main champions of the settlers' cause in parliament were the opposition members John McKenzie and Tom Duncan. In the December 1890 election, McKenzie and Duncan were returned to parliament representing the Waitaki and Oamaru electorates respectively. Speaking of these two men in May of 1890, the Wanganui Herald said:

> If two men were chosen in the legislature who specially represented the genuine farmer, residing on and cultivating their own land, sympathising with and fighting the battles of the true colonist, the selection would undoubtedly fall on Mr John McKenzie and Mr T.Y. Duncan.[15]

As members of the new Government, both men were to play an important part in implementing the Liberal Party's land policies subsequent to 1891. In 1890, however, the inequities they opposed were well exemplified by the situation in the Kurow district.

As we saw in the last chapter, by the mid-1870s practically all of the rural land in the Kurow district was occupied by two companies, Robert Campbell and Sons and the New Zealand and Australian Land Company. Both companies were losing land to settlement, however.

In 1878, when the lease on Otekaike Station came up for renewal, the Government reserved 9,000 acres for sale between Otiake Creek and Kurow Creek, mainly agricultural land. The land was offered on deferred payment, although some was also to be sold for cash at three pounds per acre. The population of the district was small at the time, and so the demand for this land in the Otiake locality was not great.[16] Ten years later, in 1888, 36,000 acres of the Land Company's Kurow Station was settled as eight small grazing runs. In the five years prior to this, a number of smaller properties had also been settled in the Wharekuri locality and around Kurow. All of this settlement was in the North Otago segment of the district. In South Canterbury, the only evidences of settlement were to be found in the lower Hakataramea Valley, where some freeholding of land formerly controlled by the Land Company had taken place, and around Hakataramea Township, where there were a number of smallholdings.

Despite this settlement, the pastoral companies and other large landowners still dominated the landholding in the district. At the beginning of 1890 there were 118 separately identifiable rural properties in the Kurow district. They covered 502,994 acres and were collectively valued by the Government at 531,519 pounds.[17] The properties ranged in size from smallholdings of two and a half acres on the outskirts of Hakataramea Township to

the 74,000-acre Otematata Station, owned by the Oamaru-based Teschemaker and Company.[18] The distribution of these properties according to size is shown in Table 7.1, where an indication is also provided of the proportions of landholdings, land area and capital value.

Table 7.1 : Distribution of Rural Properties, 1890

PROPERTY CATEGORY	Number	Cum N	Cum N %	Cum Area %	Cum Cap Val %
1 to 10 acres	9	9	7.6%	0.0%	0.0%
11 to 25 acres	5	14	11.8%	0.0%	0.1%
26 to 50 acres	9	23	19.4%	0.1%	0.4%
51 to 100 acres	9	32	27.0%	0.2%	0.8%
101 to 200 acres	16	48	40.6%	0.7%	1.7%
201 to 300 acres	15	63	53.3%	1.4%	3.1%
301 to 400 acres	10	73	61.8%	2.1%	4.7%
401 to 500 acres	5	78	66.0%	2.5%	5.3%
501 to 750 acres	7	85	71.9%	3.4%	7.2%
751 to 1000 acres	7	92	77.8%	4.6%	9.6%
1001 to 2500 acres	9	101	85.4%	7.5%	15.2%
2501 to 5000 acres	3	104	88.0%	9.8%	17.6%
5001 to 10000 acres	5	109	91.3%	15.5%	25.8%
10001 to 25000 acres	2	111	93.8%	26.3%	38.2%
25001 to 50000 acres	3	114	96.3%	52.0%	63.2%
50001 to 75000 acres	4	118	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The figures in Table 7.1 confirm the dominance of large land owners in this district in 1890. They show that the nine largest properties occupied 84.5% of the land and that this land represented 74.2% of the district's capital value. These properties were, in ascending order of size, Rugged Ridges (19,780 acres), Hakataramea Downs (24,360 acres), Te Akatarawa (33,180 acres), Station Peak (46,000 acres), Aviemore Station (49,669 acres), Waitangi Station (53,259 acres), Otekaike Station (57,129 acres), Hakataramea Station (57,171 acres) and Otematata Station (73,999 acres).

Otekaike and Station Peak were owned by the Campbell company, Hakataramea Station was owned by the Land Company, Rugged Ridges, Te Akatarawa, Aviemore and Waitangi were privately owned,[19] Hakataramea Downs was owned by the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Company, and Otematata Station was owned by Teschemaker and Company. The only other company property in the district was the 2471-acre Windsor Downs property in the Hakataramea Valley, owned by the Colonial Investment Company. Altogether, company properties accounted for only 7% of all properties in the district, but they represented 54% of the district's land and 63% of its capital value. At the other end of the scale, the smallest 50% of the properties (i.e. properties under 300 acres in size) represented only 1.4% of the land and only 3% of the capital value.

These properties can be reclassified into a number of types. Twenty-three of the properties were under 50 acres in size, and these can be regarded as smallholdings.[20] Ten of the other properties were sheep runs and nine were sheep stations. The rest of the properties were farms, but the range here was from 51 to 5,000 acres.[21] It therefore makes sense to reclassify these as follows: farms between 51 and 200 acres can be regarded as "small farms; those between 201 and 1,000 acres as "middle farms; and those over 1,000 acres as "large farms". We can therefore summarise this information as in Table 7.2.

The main point to be noted from this table is the disproportionate amount of the capital value that was represented by the sheep stations. Many of the large landowners were either pastoral companies or private individuals who lived outside the

Table 7.2 :
Distribution of Rural Property Types, 1890

CATEGORY	Land Holdings	% of Land Holdings	% of Area	% of Cap Val
Smallholdings	23	19%	0.1%	0.4%
Small Farms	25	21%	0.6%	1%
Middle Farms	44	37%	4%	8%
Large Farms	7	6%	3%	9%
Sheep Runs	10	9%	10%	9%
Sheep Stations	9	8%	82%	73%
TOTAL	118	100%	100%	100%

Kurow district. Quite a number of large landowners did live in the district, however, and an indication of the value of the ten largest of these is provided in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 :
The Ten Largest Locally Resident Landowners, 1890

LANDOWNER	Property	Capital Value (Pounds)	Size (Acres)
John Sutton	Waitangi	29,113	53,259
William Shirres	Aviemore	21,363	49,669
Jasper Nicols	Belfield	17,511	5,186
Archibald Miller	Te Akatarawa	17,157	33,183
Alpheus Hayes[22]	Normanvale	9,680	2,841
William Rutherford	Rugged Ridges	7,166	19,782
Christian Hille[23]	Westmere	5,330	2,294
Thomas Milne	Viewfield	3,780	990
William McAughtrie	Bellamore	2,500	7,212
Alex H. Chapman	Awakino	2,150	7,872

The sheep stations in this list were those of Sutton, Shirres, Miller and Rutherford. The properties belonging to McAughtrie and Chapman were small grazing runs, the others were farms.

Before moving on to comment further on the pattern of landowning in the rural localities, it might make sense to provide comparable figures on land ownership in the two settlements of Kurow and Hakataramea. If we leave out of consideration sections held by the Crown and reclassify the other owners by occupation, we achieve a distribution as shown in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 : Ownership Categories
Kurow and Hakataramea Townships, 1890

OWNERSHIP CATEGORY	Number of Sections		Capital Value (Pounds)	
Hotel Keepers	13	(22%)	3120	(64%)
Other Proprietors	13	(22%)	1089	(22%)
Farm Workers	11	(19%)	427	(9%)
Financial Institutions	8	(14%)	110	(2%)
Farmers	9	(16%)	105	(2%)
Outsiders to District	4	(7%)	63	(1%)
TOTAL	58	(100%)	4914	(100%)

It can be seen that the bulk of the settlement sections were therefore owned by individuals in the proprietorial category (44%) - among whom hotel keepers featured prominently - and, taken together, these properties represented 86% of the capital value of the combined settlement sections. It should be noted that the individual value of the hotel keepers' properties was equivalent to about half of the value of the farm properties at the bottom of the list in Table 7.3.[24]

Returning to the issue of rural land ownership, it is important to appreciate that there were substantially different settlement patterns between the two provincial sectors in the district, the significance of which will become obvious when we consider the period after 1950. Forty-eight of the rural properties were located in the South Canterbury sector, and of these, five were sheep stations, twenty-one were farms and twenty-two were smallholdings. By way of contrast, the seventy North Otago properties comprised four sheep stations, seven small grazing runs, fifty-six farms and only three smallholdings. All but three of the smallholdings, then, were to be found in South Canterbury, while three-quarters of the farms and all of the small grazing runs were in North Otago.

While significant settlement had taken place in the North Otago sector of the district, this was not reflected in the value of the land. The North Otago localities accounted for 60% of the district's properties, they represented only 30% of the total capital value of land in the district. The farms in Otiake, Kurow vicinity and Wharekuri represented only 10% of the district's capital value. If we add to this the value of the farms in the Hakataramea Valley, we have still accounted for only 20% of the district's capital value. By way of contrast, the sheep stations occupied 82% of the district's land and accounted for 73% of the capital value.

These disparities in the amount of land owned and the capital value of that land were also reflected in the numbers of sheep being run on the land. At the beginning of 1890 there were fifty-seven registered flocks in the district, comprising a total

of 309,756 sheep.[25] The flock sizes ranged from William Hasting's Kurow Creek flock of 34 sheep to Robert Campbell's combined flocks of 96,000 sheep on Otekaike Station and Station Peak. The distribution of flocks and sheep numbers is shown in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 : Number of Flocks and Sheep, 1890

	Flocks		Sheep	
FLOCK SIZE	Number	cum %	Number	Cum %
34 to 50 sheep	3	5.3%	115	0.0%
51 to 100 sheep	2	8.8%	174	0.1%
101 to 250 sheep	15	35.1%	2830	1.0%
251 to 500 sheep	9	50.9%	3456	2.1%
501 to 750 sheep	5	59.6%	2899	3.0%
751 to 1000 sheep	4	66.7%	3217	4.0%
1001 to 2500 sheep	4	73.7%	5850	5.9%
2501 to 5000 sheep	3	78.9%	9660	9.0%
5001 to 10000 sheep	5	87.7%	37184	21.0%
10000-plus sheep	7	100.0%	244371	100.0%
TOTAL	57		309756	

What is significant about these figures is the fact that the seven largest flocks accounted for 79% of the sheep in the district. In descending size, these seven largest flocks were Robert Campbell and Sons, Otekaike (57,000 sheep), the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, Hakataramea Station (56,367 sheep), Robert Campbell and Sons, Station Peak (35,000 sheep), the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Company, Hakataramea Downs (30,004 sheep), John Sutton, Waitangi (26,000 sheep), Teschemaker and Company, Otematata Station (21,000 sheep) and Archibald

Miller, Te Akatarawa (19,900 sheep). After Miller's flock, the next largest flocks were Wait and Burbery's Clarksfield flock of 9,000 sheep and William Rutherford's Rugged Ridges flock of 8,500 sheep.[26] There was quite a sizeable gap, therefore, between these largest flocks and the rest.

In 1890, the two major companies discussed in the last chapter - Robert Campbell and Sons and the New Zealand and Australian Land Company - held title to 39% of the district's land, were running 59% of the district's sheep and accounted for 55% of the district's capital value.

The disparity in the capital value of the land in the two provincial sectors of the district is repeated when we consider sheep numbers. While the North Otago sector accounted for 74% of the flocks in the district, these flocks represented only 30% of the sheep. This disparity is summarised in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 : Comparison of District Provincial Sectors, 1890

	NORTH OTAGO	SOUTH CANTERBURY	TOTAL
Flocks	74%	26%	57 Flocks
Landholdings	60%	40%	118 Properties
Land Area	50%	50%	502994 Acres
Capital Value	30%	70%	531519 Pounds
Sheep	30%	70%	309756 Sheep

The disparity between the provincial sectors becomes even more pronounced if we exclude from the North Otago figures the

two largest sheep stations in that sector - Otekaike and Otematata Station - and hence consider only those North Otago localities where closer settlement had taken place. These localities - Otiake, Kurow Vicinity and Wharekuri - accounted for 58% of the district's landholdings and 70% of its flocks but represented only 23% of the land area, 15% of the capital value and 11% of the sheep. This reinforces the point that the significant settlement in the district may have taken place in North Otago, but the wealth in the district was still tied up in the large landholdings, most of which were to be found in South Canterbury. It is easy to understand, therefore, why in 1890 the land question was such a pertinent issue in the Kurow district.

THE LAND QUESTION

In 1888, in anticipation of the leases on Station Peak expiring, the Government had surveyed land on the station into 3,000, 4,000 and 5,000-acre blocks but nothing further had been done by them to follow this up. In 1889 a petition was presented to parliament by local people asking for all of the Crown lease land on the Station - some 32,000 acres - to be settled, but the Atkinson Government appeared to be reluctant to act on the issue.

A meeting of settlers was held in Kurow on January 9th, 1890, to discuss the matter. Speaking at that meeting Tom Duncan, the opposition member for Oamaru stated that the Government appeared to be opposed to opening the land in accordance with the wishes of the settlers. Speaking from the floor, Otiake farmer Louis Dasler asserted in "vigorous language" that the land was the people's, and they had a right to demand it

for bona fide settlers.[27] It was for that purpose that prospective settlers had come to the country, so why should they not be given the chance to settle? He was adamant that what had already been achieved in the district was through the energy of the settlers themselves and not at the instigation of the Government.[28]

The main outcome of the meeting was a unanimous resolution:

> That in order to meet the demands for 'bona fide' settlement, this meeting desires to urge upon the Government the imperative necessity of having the whole of the available land on Station Peak and Studholme's runs, comprising in all some 45,000 acres, opened for settlement on the deferred payment, perpetual lease and small grazing run systems".[29]

Related motions were also passed unanimously seeking the support of settlers in Oamaru and Waimate and asking for the assistance of Mr Duncan in pressing their case. Duncan wrote to the Government on January 23rd and, on February 3rd, Richardson, the Minister of Lands, replied to the effect that the Government felt "... the greatest anxiety to deal with the South Canterbury lands in such a way as to lead to them being advantageously settled upon".[30] However, in subsequent correspondence between Duncan and Hislop, the Government member for Oamaru, it became obvious that the Government were not convinced of the demand for land in South Canterbury and were intent on following a policy of settling the land in stages in order to gauge demand. Their immediate intention was to offer 21,000 acres of Station Peak as eight small grazing runs and to re-lease the rest of the land on a short-term basis. Not unnaturally, this was seen in the

district as stalling tactics that were eventually intended to benefit the Campbell Company.

The small grazing run system had been introduced by the Stout-Vogel Government in their Land Act of 1885. Its basic intention was to enable small settlers to become sheep farmers, and its main features were as follows: the run could not be larger than 5,000 acres; the term of the lease was for twenty-one years, renewable at the discretion of the Government; residence was compulsory for the first six years of the term unless the settler lived within ten miles of the run; the settler was required to spend a sum equal to four years' rent on improvements to the run; a quarter of the rent went to local bodies for roads; no one who held or owned other land could become the lessee of such a run if the total area of landholdings would exceed 6,000 acres; and lastly, the run could not be sold. By the 1887 Land Act, however, the Atkinson Government had increased the size of small grazing runs to include land up to 20,000 acres and had applied the system to large tracts of land quite unsuitable to small sheep farms. The Dunedin Evening Herald commented on this as follows :

> Everyone who knows Otago well will bear us out in saying that no small portion of the land in this provincial district is admirably suited to being let in 5,000 acre blocks as hill farms and can profitably be used in no other way. We confidently assert that hill farms of 5,000 acres and there abouts are, in a large proportion of the province, the most desirable method of using the land profitably and promoting 'bona fide' settlement. During Mr Richardson's tenure of office, only high-lying areas consisting of poorest winter country have been set apart for hill farms under the small grazing system, the area being increased to 20,000 acres instead of 5,000 so as, if possible, to throw them into the

> hands of wealthy men. The land, on the other hand, suited for hill farms, has been sold as second class land for cash, simply because cash was wanted. The result is that the Minister of Lands can say with apparent truth that the men who have taken up the small grazing runs have been unsuccessful.[31]

The article went on to assert that in several districts, small runs had been dummied deliberately by the "sisters, cousins and aunts of the neighbouring squatters". The result on the whole was that settlement was being successfully obstructed. Dissatisfaction was therefore also being expressed at this aspect of the Government's land policy.[32]

On February 21st, a meeting was held in Oamaru to support the demands of the Kurow settlers. In encouraging people to attend the meeting, the Oamaru Mail commented:

> Mr Richardson's conduct in regard to land administration is causing not a little indignation in this part of the colony, and all who are anxious to promote the welfare of the people in such a way as to raise them in the social scale will, we are sure, sympathise with the movement which has been set afoot to induce the Minister of Lands to yield to the necessities of our time.[33]

The meeting was chaired by the Mayor of Oamaru, who suggested that, if settlement were carried out, then instead of having only sheep and cattle wandering over wide areas, there would be settlements and homes. This, he said, would mean prosperity and progress for all for the land was a great source of wealth.[34] Mr S.E. Shrimski, a Member of the Legislative Council, claimed that there were moneyed people waiting to settle on the South Canterbury land, and if their needs were not met, they would undoubtedly leave the colony. The loss of such bona fide settlers could therefore be put down to the inaction of the government.[35]

The main sentiment of the meeting was directed against the Government's perceived policy of keeping the land "locked up" and thus serving the interests of the large land owners by keeping the price of land high and their monopoly secure. According to Shrimski, Germany had its socialism, France its nihilism, Ireland its fenianism and New Zealand was in danger of having its own peculiar scourge in the shape of land monopolism. Reporting on the meeting, the Napier News commented that "this sentiment excited vehement applause".[36]

The Oamaru Mail's summation of the meeting, however, was somewhat philosophical. In an editorial on February 24th, the paper commented: "... the people may propose, but it is the government that will dispose".

When it became obvious which parts of Station Peak the Government were proposing to open for settlement, reservations were expressed by local people. The land was hill country, mainly along the frontage of the Waitaki and Hakataramea Rivers and contained practically no flat agricultural land at all. The Campbell Company had freeholded some 40,000 acres surrounding the land to be settled and had taken up most of the flat land in the process. Their "gridironing" of land along the Waitaki River meant, in particular, that settlers taking up the blocks there would be isolated on the high ground with no obvious place to build a house or sheep yards. Concern was also expressed that the proposed upset rentals for the properties were too high for the quality of land involved.

Further problems resulted from the fact that the Company's leases expired on May 1st, 1890. Since the land sale was not to

be held until July 18th this appeared to mean that settlers would have to pay back-rent for time when they had not occupied the land.[37] In addition to this, the Government's intention was to lease the remaining land on the station on a short-term, three-year basis. The implication of this seemed to be that the Company was not only getting three months free use of the land but was also guaranteed a continuation of lease on the rest of the leasehold, since no one else would be likely to want to take the land for such a short time.

Such difficulties did not deter enthusiasm for the sale. The runs were auctioned in the Assembly Rooms in Timaru on July 18th amid "wild scenes of excitement".[38] Bidding for the small grazing runs began at 11.40am and was completed in fifty minutes. Twice during the bidding, the Crown Lands Commissioner paused and warned the bidders to consider carefully what they were doing. The Oamaru Mail commented that the competition was very keen, and in some cases the upset rental was doubled by the bidding. The writer concluded, "The anxiety to secure a piece of land here today and the general excitement resembles the land fever sales of fifteen years ago". It is not without significance that when the bidding for the small grazing runs was completed the crowd rapidly dispersed, leaving only half a dozen people to witness Mr Begg, on behalf of Robert Campbell and Sons, secure the balance of the Station Peak run for the combined upset rental of 279 pounds. The term was for seven and a half months. Table 7.7 provides the details of the sale.

Table 7.7 : Station Peak Small Grazing Runs, July 1890

Run No.	Area (Acres)	Upset Rental (Pounds)	Price Paid (Pounds)	Successful Applicant
11	1005	50	103	William McDonald
12	1050	52	67	Michael McHenry
13	3180	159	226	Jasper Nicols
14	1695	85	85	Henry Molloy
15	3720	186	234	John Molloy
16	2840	142	142	Duncan McKenzie
17	3284	164	225	John Welsh
18	3862	193	318	Harry Parker

The newspaper account of the outcome of the sale provides us with no information as to who these people were, so we need to turn to other documentation for this. Of William McDonald we know nothing apart from the fact that he continued to farm in the Haka Valley until the mid-1890s.[39] Michael McHenry described himself on the certificate of title for Run 12 as a farmer of Hakataramea, and he did hold title to four hundred acres elsewhere in the Hakataramea Valley, where he was running 700 sheep.[40] Earlier in 1890 he had been engaged with Henry Molloy in contract ploughing at the top end of the valley.[41] McHenry never married and when he died in 1933, he was buried in the Hakataramea cemetery.

On the certificate of title for Run 13, Jasper Nicols described himself as a farmer. Like McHenry, he too owned land elsewhere in the Hakataramea Valley (5,185 acres) and was running a fairly substantial flock of 7,000 sheep, but he also had connections with Maerewhenua Station outside Duntroon. His

father-in-law, John Borton, was the owner of the station, and Nicols was probably managing the station about this time.[42] Nicols' landholding in the Hakataramea Valley was later to be known as the Belfield estate.[43]

Henry Molloy and John Molloy were brothers. They described themselves respectively as a "contractor" and a "grazier" of Hakataramea. Henry did contracting with Michael McHenry, while John was the proprietor of the Terminus Hotel in Hakataramea.[44] John also appears to have been informally leasing one of the small grazing runs behind Kurow.[45] The two brothers had been born in County Antrim in Ireland where their father was a farmer. The Molloy's land was eventually transferred in 1897 to Bernard Delargy, the Kurow Hotel keeper, who was probably an uncle.[46] In 1982 this land, plus much more, was still held by the family of Delargy's daughter.

On the certificate of title for Run 16, Donald McKenzie described himself as a shepherd. He was a Scotsman from Ross-shire and had been head shepherd for the Campbells on Station Peak for a number of years prior to obtaining the run. He died in a poison accident in 1907 and is buried in the Hakataramea cemetery. In 1982, his run was still held by members of the McKenzie family.

Harry Parker was a South Canterbury runholder who was hitting bad times. The son of Sir James Parker, Vice-Chancellor of England, he had been involved with his brothers in Elephant Hill station in South Canterbury since 1863. The station had been progressively diminished in size, however, especially as the result of the speculative freeholding work of John McGregor in

the mid-1870s. What remained of the station was held by Parker until the mid-1890s, when he moved with his wife - the sister of Lord Kitchener of Khartoum - to live on Run 18 (known as "Little Roderick".[47] They lived there until 1911, when they left New Zealand. By that time their daughter had married a Kurow farm worker, and some of her descendants still live in the district.

The fact that the Parkers already owned land when they successfully bid for Run 18 was commented on in the press.[48] What also merited comment was the fact that John Welsh, who successfully bid for the neighbouring Run 17, worked for the Parkers. He described himself as a stockman on the certificate of title for Run 17, but he appears to have been a farm manager for the Parkers. It may have been the case that these two runs were worked together, but a difference of opinion between Welsh and Mrs Parker appears to have brought this to an end.[49] John Welsh died in 1903, and he too was buried in Hakataramea cemetery. There are a number of his descendants still living in the Kurow district.

Pressure in 1890 for the settlement of land on the Waitaki River was not confined to the Kurow district. On July 2nd, the Oamaru Mail reported that similar agitation was developing in the Duntroon district:

> The settlement agitation is floating down the river. Kurow has for years been the centre of agrarian disaffection and some people thought, or said whether they thought it or not, that the Kurow settlers were a dissatisfied lot who really wanted for nothing, but Duntroon has now taken up the cry.

The focus of the Duntroon agitation was the 55,000 acres that comprised the Ben Lomond and Maerewhenua runs whose leases

were due to expire in 1892. Meetings of settlers were held in Duntroon in July and petitions were circulated. The Oamaru Mail commented:

> Cut up the runs. Land for the people. These are the popular cries just now and the settlers and others around Duntroon have caught them up and appear to be very much in earnest about them too. At any rate, they have taken time by the forelock and set to work in a systematic manner to make known their views and demands ...[50]

According to the Oamaru Mail, "small but not too small" was to be the motto of this pressure, and "... the capitalist and the speculator should for once be made to stand aside and let the legitimate settler have an innings".[51] Ben Lomond and Maerewhenua were subsequently settled in 1892.

This pressure for land settlement needs to be seen in context, however. In reviewing the settlement of Station Peak, one thing that is obvious is that it did little to satisfy the demand for land from outside the district. With the possible exception of William McDonald, all of the other successful applicants were local people. As we saw in the previous chapter, a similar thing had occurred in 1888 when the leasehold land on the Land Company's Kurow Station had been broken up into eight small grazing runs.[52]

It was also a feature of both settlements that some of the land was acquired by people who already held land in the district, some of substantial proportions. It was even the case that some of those who did not themselves already own land were nevertheless members of local land-owning families. Furthermore, if reports of the relevant meetings are anything to go by, then the impetus for land agitation in Kurow as well as in Duntroon

was provided by local land-owning settlers. Any supposition, therefore, that the "cry for land" reflected a "genuine hunger for land" on the part of the "landless amongst a rural population", needs some qualification.[53] If anything, it seemed to reflect a desire on the part of settlers to obtain land for their children. In an interview with the Oamaru Mail prior to the Station Peak sale, an Otiake farmer, Louis Dasler, commented on this matter as follows:

> Sir H. Atkinson said that no fresh settlers had been placed on the Kurow lands in consequence of their being cut up. But what is the reason? He did not suppose that the settlers who had grown-up sons and who had resided in the district for many years were going to lose the chance of getting land and when they got what they wanted there was no room for strangers. Let the Government open up all the lands in South Canterbury as they did Kurow and then there might be some room for strangers. But I can tell you that there are numbers of local families who intend to secure a location this time if they can.[54]

But 1890 was a time for meetings and agitation not only in relation to the land question. The labour question was a matter of some importance too, and, for some people, the two matters were linked. A correspondent to the Oamaru Mail, who signed himself "Grumbler, Upper Waitaki" bemoaned the fact that he had been unsuccessful in the Station Peak ballot and went on to comment:

> I don't think we should have much of these labour troubles were the land so administered that anyone could get enough for a home for his family. At present this is an impossibility for the working man, but a day of reckoning is coming, if we are to judge by the signs of the times, when these greedy blood-sucking companies that now infest this fair country of ours will be forced to disgorge. Talk about driving capital out of the country. It would have been a good thing to my

> thinking if the greater part of the capital had never come in. The country would then have been settled in the truest sense of the term, and instead of thousands upon thousands of acres with a few solitary shepherds here and there, homes of hard working men, the bone and sinew of the country would have taken their places.[55]

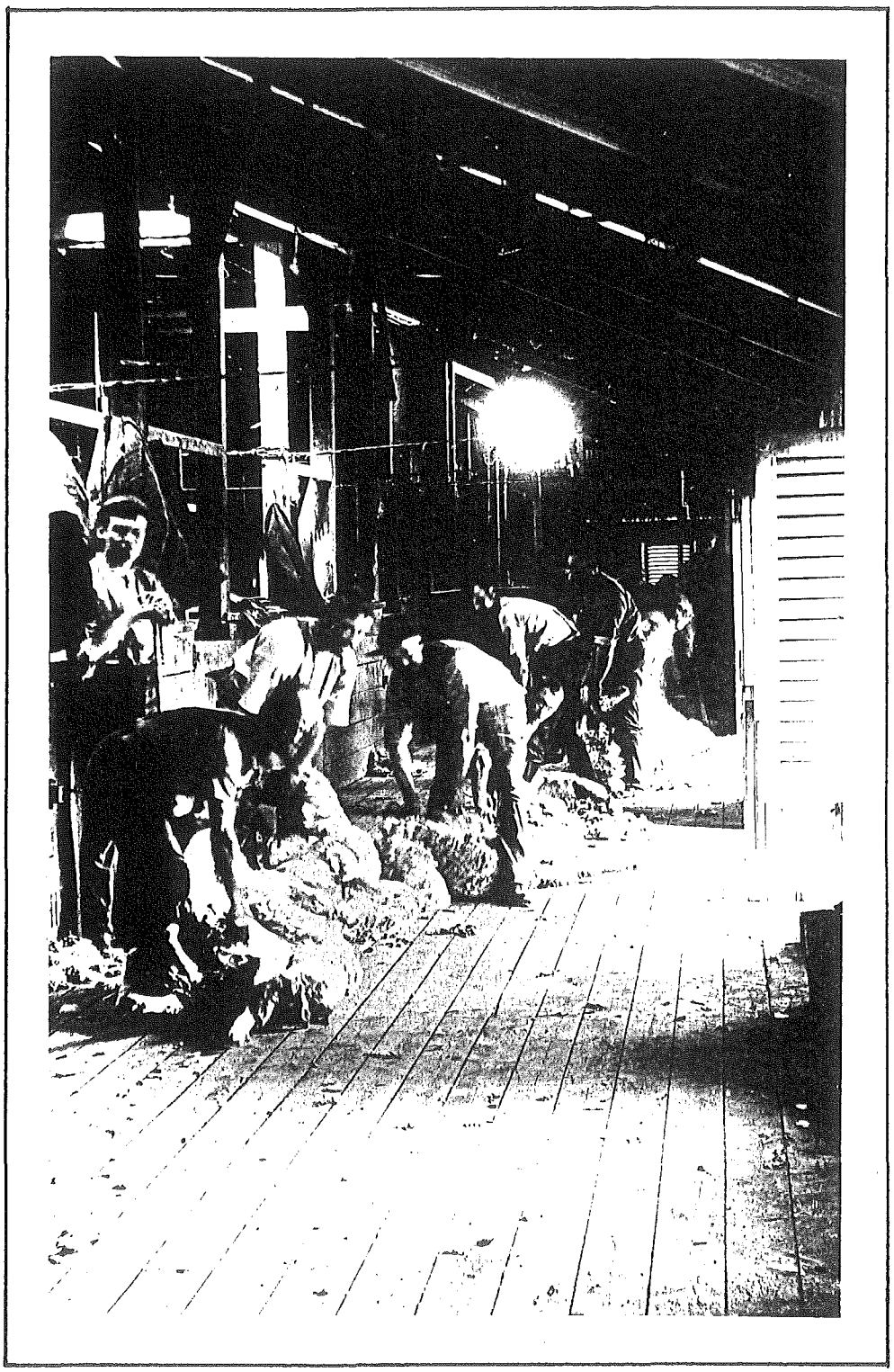
THE LABOUR QUESTION

In the Oamaru Mail of February 25th 1890, it was announced that there would be a meeting of shearers and labourers to be held in Goddard's Hall in Kurow on the evening of Saturday, March 1st. The meeting was to be addressed by Stephen Boreham, Secretary and Treasurer of the Oamaru Branch of the New Zealand Shearer and Labourer's Union, and his theme for the evening was to be "... the good results of trade unions both to master and man".

Boreham's appearance at the meeting was greeted with "loud and continued applause".[56] In his address, he gave an outline of the history of unions, pointing out that they needed no vindication of their role in society, since this was provided by their past history. In arguing the necessity for a union, Boreham pointed out that "poor struggling" farmers in the area were paying workers ten pence to a shilling an hour, whereas large landowners were getting away with paying only eight pence an hour. The conclusion he drew from this was that the workman was doing a gross wrong to the "genuine farmer". Unfortunately, the Oamaru Mail's report of the meeting gave no further detail on the content of Boreham's address, nor did it indicate how many people were present, but its conclusion was that "Mr Boreham made a great impression in favour of unions". The meeting ended with "prolonged cheers for the union".

Earlier that week, in the district magistrate's court in Oamaru, a case had been heard involving a dispute between a shearer named Thomas Hartley and the New Zealand and Australian Land Company.[57] The case related to an incident that had occurred on Hakataramea Station in December of the previous year when the station manager, Duncan McFarlane, had insisted that the shearers work with sheep that they claimed were wet. When the men refused to obey his orders to get back to work, the manager terminated the shearing, refused to settle outstanding pay and told them to "clear out". All but two of the shearers left the station at this point, and from subsequent testimony it was obvious that the shearers who left risked being blackballed throughout the district because of their action.[58] Some subsequently worked under assumed names to avoid this risk. It was alleged that union involvement in the dispute had brought about complications, since some of the men had indicated on the way to Kurow that if it had not been for the union they would have gone back to work. Hartley denied this. He admitted that he and others were members of the union but insisted that there were others involved in the dispute who were not.

The men had met in Kurow that evening to decide what to do about the issue. Since there was work offering elsewhere in the meantime, it was decided to bring the action after that was finished. Hartley subsequently sued the company for nine pounds, which was payment for shearing twelve hundred sheep at fifteen shillings per hundred. At the end of the case the court ruled that the manager had given an improper command to the men and had cancelled the agreement in his subsequent comments to the



[Fred Chase]

Blade Shearing at Hakataramea Station
Late 1890s

shearers.[59] It therefore found in favour of Hartley and awarded him seven pounds, eighteen shillings and threepence which was payment for shearing 1,055 sheep.

It would appear from the circumstances of the case that the matter may have been pursued in the courts more to serve as publicity for union grievances than to benefit Thomas Hartley directly. The newspaper accounts do not allow us to draw a definitive conclusion on this, but it must be recognised that, at the very least, the court case served to keep such labour disputes in the public gaze insofar as the issue was extensively reported in the Oamaru Mail.

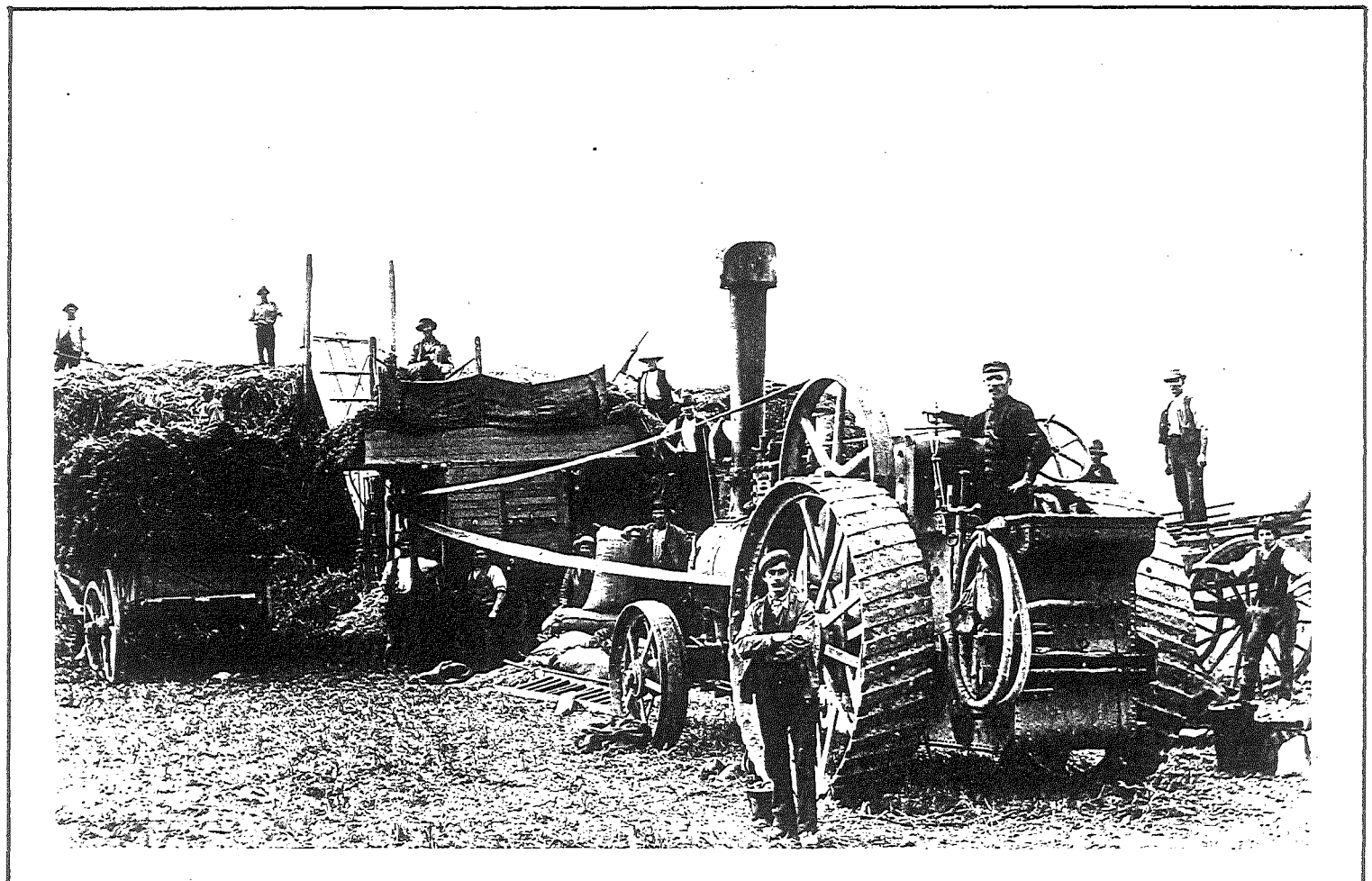
In June of 1890 Stephen Boreham, on behalf of the Oamaru Branch of the Shearers and Labourers Union, issued a log of wages and conditions of employment to be applied to a range of rural occupations.[60] In addition to setting wage rates, the log also required an eight-hour working day with provision for payment at time and half beyond that. It also sought to preclude contract rural work. Boreham's initiative called for a collective response from farmers, which was not long in coming. Between July 5th and 9th, there were meetings of "farmers and employers of labour" in Kurow, Otiake, Awamoko, Duntroon and Papakaio.[61] The purpose of these meetings was "to discuss the labour question and enrol members of employers' clubs".

The Kurow meeting took place on the evening of July 5th, when a "fairly representative meeting of farmers and employers of labour" met in Delargy's Hall.[62] A Kurow farmer, George Stringer, was elected to the chair, and intimated that the purpose of the meeting was to consider the log of the Labourers

Union. He also suggested that the meeting give consideration to forming a branch of the Farmers and Employers Union already established in Oamaru and elect delegates to represent their interests at meetings there. Stringer's opinion on the matter was that "if labourers would have unions then employers ought also to combine so as to meet the labourers on level terms and mutually discuss matters affecting both parties".[63]

The general consensus of the meeting seemed to be that the log had been crudely and hastily constructed and required considerable modification before it would be acceptable. Concern was expressed that the precluding of contract work would have serious implications for some village settlers who sought to supplement other income by picking up contract work on neighbouring farms. A similar sentiment was expressed that same evening in the Otiake school house, where the Otiake farmers were meeting.[64] It was maintained there that a good worker liked to make as much as possible while the harvest lasted but that such provisions in the log would make this impossible. As far as Louis Dasler could see, the log would benefit none but "useless" workers as, in his opinion, it was certain that a "useless man" would be the first to join the labour union for protection.[65]

In the Kurow meeting, the necessity for an eight-hour day was considered to be "fair and reasonable", but it was felt that this could not be applied as a hard and fast rule in all cases. The situation of the ploughman was cited as a case in point, where it was felt that if he was not to start feeding and yoking his horses until 8am and then had to have them back in the yard and fed by 5pm there would not be much time left in the day for actual work.



[Fred Chase]

Threshing Mill at Hille's, Otiake
1898

At the conclusion of the Kurow meeting, George Stringer and Christian Hille were appointed delegates for the district, and "a great many of those present" entered their names as members of the employers' union. In Otiake, Hawthorne Stewart, was elected as delegate and eleven farmers joined the club.[66]

Not only the farmers were concerned about the situation of the ploughman. Some ploughmen were, too. Stephen Boreham's suggested solution to the problem was to have the farmer hire a groom to take care of the horses where there were two or more teams of horses involved, but this drew a dissenting response from one ploughman. While he thoroughly believed in unionism and appreciated what Mr Boreham was doing for the good of his fellow workman, he was nevertheless unhappy about aspects of Boreham's solution:

> I have been working amongst horses for the past eighteen years and a ploughman for over thirteen of those. I can work a team of horses in any class of ground with any sort of plough and have taken first prizes with my horses at the Oamaru shows. But if I were to surrender my team of horses to a groom after my day's work was over and take no interest whatsoever in them, either before or after my day's work, I would soon find that my chances of taking a prize at the show was a thing of the past, as no groom could possibly take the same interest in the welfare of the horses that the man who was working them would take.[67]

This ploughman was nevertheless insistent that the working day for a ploughman should be "eight hours in the chains", i.e., the time between leaving the yard and returning, and if more work was required then he should be paid overtime.

There were other farm workers who had doubts about the outcome of Boreham's organising. One correspondent to the Oamaru Mail, who signed himself "Old George", had the following to say:

> Me and Tom and Bill have got a billet here but the boss says as how he can't keep more than one of us after the first of October as he can't afford the union wages. What I wants to know sir, before I joins the union is, will the union keep the other two when we lose our place, or will Mr Boreham give us a job ?[68]

Despite the uncertainty and hesitancy on the part of some - and the issues were discussed back and forth at length in the newspapers - the net result of Boreham's agitation was that farmers from Kurow to the Lower Waitaki organised themselves into employer's unions and farm workers joined Boreham's union. At a meeting in Oamaru on July 25th, Boreham announced that membership in the local branch stood at about 300 members and that he was continually receiving letters of encouragement announcing the enrolment of new members.[69] The weapons of the unionist were declared to be "the pen, the press and the platform", and Boreham insisted that the "horny handed sons of toil" were the possessors of quite as much knowledge as "the man with one-eye glasses, a big bell topper and long white whiskers". He claimed that the workers had been obliged to form a union to counteract "the organised opposition of capital".[70]

In the context of rural organisation of farmers and workers, one group who were positioned somewhere between the two were the potato and grain croppers, who were required to pay anything from two pounds ten shillings to three pounds an acre to take one crop off a piece of land. Their plight did not go without comment. One writer to the Oamaru Mail expressed the matter in the following terms:

> In these days of labour combinations and unions, there is a class in this community who require a union of some kind badly. I mean the croppers. Take the potato men, for instance. They have been cutting one another's throats for the last few years with a vengeance with their two pounds ten shillings and three pounds for a crop of spuds. And I venture to say that you would not find in this entire district at the present time half a dozen men who have made money out of potato cropping during the last three years, as against hundreds who have lost, many of them their all.[71]

In some cases, the original rents for such land had been set at thirty shillings an acre, but the price had been forced up by competition to levels that were generally recognised to be uneconomic, even if there was a good potato crop. By March 26th, the Oamaru Mail was reporting the failure of the potato crop. In an editorial that same day, the paper related the plight of the croppers to the Government's unwillingness to respond to the settler's wishes on the land question:

> Men are driven into ruinous competition with one another in the struggle for existence when, if the Crown lands suitable for settlement were rendered available, the number of competitors would, in some measure, be reduced. The Crown may have no land suitable for potato growing or very little fit for agricultural pursuits of any kind, but it has plenty that could be devoted to sheep farming on a comparatively small scale and if they were afforded the opportunity, croppers would gladly turn their attention to such an industry instead of working as they are now for the landlord.[72]

The spectre of the landlord and the images that it invoked of economic conditions suffered in the "old country" were not far from the minds of some. Writing to the Oamaru Mail in May on this issue of the croppers, Stephen Boreham commented that, in his opinion, "the people of the colony flatter themselves that that dreadful pest landlordism, so well-known to the people of

Ireland, is a stranger to our shores". Boreham drew the conclusion that it was now time for the labourers of the colony to form themselves into a union "for the purpose of protecting themselves and their families from such horrid encroachments on their rights".[73]

For other sections of the rural population, there were different conclusions to be drawn from the situation of the croppers. A correspondent to the Oamaru Mail who signed himself "Small Farmer" argued that by paying high rents the croppers were hurting not only themselves but also the "real farmer".[74] He argued that as long as there were people prepared to pay such high rents to the big landowners the settlement of the "big holdings" would remain problematic. The dynamics of the rural situation were revealed, though, in his admission that "at all the farmers' club meetings, I have never seen rent of land brought up for discussion, but if the wages question is brought up the poor working man is set on quickly".[75]

The labour question was an issue of some significance, then, in North Otago in 1890, and its implications were felt in the Kurow district as much as anywhere else. Things had quietened down by the end of the year, however, if an editorial in the Oamaru Mail on December 29th is anything to go by:

> To all appearances the spirit of rebellion which made itself felt so obnoxiously a few months ago is dying out of the industrial classes. There is a flickering labour agitation at the other side of the globe, but on this side there are signs that all will soon be contentment and peace in the ranks of the working men. In our own district there is an indication of a desire to cease to rebel against the inevitable potency of wealth and our industrial classes will probably before long learn to do what they are told to do and receive with grateful hearts whatever may be thrown to

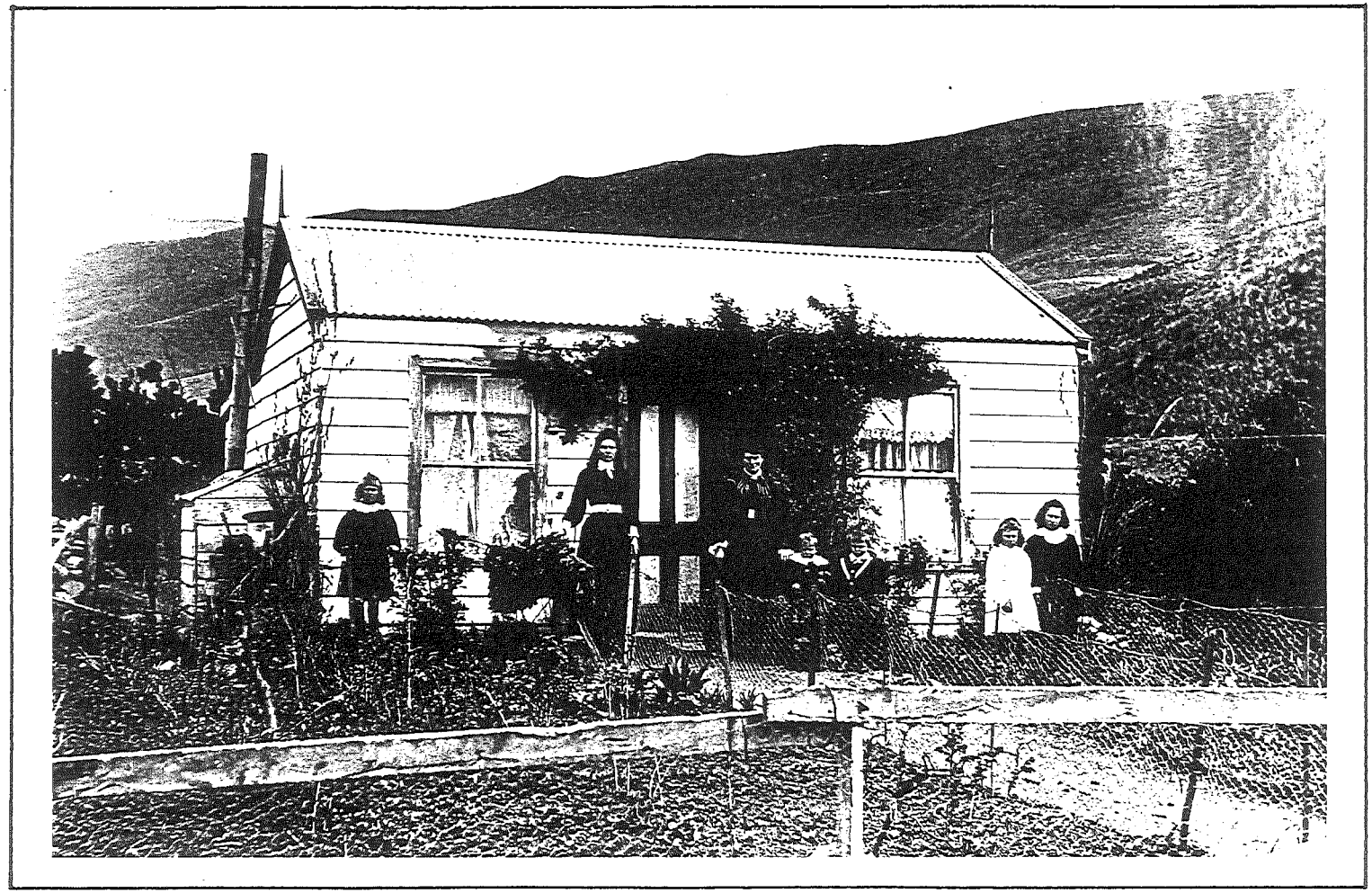
> them from the lap of luxury. ... If they will only abstain from exercising their power as men against mammon, if they will only cast themselves unreservedly at the feet of the great companies, they will meet with their reward and their children will grow up to call them blessed.[76]

It was in this context of labour agitation, pressure for land settlement and inequities in land distribution that the beginnings of community in the Kurow district were being forged. This was the sort of district that George Robinson was visiting on that December day towards the end of 1890, but what of the process of community formation itself? How far had it progressed? This is the issue we turn to in the next section of this chapter.

COMMUNITY FORMATION

We have no accurate figures on how many people were living in the Kurow district in 1890. The closest we can come is to use figures from the census taken in April of 1891. Aggregating the various locality information gives a total figure of 851 people, 499 of whom were male and 352 of whom were female - Table 7.8.

Rocky Point was an outpost of the Land Company in the vicinity of what is now known as Cattle Creek. Sandhurst was Hakataramea Township - the name had been changed by the 1896 census. Wharekini was the name used for Wharekuri. The Awakino River ran into the Waitaki west of Kurow, and Awakino was the name used for the runs taken up by A.H. Chapman and his wife. The population figures for this area are rather higher than might be expected - as are the figures for Kurow Station - but there were a number of farming families living up Kurow Creek who are



[Fred Chase]

Family of Thomas Prentice, Kurow Creek
Circa 1898

not otherwise included in the census, and it seems reasonable to conclude that they are included in the Awakino figures.

Table 7.8 : Kurow District Population, 1891 Census

LOCALITY	Male	Female	TOTAL
Rocky Point	6	5	11
Hakataramea Valley	82	53	135
Sandhurst Village	46	32	78
Awakino	51	44	95
Kurow Town	81	59	140
Kurow Station	60	47	107
Otekaike	37	21	58
Otiake	95	66	161
Rugged Ridges	20	11	31
Wharekini [sic]	21	14	35
TOTAL	499	352	851

The provincial distribution of the population reinforces the earlier point about the settlement having been concentrated mainly in the North Otago localities. Of the localities listed in Table 7.8, only the first three are in South Canterbury. This means that South Canterbury accounted for only 26% of the population of the district in 1891. Furthermore, the population at Rocky Point and a large proportion of the population in Hakataramea Valley were employees of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company. In 1890 there were only twenty-one children attending the school in Hakataramea Valley. These came from five settler households, and there were only another two settler households in the valley without children.[77] The population of the valley was therefore overwhelmingly Land Company employees.

The census figures give no indication whatsoever of the age distribution of the population, so we have no way of knowing accurately how many were adults and how many were children. We can get a rough indication of how many children were in the district, however, from the numbers attending the schools. In 1890 there were four schools in the district (Kurow, Otiake, Wharekuri and Hakataramea Valley) and the combined number of children in these schools was 148.[78]

Apart from the limited settlement in the Hakataramea Valley, then, the main concentrations of rural population in the district were in Otiake, Kurow Creek and Wharekuri.

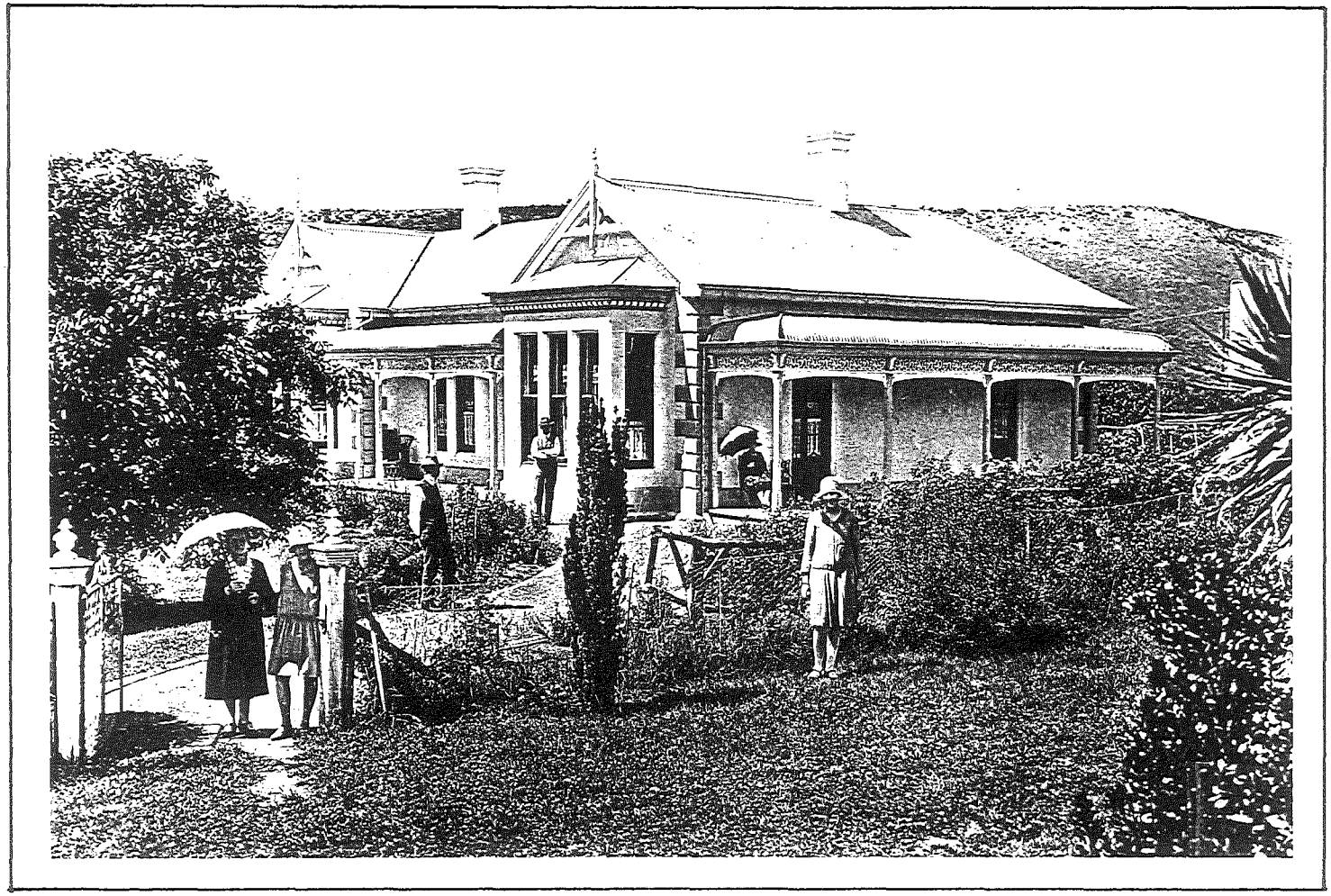
In 1890 there were twenty-nine households in Otiake. Twenty-five of these were farm households, while the other four were headed by two farm workers, a blacksmith and a carpenter. The range in the farm sizes was from 20 acres to 1300 acres with an average of 400 acres. The total number of sheep in the locality was 4,537 with the average flock size being 302 - the range was from eighty sheep to a thousand sheep. There was also quite extensive cropping in Otiake with many properties being mixed sheep-crop units. Wheat and sheep-meat grown on John Grant's Otiake property were cited by the Oamaru Mail in January of 1890 as evidence of what was possible on land that had been declared by the Government as "unfit for settlement".[79]

> The foregoing proofs of what the land, that has of late years been taken for settlement from the runs in the upper Waitaki district, is capable of, affords additional evidence that the settlers are better judges of the quality and capability of the country than the political muddlers and jugglers, and that in every case where land was demanded, there has been a dishonest attempt to stifle a righteous clamour by means of gross misrepresentation in Ministerial quarters".[80]

The Otiake locality had been settled in 1879, and by 1890 there were already substantial kinship interlinkages within the locality. Of the twenty-nine households in the locality, fifteen had kin living in other households in the locality and two had kin living in Kurow vicinity.[81]

The McInnes family were farmers who had orginally come to New Zealand from Scotland. Murdoch McInnes and his wife had three children living in Otiake. All had married locally in 1888: Peter to Mary Barrie, a daughter of William Barrie, an Otiake carpenter; Archie to Jessie Grant, a daughter of John Grant, an Otiake farmer; and Mary to Donald Simpson, an Otiake farmer.[82] The kinship connections extended beyond this, since Jessie Grant's sister Mary had also married an Otiake farmer, John Porter, and Donald Simpson's brother William also farmed in Otiake. The McInnes's, the Grants, the Barries and the Simpsons were all Scots families. John Porter was Irish.[83] All of these families were Presbyterians.[84] The other kinship link of significance in the Otiake locality was between two other Irish Presbyterian families, the McGimpseys and the McCones.[85] In 1885, James McGimpsey had married Elizabeth McCone. James McGimpsey and Elizabeth's father James McCone were both farmers in Otiake.

Such links were not uncommon among families elsewhere in the Kurow district. By 1900 in Hakataramea, for example, there had developed kinship links between the Hayes, Ross and Barclay families. The Hayes and the Rosses were farming families, and the Barclays were storekeepers. In 1895, William Barclay married Mary Ross and in 1900, Norman Hayes married William Barclay's



[Kurow Museum]

Mr and Mrs Archie McInnes and Friends
Craigellachie, Otiake, Early 1920s

sister, Jessie. Also farming in the Hakataramea Valley in 1890 were two brothers, William and Thomas Milne, originally from Morayshire in Scotland.[86] The Barclays lived in Haka Township, William Ross lived in its vicinity, and Norman Hayes lived at "Normanvale" in the lower western corner of the Hakataramea Valley. Also living in Haka Township with his family was Donald McKenzie, who had drawn one of the Station Peak small grazing runs in July of 1890. All of these families were Presbyterians. The main Catholic kinship connection at that time was between the Molloys of the Terminus Hotel in Hakataramea and the Delargys of the Kurow Hotel.

The situation was quite different in the Kurow Creek and Wharekuri localities, settled a few years after Otiake. There was no kinship link among the eight Kurow Creek households or the eighteen Wharekuri households in 1890. All of the Kurow Creek households and all but four of the Wharekuri households were farm households. The other Wharekuri households were headed by a farm worker, a waggoner, a ferryman and a publican. The proprietor of the Wharekuri Hotel, Walter B. Cairns also operated a colliery in the locality, selling coal at the pit mouth at ten shillings a ton.[87] The land being farmed in the Kurow Creek and Wharekuri localities was rather marginal land and the properties were not large enough to be viable, with the result that land in both localities was gradually amalgamated into larger neighbouring properties.

Many of these families were to persist in the district for some time. In 1982 there were still McCones, Grants, Rosses, Hayes and McKenzies in the Kurow district, all of them farmers.

There were also direct descendants of the Hilles, the Delargys and the Milnes, and they too were farmers. A direct descendant of James McGimpsey was farming in Otiake until 1975, when the family property was sold. Of the farming families who were in Wharekuri in 1890, some descendants persisted through to 1982 in the district. Among these were the Gards, the Duffys and the Stewarts. Some, such as the Aubreys and the McAughtries, became prominent landowners in the Omarama district. Others, such as the Cairns's, subsequently owned land in the Duntroon district. Elsewhere in the Kurow district in 1890, William Munro was the proprietor of the Otematata accommodation house, William Shirres ran the 50,000-acre Aviemore sheep station and John Sutton ran the 53,000-acre Waitangi sheep station. These were three other families who still had direct descendants living in the district in 1982.

It is significant that all but three of these were farming families. The other three families - the Cairns's, the Delargys and the Munros - were originally hotel or accommodation-house proprietors, but descendants of each went on to become farmers in the district.

We find also that farmers were significant in the associational life of the district in 1890. On the three rural school committees - Otiake, Wharekuri and Hakataramea Valley - farmers occupied all but four of the twenty-one positions. They also occupied two out of seven positions on the Kurow school committee.[88] The Hakataramea Cemetery Trust comprised a farmer and a storekeeper. There was one local representative on the Hakataramea Licensing Committee, and he was a prominent farmer.

There were four local farmers on the Otekaike Licensing Trust. Not surprisingly, the Waitaki Collie Dog Club was dominated by farmers, and so too was the Kurow Jockey Club. Of the fifteen Jockey Club committee members in 1890, seven were farmers, three were publicans, one was a saddler, one was a timber merchant and one was a rabbit inspector. The other two committee members were the president and the vice president and they were, respectively, the managers of Benmore Station and Hakataramea Station. During 1890 there were twelve assorted meetings or socials held in the Kurow district, and on ten of these occasions farmers were voted to the chair.[89] By and large, however, the farmers who were involved in associations were not the richest farmers of the district (as measured by the capital value of their properties) but rather the settler-farmers from the smaller localities.

It must not be assumed that in 1890 this was a district that was devoid of conflict. We have already looked at the pressure for land reform, and this clearly reflected a conflict of interests between the large landowners and the settler-farmers. We also considered tensions between employers and employees and how this led to the formation of associations on both sides. Both of these issues had significance beyond the local situation and reflected changes that were underway at the regional and national levels. There were other conflicts that were particularly local, however, and these seemed to revolve around the issue of schooling.

In July of 1890, for example, there was serious conflict between the Hakataramea Valley school committee and the school teacher, a Mrs Emmett. Mrs Emmett was the wife of a local

Waimate Council surfaceman, and classes had been held in the kitchen of their house from the time that the school had been started in 1884. A new school building was opened in 1890, however, and the school committee wanted Mrs Emmett replaced with a certificated teacher, preferably a male. Mrs Emmett had been licensed to teach by the Education Department, but she had not passed her certification examinations, and the committee used this as an excuse for trying to have her removed. The dispute spilled over into the local newspapers - the Waimate Times, the Timaru Herald and the Oamaru Mail - and provided an opportunity for "interested parties" from Sandhurst to criticise the behaviour of their contemporaries in the valley. In referring to the "unpleasantness" that had arisen between the parties, the Oamaru Mail commented:

> It would be nothing short of a calamity if the antipathy shown towards Mrs Emmett by the committee became widespread in the school district. The country school teacher is an important person whose services one way or another are in constant request but, apart from the disadvantages and influences of estrangement between parents and school teacher, there is the injury to the educational interests of the children. It must indeed be a wretchedly discontented and unfortunate up-country community in which the school teacher and the settlers are at variance.[90]

Following a public meeting held in the school on July 29th, Mrs Emmett was forced to resign. On November 8th it was reported that the South Canterbury Education Board had decided to appoint Mr Hugh McIntyre to fill the vacancy. At the same meeting of the Education Board, it was also announced that early in 1891 a new school would be opened in Sandhurst. This followed persistent pressure on the part of residents to have a school

opened in their township, but the wrangling that took place over that issue also revealed conflict between localities in the district.

It was a point of contention between the people of Kurow and Sandhurst that the overcrowding at the Kurow school was not being treated seriously by the Otago Education Board because of the possibility of a school being opened in Sandhurst. Sandhurst children travelled across the bridge to attend school in Kurow, so opening a school in Sandhurst would relieve the pressure in Kurow. In the minds of Kurow residents, this was a forlorn hope, and the Sandhurst agitation was only adding to their problems. In October of 1890 the residents of Sandhurst met with the local Member for Waimate, Sir William Steward, and impressed on him the necessity of a school on the South Canterbury side of the bridge.[91] They pointed out that there were thirty children in the locality, twenty-seven of whom were of school age, and that their options in relation to schooling were either to stay at home or to travel across to Kurow. It was maintained, however, that this latter option exposed them to danger of being run over by drunken horsemen on the bridge. This was reported in the Oamaru Mail of October 13th. On November 8th, the Kurow correspondent for the paper responded by commenting that, since Kurow horsemen were a sober lot, the drunken horsemen must be coming across the bridge from Sandhurst! The Sandhurst pressure was eventually successful, however, with a public meeting being called for the evening of Saturday, December 13th 1890, to elect a school committee for Sandhurst and discuss the boundaries to the proposed new school district.[92]

The Kurow school committee was also not without its problems. In November 1890, the committee agreed that the coming school holiday should last for a month.[93] This did not suit the teacher, who wanted an extra week, but the committee refused to agree to her request. By informal means, however, and aided by a "susceptible committee man, champion to beauty in distress", she obtained her extension. The committee's response was to call another meeting, when the majority extended the holidays to six weeks. This was greeted with horror by the parents, who, said the Oamaru Mail Kurow correspondent, "look to the school as a relief to their burdened households".[94] The Chairman and another committee member resigned in protest at the committee's "imbecility". Since one other member had ceased to be a committee member through non-attendance and another was reported to have been legally disqualified through bankruptcy, the committee was in disarray. There was further comedy to follow, however. Archibald Miller of Te Akatarawa invited the school children of the district to a picnic on his property on Boxing Day, providing conveyance to his homestead as well as refreshments and toys. The Wharekuri committee accepted the invitation with thanks, but the Kurow committee declined the offer and asked locally for funds to conduct an alternative picnic at the Kurow race course. The Kurow correspondent reported:

> Can anything be more preposterous? I am glad to say that the proposal is generally viewed with disgust. The ostensible reason for refusing Mr Miller's invitation was that the place is too far, although Mr Miller has contributed for conveyances. But the real reason lies deeper. Every man for himself, God for us all and satan take the hindmost.[95]

But at least there was a remnant of a school committee in Kurow. In Otiake it had taken two meetings earlier in the year to find enough members for a committee, since only two people were willing to be considered at the first meeting.[96] Something similar had occurred in Otiake in May, when the farmers were looking for a delegate to the Farmers and Employers Union. Four men were nominated but all declined, and they finally had to draw lots to see which of them would have the honour.

A similar lack of enthusiasm was apparent at an election meeting in Kurow in November. There were three candidates for the local seat - John McKenzie, a Mr Buckland and a Mr Bruce. McKenzie and Buckland had held meetings in the district in early November, but when Bruce turned up at the end of the month, the reception that was extended to him was anything but enthusiastic. It was reported that there was a "paucity of attendance" and that those present were not supporters of Mr Bruce.[97] It then transpired that Messrs George Orr, Raven, Hesketh and many others were proposed for the chair but all declined the honour. Bruce proceeded without a chairman but ultimately turned this to his own advantage by praising the fact that a Kurow meeting did not require a chairman to keep order. The meeting ended as badly as it had begun. A vote of thanks and confidence in Mr Bruce was proposed from the floor, but this was then amended to a vote of thanks only. The only affirmative response that this received from the audience seems to have come from four or five railwaymen who were present. A vote of no confidence in Bruce was then proposed and seconded and this was met with applause from the meeting. In the subsequent election, McKenzie won the seat.[98]

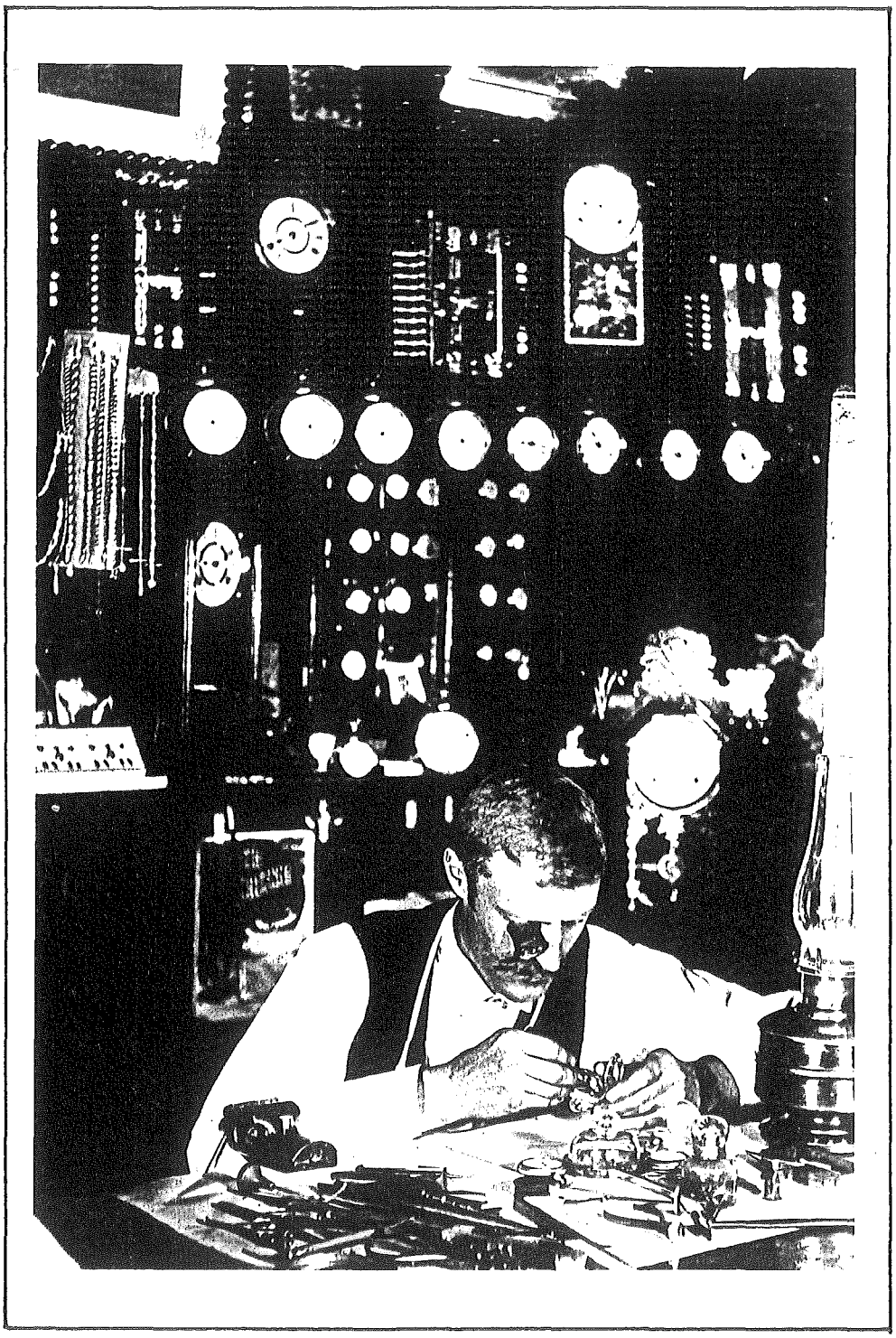
Difficulties there may have been, then, among the school committees but at least it provided some light relief for the residents of the district. Referring to this, the Kurow correspondent of the Oamaru Mail commented at the end of the year:

> Now that the turmoil and excitement of the elections are over we have sunk into a lethargic, almost comatose state and were it not for our diurnal dissipation, the evening train, and a little comedy now on among the school committee re the Christmas holidays, we should simply drop out of existence from sheer inanation.[99]

Lest this give the picture of a "sleepy hollow", it should be pointed out that there was plenty of activity going on. On November 8th, this same correspondent reported in the Oamaru Mail:

> Our township is certainly going ahead, several new buildings having been erected recently. It never rains but it pours. Mr White has built a boot emporium in High Street and Mr McKay another of the same kind. Mr McPherson has renovated Murray's 'Golden Boot' and now a new store if not two will most likely be erected shortly, much to the satisfaction of the residents. ... A new blacksmith's shop is being erected in the Main Street for Mr Bell. How many smiths are going to make a living here is a puzzle, considering there are six within a radius of five miles. A new store with bakery is also to be erected in the new year. I only wonder one has not been started before considering the tempting inducements to be a good tradesman. We have therefore good reason to hope that we shall be able to get stores at something less than thirty per cent over Oamaru prices. Nothing like fair competition. Another badly felt want is a J.P. so that we can make a declaration without having to trot ten or twelve miles to do so.[100]

Development, however, was not only economic. Attention was also being paid to the religious, medical and law-and-order needs of the district. In April, a Harvest Home Festival concert



[Fred Chase]

Fred Chase, Watchmaker
In Kurow Shop, Early 1900s

and ball was held in Kurow in order to raise funds to offset the purchase of an organ to be used in Presbyterian services.[101] Then in November a musical evening was held in Delargy's Hall with the proceeds going to a fund to erect a Presbyterian church in the township. In reporting on the evening, the Oamaru Mail commented that the bi-weekly Presbyterian services held in the school house had "increased much of late".[102] Mass was being held in the school once every three months for the Catholics. The priest travelled up from Oamaru, and Kurow was included in a North Otago circuit.[103]

The moral life of the district had clearly benefitted from the arrival of a policeman, Constable Bradshaw, in 1890. The transformation in the social and religious life of the district was noteworthy:

> Speaking of our police officer, what a change has taken place in the morals of this township since his advent among us. Before that it would have been hard to distinguish sunday from week days for as much busyness in selling was done on that day as on others, or even more. Only for decency's sake a shutter might be seen up, or the door partly closed, otherwise trade went on roaringly. Then the number of soakers to be seen round the pubs was a caution. Now, how changed the scene. You might fancy you were in a Puritan New England settlement, both pubs and store being most religiously closed and as a result the church is much better patronised and quite a respectable pile of threepences are harvested every service night.[104]

By June of 1890 an Upper Waitaki Medical Benefit Association had been formed and considered itself sufficiently strong to support a doctor in the district. According to reports at the time, the district was "pretty thickly settled and should prove a very good field for a medical man to take up".[105]

[Fred Chase]

Kurow Main Street, 1898

Members of the Association met formally in the Kurow school house on June 20th and appointed a Scotsman, Doctor Gilray, as the first doctor in the district.[106] At that stage, subscriptions of approximately one hundred and fifty pounds had been received towards the Association. The Kurow district was gaining a reputation for its healthy climate. In July, in anticipation of taking over the proprietorship of the Kurow Hotel from William Goddard, Bernard Delargy put the Bridge Hotel, Kurow, up for sale, and the following statement appeared in the advertisement for the hotel:

> Kurow has now become a recognised sanitorium for those affected with pulmonary diseases and as the healthy and invigorating climate is rapidly becoming widely known, the number of tourists and others in summer and winter is ever on the increase.[107]

By the end of 1890, then, significant advances in community formation had been made in the Kurow district. Opposition to the large landowners fostered a commonality of interest among the settlers. Certainly the recognition of differences of interest between employer and employee was also becoming sharper, but this in itself served to formalise associations within the district as workers joined the Shearers amd Labourers Union and farmers joined the Farmers Club and the Farmers and Employers Union. The formalisation of education, religious observance and recreational activities also served to define boundaries and foster a sense of identity, even if inter-locality hostility and rivalry was sometimes the result. With the passage of time, too, there was an increase in intermarriage between district families, and this, allied with land ownership, laid a foundation for continuity in the district.

[Fred Chase]

John Orr's Kurow Store, 1898
Kurow Hill in Background

Writing in December of 1890, a correspondent to the Oamaru Mail summed up some of the benefits that land settlement had brought to the district:

> What has the opening of the land done in the Upper Waitaki? Twelve years ago there were three houses from Duntroon to Wharekuri and now we have three schools. When the Kurow run belonged to the Company the population of Kurow was below 20 and now it is about 70.[108]

Land settlement had been decisive in reshaping the face of the Kurow district by 1890. However, as this review of some of the main developments from that year has shown, there was still much to be done. The election of the Liberal Government in December of 1890 set a new political agenda and offered new hope. The extent to which this promise was fulfilled in this district and the manner in which it structured the next thirty years of the district's collective life will be the subject of the next two chapters where we look first of all at a broad overview of the changes that took place in the district between 1890 and 1920 and address the specific issue of the settlement of the Otekaike estate in 1908.

FOOTNOTES :

1. The intention in this chapter is to look in some detail at developments in the Kurow district in one particular year, 1890. This year is part of the general pattern of periods that is being used to frame the study (1850-1890; 1890-1920; 1920-1950; 1950-1982), but it can be seen as being a year of some significance in its own right insofar as it represented the beginnings of the Liberal Government and a consequent change in land policy. Material for the chapter has been drawn quite extensively from the Oamaru Mail of 1890.

2. We know the sun would have been shining that morning because the district was in the middle of a severe drought. The total rainfall for the district between January and June of 1890 had been only 1.69 inches (Oamaru Mail, July 3rd). No rain of any consequence had fallen for two years and the Waitaki River was so low that it could be crossed with ease at any point below Kurow. On November 8th, the Mail's Kurow correspondent reported: "The crops are suffering severely for want of rain. What little we have had has been speedily evaporated by the fierce nor'westers now prevailing".

3. The two hotels in the township were Bernard Delargy's Kurow Hotel and James Munro's Bridge Hotel. At the beginning of the year Delargy had owned the Bridge Hotel and William Goddard had owned the Kurow Hotel, but in July a change of ownership had taken place, Delargy moved to the Kurow Hotel, Munro took over the Bridge Hotel, and Goddard concentrated on his coach service.

4. It is thought that the Campbells named Sandhurst after family connections back in England. The name was changed to Hakataramea Township in the early 1890s.

5. Quoted in the Oamaru Mail, April 3rd, 1890.

6. Oamaru Mail, April 3rd, 1890.

7. Quoted in the Oamaru Mail, March 15th, 1890.

8. In January of 1890 a series of accusations were made in the Oamaru Mail by an Otiake farmer, Louis Dasler, that the balloting procedures used in the disposal of some Kurow Station land late in 1889 had been suspect. By a remarkable set of coincidences, the Land Company's marble always seemed to be drawn from the ballot box when it was particularly crucial for them to win the ballot. Dasler built a duplicate of the ballot box used in Dunedin and by following the same procedures for turning the box, he found that he could pick out any marble he chose since they did not change position from when they were put in. He concluded from this that Crown Land Commissioner Maitland was in collusion with the Land Company. The Oamaru Mail championed Dasler's accusations but in May were forced to retract and apologise under threat of litigation.

9. When Robert Campbell and Sons retained the leases to the major part of Station Peak in July of 1890, it was in the name of the manager of the Station, Begg, and not in the name of the Company. Accusations of dummyism had also been laid against the Campbell Company in a court case in the late 1880s. The Land Company operated in a similar fashion with Thomas Brydone being the "front man" for many of its purchases. In acting in this way on behalf of the Land Company, Brydone would have had to make a declaration that he was making the purchase solely for his own use or else for the use and benefit of people residing in the colony for whom he was trustee. The Land Act of 1877 precluded the purchase of Crown land for the use or benefit of any other person. At a meeting of the Canterbury Land Board in June of 1890 it was announced that the Government would no longer accept a declaration made by an attorney such as Brydone on behalf of a company (see the Oamaru Mail of June 24th 1890 for a discussion of the significance of this).

10. See Oamaru Mail, March 8th, 1890. In re-letting runs such as Otekaike, Kurow and Otematata in the 1880s, some subdivision was attempted by the Government whereby the run was offered in multiple parts rather than as one run. Because of the lack of competition from other runholders, however, the main result of this was that the former holders retained the leases but at higher rentals. In 1880, for example, Teschemaker and Co had to pay 3085 pounds a year for the three leases on Otematata Station where they had only paid 730 pounds per annum for the undivided run under the prior lease (See McDonald, 1962:165).

11. Oamaru Mail, September 1st, 1890.

12. Oamaru Mail, January 18th, 1890.

13. Reported in the Oamaru Mail, March 4th, 1890.

14. Oamaru Mail, January 18th, 1890.

15. Reported in the Oamaru Mail, May 20th, 1890. The report indicated that Duncan's battle cry was "The land for the people".

16. The poor demand for land in Otiake was also influenced by the fact that it was thought to have been priced too high. Even on the deferred payment system, many of the settlers faced economic difficulties and, in the early 1880s, the land was converted to freehold for the deferred payment rentals already paid (see McDonald, 1962:165).

17. The information on the capital value of the land comes from the government valuation that was done on April 1st, 1889. I was fortunate to discover the Waitaki County valuations by chance in the basement of the County Council building in Oamaru. A search of the Waimate County archives subsequently revealed equivalent material for Waimate County, thus giving

a complete set of data for the whole district. In both places I was able to locate a series of documents that gave valuation data through to 1980.

18. Principal shareholders in Teschemaker and Co. were Charles de Vere Teschemaker and his brother William. They had come out to New Zealand in the early 1850s from England and owned other land elsewhere in North Otago. Their family was originally Dutch and had sugar interests in Demerara. William had a degree from Oxford. The other shareholder in the company was J.M. Ritchie of Russell, Ritchie and Co., Dunedin. For further information, consult Pinney, 1981.

19. In 1890, the owner of Rugged Ridges was William Rutherford, the owner of Te Akatarawa was Archibald Miller, the owner of Aviemore Station was William Shirres and the owner of Waitangi Station was John Sutton (see Table 7.3).

20. These smallholders were mainly labourers or shepherds. Typical of these would have been William Barnes, labourer of Sandhurst (8 acres); Hugh Burnett, Shepherd of Hakataramea (40 acres); Walter Dewey, Labourer of Hakataramea (3 acres); James Johnston, Labourer of Sandhurst (41 acres); George Monkhouse, Labourer of Sandhurst (5 acres).

21. The majority of the "small farms" were situated up Kurow Creek and did not survive long as viable economic units before being amalgamated into larger neighbouring properties. The "middle farms" were the family farm properties in Otiake, Haka Valley and Wharekuri. The "large farms" were properties such as the Hayes' Normanvale estate (2841 acres), Jasper Nicols' Belfield estate (5186 acres) and the Colonial Investment Company's Windsor Downs property (2349 acres). While these were fairly sizeable properties, they could not be classified as grazing runs.

22. Alpheus Hayes lived in Waimate on his Centrewood property, and Normanvale was run for the family by his brother Porter Hayes. The management of the estate was taken over by Norman Hayes, Alpheus' son, in 1897. Alpheus Hayes nevertheless featured on the local Kurow scene. He was a member of the Hakataramea Licensing Committee and stood against Sir Julian Steward for the Waimate seat in the 1890 election. He therefore campaigned in the Kurow district.

23. Christian Hille's properties were in two segments. His Westmere property (1294 acres) was situated in Otiake, but he also owned 1000 acres of freehold land in Cattle Creek. In addition to this, in 1890, his sons owned a total of 10,077 acres in Otiake and Kurow vicinity. The combined area and value of the Hille family properties in the district therefore amounted to 12,371 acres and 9,890 pounds.

24. The main property owners in the townships were James Munro, John Molloy and Bernard Delargy, all hotelkeepers. Their properties were valued at just over 1,000 pounds each. The

only other property owners of significance were storekeepers: Frederick Thiele (400 pounds) and Barclay Brothers (270 pounds).

25. Sheep numbers for the district have been taken from the appropriate volume of the Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives (Volume H). These figures were published until the early 1930s. Equivalent material through to the early 1950s was obtained in mimeo form from the Department of Statistics.

26. Wait and Burbery were Christchurch businessmen. Their Clarksfield property was on the fringe of the district in South Canterbury in the Mount Parker locality.

27. Oamaru Mail, January 11th, 1890.

28. A similar sentiment was expressed by a local shepherd in a letter to the Oamaru Mail: "There are men of the right stamp who are ready to take up every acre of the said runs. Therefore we must agitate, as it takes much agitation to achieve little". (January 6th, 1890).

29. The motion was proposed and seconded by two Otiake farmers, Louis Dasler and John Grant. The meeting was being chaired by another Otiake farmer, George Orr. The reference to "Studholme's runs" related to the Te Waimate property in South Canterbury (Oamaru Mail, January 11th, 1890).

30. Oamaru Mail, February 10th, 1890.

31. Dunedin Evening Herald, March 1890.

32. See the letters from Sir Robert Stout and T. Donaldson in the Otago Daily Times of March 4th and March 6th, 1890.

33. Oamaru Mail, February 21st, 1890.

34. It appears that the Mayor was inadvertently responsible for bringing the meeting to an abrupt end later in the evening. In proposing that a committee be formed to carry through the ideas discussed at the meeting he added that they would also be able to see to the payment of certain expenses. The Oamaru Mail commented: "The committee would undoubtedly have been formed but for his worship's unfortunate addendum about expenses which irritated the patriots and quenched the fire of their ardour so that, unable to remain in their seats, they forgot all about the land grievance and left the hall in silence". It was recorded that, for his troubles, the mayor was left with the honour of paying for the advertising and for the hire of the hall.

35. Figures on emigration from New Zealand for this period show that many were, in fact, leaving. In the Oamaru Mail of February 21st, reference was made to "... men going up and down the country in search for suitable land but they could

not find it. Scores come to the colony with money in their pockets looking in vain for land and the fault was the government's that these most desirable would-be settlers had to go elsewhere for what they could not obtain here".

36. Quoted in the Oamaru Mail, March 10th, 1890.

37. This was a misapprehension, since a perusal of the relevant certificates of title reveals that the leases on these small grazing runs were dated from September 1890 and not July.

38. This was the headline that appeared in the Oamaru Mail of July 18th, 1890.

39. Although an entry for William McDonald appeared in Wise's Directory from 1896 until 1920, he appears in the Sheep Lists in the Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR) only from 1893 to 1896.

40. This can be established from the valuation records and also from the sheep lists for 1890.

41. They were partners in a ploughing contract for the Land Company at Rocky Point. Molloy was sued by Owen Trainor, a third party in the contract, for non-payment of his share of horse feed. The court case was reported in the Oamaru Mail of July 16, 1890, where details of the partnership, and McHenry's involvement in it, were provided.

42. In the Oamaru Mail of March 6th, 1890, the following notice appeared: "Wanted - Tenders for carting wheat to Borton's Siding and oats to homestead. Jasper Nicols, Maerewhenua."

43. Nicols' Belfield estate included land on the eastern side of the Hakataramea River as well as the western side and comprised what is now Belfield, Montara, Waikumara Downs and Foveran. The estate stayed in the Nicols family until the early 1920s.

44. At the annual meeting of the Hakataramea Licensing Committee in June of 1890, a renewal of a public house license was granted to John Molloy of the Terminus Hotel, Hakataramea (Oamaru Mail, June 11th, 1890).

45. In the sheep lists for 1890, John Molloy is recorded as running 1100 sheep in Waitaki County, and against his name appears the designation "Kurow Hill", the name given to small grazing run 9 of 23 owned by John Wilson. There are no sheep registered in Wilson's name, hence the conclusion that Molloy was sub-leasing from Wilson.

46. John Molloy was married on May 13th 1885 and Henry on July 26th, 1893. Their respective marriage certificates indicate that their mother's maiden name was Grace Delargy. I am presuming that she was a sister to Bernard Delargy.

47. The western boundary of Elephant Hill was adjacant to the Kurow district. The two Kurow properties that are now furthest down-river on the Canterbury side are Mount Parker and Clarksfield. Both of these were sub-divided off the original Elephant Hill property.

48. See letter to the editor from "Elector" in the Oamaru Mail of September 1st, 1890.

49. Sheep numbers for Run 17 ("Corrie") appeared under Welsh's name for the years 1892-1899. An informant in Kurow provided the information on the background to the operations of these two runs.

50. Oamaru Mail, June 30th, 1890.

51. Oamaru Mail, July 2nd, 1890.

52. See Chapter 6.

53. In his State Experiments, W. Pember Reeves commented: "The cry for land in New Zealand in 1890 was no mere urban sentimentalism. It was no mere factitious outcome of the preaching of theorists who imagined that by calling 'Back to the Land!' loudly enough and long enough they could transplant superfluous men and women from the cities to the wilderness and keep them there. There was something of this, no doubt. But in the main it was a genuine hunger for land, coming from the landless amongst a rural population" (page 271 - quoted in Condliffe, 1936:162).

54. Oamaru Mail, February 24th, 1890.

55. Oamaru Mail, September 10th, 1890.

56. This meeting was reported in the Oamaru Mail of March 3rd, 1890.

57. The court case was reported in the Oamaru Mail over two days - February 24th and 25th, 1890. It was also reported in the North Otago Times on these same days.

58. It was also alleged that the two shearers who remained on the job risked being blackballed by the union, but this was denied by Hartley during the court case - See North Otago Times, February 25th, 1890..

59. While it was within the station manager's rights to determine whether or not sheep were too wet to shear, it appears that MacFarlane erred in ordering the men off the property when they refused. This is probably why the judge found in favour of the plaintiff, Hartley.

60. Details of Boreham's log can be found in the North Otago Times of June 26th, 1890. There were fifteen clauses in the log. Clauses 1 to 11 dealt with rates of pay for various

categories of workers - ploughmen and teamsters (1 pound a week plus rations), harvest hands and threshing machine hands (ten pence an hour with rations), grain storemen (one shilling per hour), shearers (sixteen shillings and eight pence a hundred), shed hands and wool rollers (one pound ten shillings a week) as well as "pick and shovel men" (one shilling a week). The other clauses dealt with such matters as contract work and relations with individual employers. The log was to be effective from October 1st, 1890.

61. See the notice that appeared in the Oamaru Mail of July 5th, 1890. According to Tom Brooking, the Oamaru-based Farmers and Employers Union had been established in 1890 to "forge an alliance between town employers and farmers throughout New Zealand, to counter the influence of the Trade Union movement and to prevent the spread of that movement into the countryside" (see Brooking 1979:310).

62. Oamaru Mail, July 7th, 1890.

63. Ibid.

64. The Otiake Meeting was also reported in the Oamaru Mail of July 7th, 1890.

65. Ibid.

66. Stewart was elected only after he and three others (McGimpsey, Dasler and Simpson) had declined nomination. Stewart's name was drawn in a forced ballot.

67. Oamaru Mail, July 5th, 1890. The letter was headed "Ploughman and Unionism".

68. Ibid.

69. Oamaru Mail, July 25th, 1890.

70. Ibid.

71. Oamaru Mail, February 24th, 1890. The letter was headed "Unity is Strength".

72. Oamaru Mail, March 26th, 1890.

73. Oamaru Mail, May 23rd, 1890.

74. Oamaru Mail, June 30th, 1890.

75. Ibid.

76. Oamaru Mail, December 29th, 1890.

77. This can be established from a report of a householder's meeting in connection with the school held in Hakataramea on July 29th (see Oamaru Mail, July 29th, 1890).

78. Based on Education Department figures, the relative sizes of the Kurow district school in 1890 were as follows: Otiake, 20 children; Hakataramea Valley, 21 children; Kurow Township, 57 children; and Wharekuri, 27 children. When the school opened in Sandhurst (Haka Township) in 1891, it had a roll of 23 children.

79. Oamaru Mail, January 10th, 1890. According to this report Grant was getting 53 bushels of wheat to the acre on land at an altitude of between 1600 to 1800 feet above sea level. His sheep were also reported to be of good quality.

80. Ibid.

81. John Orr's brother George farmed in Kurow vicinity and Christian Hille's son-in-law, Alex H. Chapman, had a small grazing run also in Kurow vicinity.

82. This information comes from the Duntroon and Lower Waitaki Presbyterian marriage registers.

83. They were married on April 30th, 1890 at the home of John Grant in Otiake and their marriage was recorded in the Duntroon Presbyterian marriage register. There was no Presbyterian church in Kurow at the time and the Kurow district was part of the Duntroon parish.

84. Again, we are able to establish this from the marriage registers.

85. McCones were still in the district in 1982.

86. Much information on the early settlers in the district - including the Milnes - can be obtained from the Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, published in the early 1900s.

87. See notice in the Oamaru Mail, September 4th, 1890.

88. The other members of the Kurow school committee were Hesketh the station master, Thiele the storekeeper, Young the rabbit inspector, James Munro the Bridge Hotel proprietor and Monkley the carpenter.

89. The other two chairmen of meetings were George Raven, a saddler and a shearer by the name of Shiels.

90. Oamaru Mail, July 24th, 1890.

91. The meeting was reported in the October 13th edition of the Oamaru Mail.

92. Oamaru Mail, December 12th, 1890.

93. Oamaru Mail, December 23rd, 1890.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. These meetings were held on April 30th and June 10th.

97. Oamaru Mail, November 27th, 1890. Interestingly, Bruce was referred to in subsequent correspondence as "the printer's devil from the Palmerston newspaper" (Oamaru Mail, December 1st, 1890).

98. The election results were printed in the Oamaru Mail of December 5th. McKenzie received 68 votes from the electors of the Kurow district, Buckland 11 and Bruce 10. In the Waimate electorate, Sir William Steward defeated Alpheus Hayes by 705 votes to 444 votes, and in the Oamaru electorate, Tom Duncan defeated Hislop by 1105 votes to 635 votes.

99. Oamaru Mail, December 23rd, 1890.

100 Oamaru Mail, December 23rd, 1890.

101 The Harvest and Home Festival function was reported on in the Oamaru Mail of April 24th, 1890.

102 Oamaru Mail, November 4th, 1890.

103 Notices for Roman Catholic masses appeared in the Oamaru Mail on May 15th and September 3rd, 1890. The circuit in May included Kurow, Livingstone, Ngapara, Weston and Maheno, while in September it included only Kurow, Awamoko and Ngapara.

104 Oamaru Mail, December 23rd, 1890.

105 Oamaru Mail, May 28th, 1890.

106 The Medical Association meeting was held on June 20th and reported in the Oamaru Mail of June 21st, 1890.

107 Oamaru Mail, July 3rd, 1890.

108 Oamaru Mail, December 3rd, 1890.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION

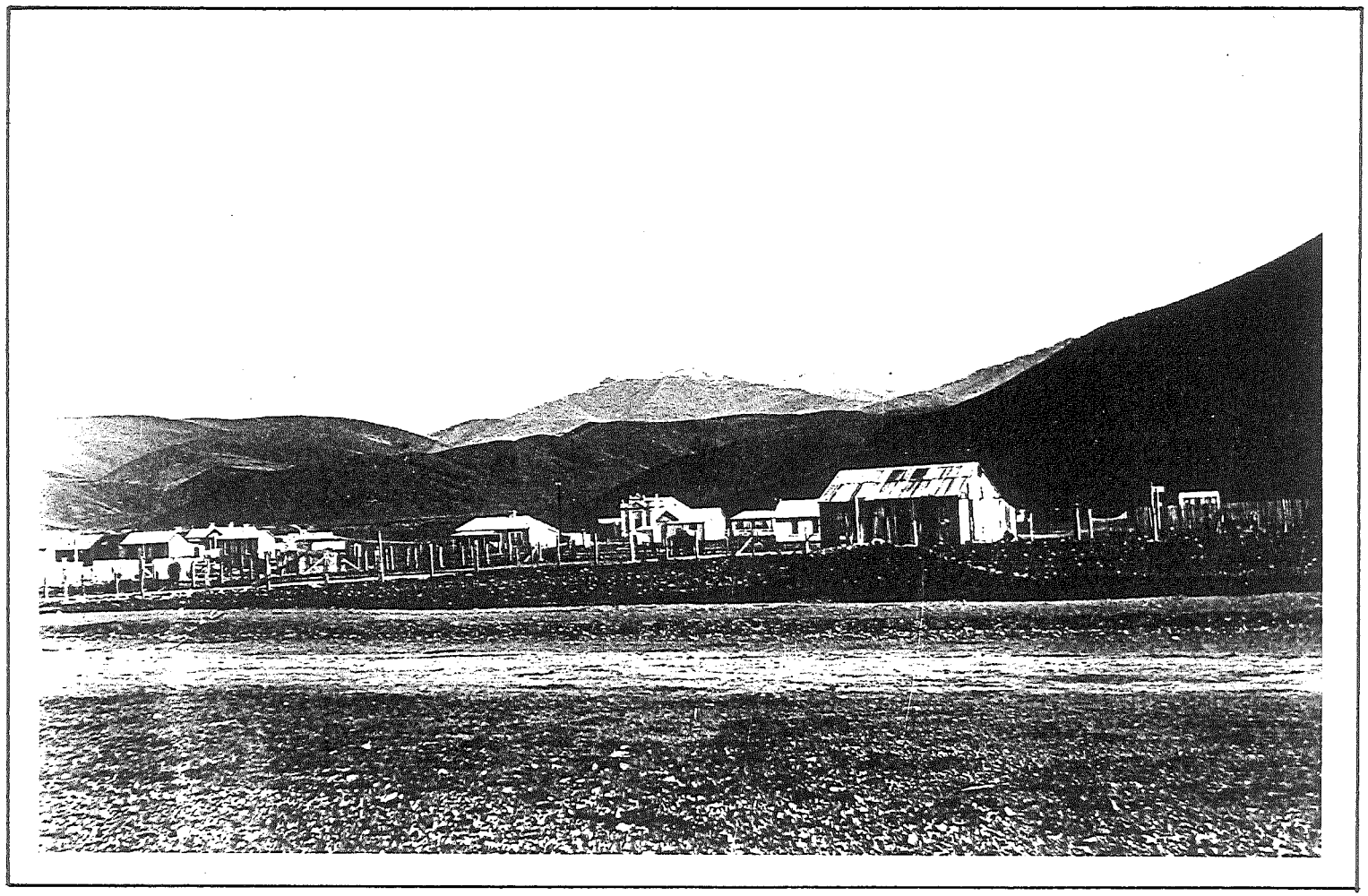
1890 to 1920

INTRODUCTION

Early in 1886, John Kelly arrived in Kurow to take up a teaching position.[1] He was to teach half-time between the Kurow and Wharekuri schools, on alternate days from Monday morning to Saturday afternoon. The Kurow school had fifteen pupils while the Wharekuri school had thirty-five. There was no transport provided, so Kelly had to walk the five miles to and from Wharekuri. There was no school house, and so he boarded at Bernard Delargy's Bridge Hotel in Kurow. In his reminiscences for the Kurow school's fiftieth jubilee booklet Kelly recalled the view that presented itself from his bedroom window in 1886:

> Though the panorama presented could not be termed captivating, there was in it a certain rugged grandeur. The wind-swept appearance of the hills with their gentle undulating contour, through a gap of which flowed the Persian green waters of the Waitaki formed the foreground; while away in the distance, the grand Kirkliston Range, beautiful in its snow-clad mantle ready to provide in full, by snow and heat, the purling clear waters of the creeks of the Haka Valley, completed the picture. The township itself had not the pretentions it has today. It was typical of the early stages of all New Zealand townships, possessing a store, two blacksmith's shops, a saddler's, a baker's, another hotel and a school, but no church. As I was soon to know, however, the lack of beauty in the township was more than compensated by the kindly dispositions of its few inhabitants. Amidst the uninviting look of Kurow lived kindly hearts who received me warmly.[2]

When both schools became full-time in 1888, Kelly transferred to Dunedin but a few years later, following the resignation of his successor, he was prevailed upon by the school committee to return to his "first love". By the time he finally left again, in 1907, it was a changed district.[3] Sketching in



[Fred Chase]

Back Streets of Kurow Township, 1898

the nature of those changes between 1891 to 1907 and then beyond to 1919 is the chief purpose of this present chapter.

POPULATION STRUCTURE

According to the census, the population of the Kurow district increased steadily from 891 people in 1891 to 1,193 people in 1921 - see Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1 : District Population by Sex, 1891 to 1921

YEAR	Males		Females		TOTAL		Ratio of Males to Females
1891	521	58%	370	42%	891	100%	1 to 0.72
1896	637	56%	492	44%	1129	100%	1 to 0.77
1901	578	57%	441	43%	1019	100%	1 to 0.76
1906	617	56%	472	44%	1089	100%	1 to 0.76
1911	610	55%	507	45%	1117	100%	1 to 0.83
1916	613	54%	513	46%	1126	100%	1 to 0.84
1921	680	57%	513	43%	1193	100%	1 to 0.75

Source : New Zealand Census

The ratio of males to females during this period was roughly 1 male to 0.8 females.[4] The increasing ratio of females between 1891 and 1916 (from 0.72 per male to 0.84) reflected the district's transition from "pioneer" conditions (a predominance of young single males) to conditions of greater stability.[5] As was noted in chapter six, however, the census provides no further detail on the Kurow district population for these years. For a fuller picture, we therefore need to turn to the household reconstructions that were carried out for 1905 and 1920.

Tables 8.2a and 8.2b show what the reconstructions revealed about number of adults, children,[6] and households in each of the settled localities for 1905 and 1920.[7]

Table 8.2a : Numbers of Households and Population By Locality, 1905 and 1920

	Adults		Children		Total Popn.		House-Holds	
LOCALITIES	'05	'20	'05	'20	'05	'20	'05	'20
Kurow Township	135	126	74	60	209	186	46	49
Kurow Vicinity	41	35	27	9	68	44	14	11
Paddys Flat	59	76	46	50	105	126	21	31
Otiake	89	72	45	35	134	107	23	23
Otekaike	0	122	0	66	0	188	0	43
Wharekuri	77	54	40	33	117	87	21	16
NORTH OTAGO	401	485	232	253	633	738	125	173
Haka Township	71	72	38	36	109	98	26	26
Mount Parker	29	29	1	14	30	43	8	10
Waitangi	11	7	5	0	16	7	3	2
Haka Valley	80	103	29	44	109	147	25	34
Cattle Creek	0	20	0	31	0	41	0	8
SOUTH CANT	191	231	73	125	264	336	62	80
TOTAL	592	716	305	358	897	1074	187	253

These Tables show that between 1905 and 1920 the population in the settled localities increased from 897 to 1074 (+20%), while the number of households increased from 187 to 253 (+35%). The North Otago localities accounted for most of this increase, with 60% of the population increase and 73% of the household increase taking place there.[8] The localities which showed the greatest growth during this period (Paddy's Flat,

Otekaike and Hakataramea Valley) were the localities where land settlements took place. This will be commented on later in the chapter. The average size of households decreased from 4.8 to 4.2 between these two years. In the townships of Kurow and Hakataramea, the decrease was from 4.4 to 3.8 while in the rural localities it was from 5.0 to 4.4.

Table 8.2b : Proportions of Households and Population By Locality, 1905 and 1920

	Adults		Children		Total Popn.		House-Holds	
LOCALITIES	'05	'20	'05	'20	'05	'20	'05	'20
Kurow Township	23%	18%	24%	17%	23%	17%	25%	19%
Kurow Vicinity	7%	5%	9%	3%	8%	4%	7%	4%
Paddys Flat	10	11%	15%	14%	11%	12%	12%	13%
Otiake	15%	10%	15%	10%	15%	10%	12%	9%
Otekaike	0%	17%	0%	18%	0%	18%	0%	17%
Wharekuri	13%	8%	13%	9%	13%	8%	11%	6%
NTH OTAGO	68%	68%	76%	71%	71%	69%	67%	68%
Haka Township	12%	10%	13%	10%	12%	9%	14%	10%
Mount Parker	5%	4%	1%	4%	3%	4%	4%	4%
Waitangi	2%	1%	2%	0%	2%	1%	2%	1%
Haka Valley	14%	14%	10%	12%	12%	14%	13%	13%
Cattle Creek	0%	3%	0%	9%	0%	4%	0%	3%
SOUTH CANT	32%	32%	23%	35%	29%	31%	33%	32%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

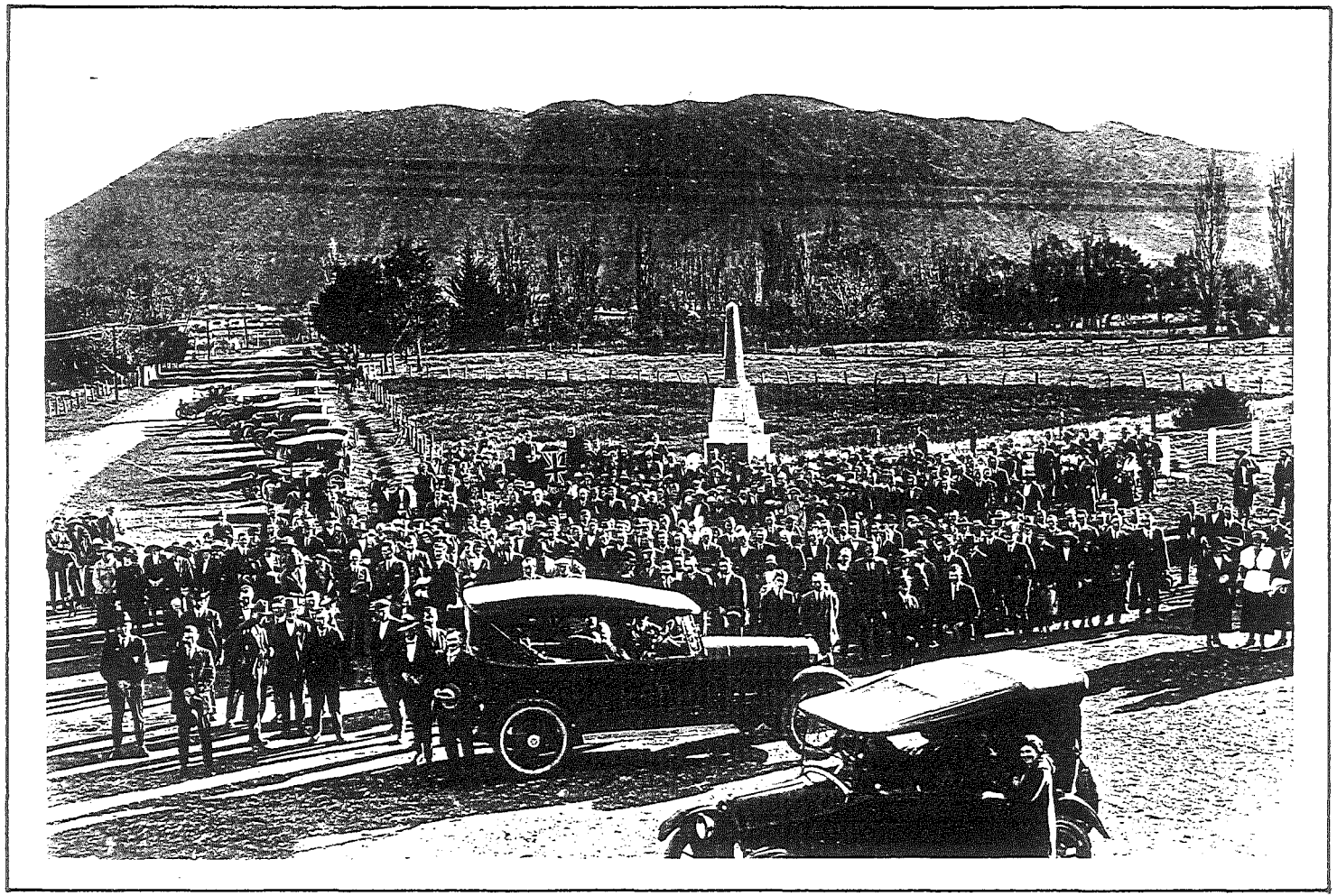
Table 8.3 provides information from the 1905 and 1920 reconstructions on the marital status, age status and male/female distribution of the population in the settled localities.[9]

Table 8.3 : Marital and Age Status, 1905 and 1920

	Males		Females		TOTAL	
CATEGORIES	'05	'20	'05	'20	'05	'20
Married	155	208	153	207	308	415
Widowed	11	10	13	13	24	23
Separated	0	1	0	0	1	0
Single	151	165	109	112	260	277
ADULTS	317	384	275	332	592	716
School	106	125	96	122	202	247
Pre-school	46	61	57	50	103	111
CHILDREN	152	186	153	172	305	358
TOTAL	469	570	428	504	897	1074

The proportion of married people increased from 34% of the population to 39%, while the proportion of single adults decreased slightly from 29% to 26%.[10] The ratio of adults to children remained virtually the same (two adults to every child).

The two main events during this period that might have been expected to have made a mark on the population profile - the First World War and the influenza epidemic of 1918 - do not appear to have done so to any great extent. One hundred and eighty men from the Kurow district saw active service during World War I, and of these, 31 died in action.[11] While their deaths undoubtedly left heartfelt gaps in their respective families,[12] overall they did not seem to leave any noticeable gap in the number of adult males within the district.[13] As far as the influenza epidemic was concerned, many within the district



[Kurow Museum]

Dedication of World War I Memorial
Hakataramea Township with Kurow Hill in Background

caught the virus and were quite sick with it,[14] but only one person died, a shepherd's wife. She had gone to Oamaru to have a baby and caught the virus there.[15]

The proportions of males and females in the settled localities altered only slightly between these dates with the males being in the slight majority - see Table 8.4.[16]

Table 8.4 : Proportions of Males and Females, 1905 and 1920

	Adults		Children		TOTAL	
SEX	'05	'20	'05	'20	'05	'20
Male	54%	54%	50%	52%	52%	53%
Female	46%	46%	50%	48%	48%	47%
NUMBER	592	716	358	358	897	1074

The people in the settled localities in 1905 were living in 187 households and in 253 households in 1920, and the nature of these households is shown in Table 8.5. The dominant household type was the nuclear family household. The main shift of significance between the two dates, however, was a decline in the number of extended family households, an increase in adults living on their own (all of whom were males), and an increase in households comprising young couples without children (Conjugal-Young).[17]

Table 8.5 : Types of Households, 1905 and 1920

HOUSEHOLD TYPE	Number of Households '05	Number of Households '20	Proportion of Households '05	Proportion of Households '20
Nuclear Family	115	151	62%	60%
Conjugal-Young	11	30	6%	12%
Conjugal-Old	14	15	8%	6%
Extended Family	11	2	6%	1%
Single Parent	8	12	5%	6%
Single Adult	10	22	5%	9%
Related Adult	11	13	4%	4%
Unrelated Adult	6	7	3%	3%
TOTAL	187	253	100%	100%

As was mentioned before, the average size of households dropped during this period from 4.8 in 1905 to 4.2 in 1920. The average number of adults per household also dropped from 3.2 to 2.8, while the average number of children dropped from 1.7 to 1.4. The drop in the average number of adults per household was a reflection of the increase in the proportion of single parent and single adult households and also the drop in the number of "augmented" households - households with live-in domestics or farm-workers attached to them. There were 22 augmented households in 1905 but only 17 in 1920.[18] The effect of these changes on the number of adults per household would have been offset to some extent by the decline in the number of extended households.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The majority of heads of households were males. In 1905, only ten heads of households were women (eight widows and two school teachers). In 1920, the number of female heads of households had risen to thirteen, of whom eleven were widows, one was a nurse and one was a teacher. Not all male heads-of-households were in paid employment, however. A few were retired. The occupational distribution of heads of households is shown in Table 8.6.

Table 8.6 : Occupation of Heads of Households, 1905 and 1920

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Households '05	Number of Households '20	Proportion of Households '05	Proportion of Households '20
Farmer	53	104	28%	41%
Business	32	31	17%	12%
Farm Manager	7	10	4%	4%
White Collar	15	16	8%	6%
Farm Manual	47	51	25%	20%
Other Manual	17	25	9%	10%
Non-occupational	16	16	9%	6%
TOTAL	187	253	100%	100%

Over three-quarters of the "business" households were headed by either petty proprietors (e.g., small shopkeepers) or by skilled manual proprietors (e.g., self-employed tradesmen). The remainder of the proprietors were larger store-keepers or hotel proprietors. The "white collar" households were headed by professionals (e.g, the minister, the doctor, the bank manager, the headmaster, teachers). In the "farm manual" category,

unskilled worker households outnumbered skilled worker households by two to one, while the distribution in the "other manual" category favoured semi-skilled and unskilled manual households rather than skilled.

The main change of significance in the fifteen years between 1905 and 1920 was that the number of farm households in the district doubled. Most of the other occupational categories showed little change with the exception of farm workers and other manual workers, where there was an increase in absolute terms of twelve households. The size of the increase in farmer households can be gauged from the fact that this increase in absolute terms in manual households represented a proportional decrease over the period.

The occupations of all men and women is shown in Tables 8.7 and 8.8 overleaf. The nature of these changes in the occupational structure of households was matched by changes in the occupational structure of the men. As Table 8.7 shows, the greatest change in male occupations between these two dates took place in the farmer category.

Very few women were in paid employment, either in 1905 or 1920. In 1905, only 42 women (15%) were in paid employment out of a total adult female population of 275, and in 1920 this had risen to 45 women (16%). The total number of adult females in 1920 was 332. The majority of these women in paid employment were in manual occupations - cook, domestic, house-keeper, waitress, tailoress - but a few were in non-manual occupations - teacher, governess, post office clerkess.[19] In 1905, two of the women owned and operated a dress shop in Kurow Township.

Table 8.7 : Occupation of Adult Males, 1905 and 1920

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Adult Males '05	Number of Adult Males '20	Proportion of Adult Males '05	Proportion of Adult Males '20
Farmer	57	104	18%	27%
Business	38	33	12%	9%
Farm Manager	10	9	3%	2%
White Collar	13	15	4%	4%
Farm Manual	158	173	50%	45%
Other Manual	30	37	10%	10%
Non-occupational	11	13	3%	3%
TOTAL	317	384	100%	100%

Table 8.8 : Occupation of Adult Females, 1905 and 1920

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Adult Females '05	Number of Adult Females '20	Proportion of Adult Females '05	Proportion of Adult Females '20
Farmer	0	0	0%	0%
Business	2	0	1%	0%
Farm Manager	0	0	0%	0%
White Collar	3	6	1%	2%
Farm Manual	23	29	8%	9%
Other Manual	14	10	5%	3%
Non-occupational	233	287	85%	86%
TOTAL	275	332	100%	100%

The women who were not in paid employment fell into two categories - housewives and single women living at home.[20] These women may not have been in paid employment, but this does not mean to say that they did not work. A farmer's daughter commented on the situation of her and her sisters:

> We were all at home until we married. We just worked in the house and on the farm. There was permanent labour on the farm up until my brother left school. Dad always kept a ploughman up until then. My brother took over from the ploughman. My mother only had help in the house at the busy times when we were children. Later, there were the three of us girls at home so we were house girls as well as land girls. We always milked a few cows and went out after the sheep and gave general help around the place".[21]

Another female informant described this as working for "jaw wages", i.e., "working for your keep".[22] There were recognisable social distinctions, though, between women who worked at home and others who did not. Commenting on the lady of the house on one relatively high-status farm of the time, an informant said:

> She always had help in the house. When the children were small she had two maids, a cook and a nursery housemaid. She had never done anything in her life. She had always been used to having a lady's maid at home in England and didn't know what work was. There was a bit of social distinction in those days.[23]

A more detailed breakdown of male occupations is provided in Table 8.9. Although there was also an absolute increase in the number of farm workers, proportionately this did not match the overall increase in numbers, so the proportion of farm workers in the population decreased slightly.

Table 8.9 : Occupational Status of Adult Males, 1905 and 1920

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Adult Males '05	Number of Adult Males '20	Proportion of Adult Males '05	Proportion of Adult Males '20
Farmer - Employer	25	29	8%	8%
Family Farmer	27	61	9%	16%
Small Farmer	5	14	1%	4%
Farm Manager	8	9	3%	2%
Farm worker - Son of Farmer	35	32	11%	8%
Farm worker - Non-related	123	141	39%	37%
Farm Related	223	286	71%	75%
Professional	6	6	2%	2%
Managerial	7	7	2%	2%
Business Proprietor	9	6	3%	2%
Skilled Manual Proprietor	25	22	8%	6%
Petty Proprietor	4	5	1%	1%
White Collar and Sales	2	2	1%	1%
Skilled Manual Worker	2	6	1%	2%
Semi-skilled Manual Worker	16	13	5%	3%
Unskilled Manual Worker	12	18	4%	5%
Non-Farm Related	83	85	26%	22%
Non-Occupational	11	13	3%	3%
TOTAL	317	384	100%	100%

If we consider these figures in terms of class, the proportion of adult males who were either employers or self-employed rose from 30% in 1905 to 36% in 1920. The rest were wage or salary employees. The main point of significance in Table 8.9 is the increased proportion of men in farm-related occupations between the two years. The increase in the number of farmers and farm households was certainly a direct result of increased land settlement in the district during this period, and this is the issue to which we must turn next.

LAND SETTLEMENTS

There were five main land settlements in the district in the years 1890-1920. Three of them were government settlements, the other two private.

The first of the government settlements took place in August of 1895, when seventy acres on the outskirts of Kurow was settled as smallholdings.[24] It was known as Tahawai Settlement and comprised eight smallholdings of between seven to nine acres each. The operant tenure for this land was lease-in-perpetuity.[25] This was the locality that was subsequently to be known as "Paddy's Flat". The colloquial name was supposed to reflect the number of Irishmen among the initial settlers, but this is not borne out by the facts, since only three of the initial settlers were Irish.[26] Of the other five settlers, one was a Scotsman and the other four were of English descent, being from the same family.[27] All eight of these original settlers were from the Kurow district or had close relatives living in the district.

The second government land settlement took place adjacent to Paddy's Flat in May of 1907, when 963 acres of hill and flat country were settled. This was known as Kurow Settlement. The land had originally been part of Kurow Station but it was bought by the Government for 6,478 pounds from James Logan, a local farmer.[28] The land was settled in thirteen holdings under the lease-in-perpetuity system.[29]. Under the lease conditions, eight of these properties (totalling 129 acres) were designated as being purely for agricultural farming and they ranged in size from eleven to thirty-five acres.[30] All of these properties

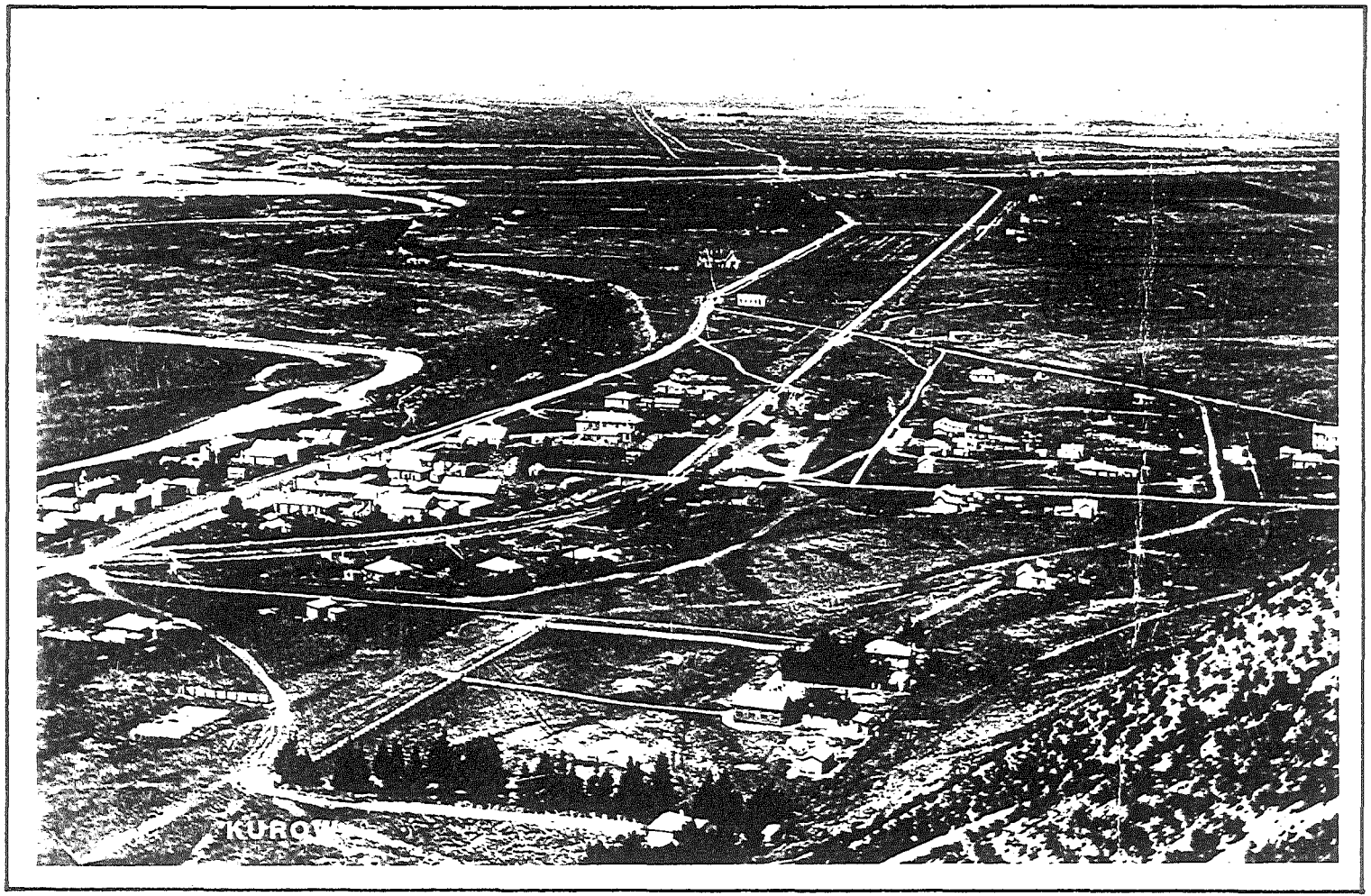
were on the flat. The other properties were a combination of flat land and hill country but were designated mainly for pastoral production. They ranged in size from 69 acres to 392 acres.[31]

Of the thirteen original leaseholders in the settlement, all but one were from the Kurow district, all but three were males and all but three had occupations other than farmer.[32] One of the properties was held by the original leaseholder for a considerable length of time.[33] If we exclude this from consideration, then the average length of time for which these original titles were held was only seven years.

In a report on the settlement in 1908, a government official commented as follows:

> This small settlement will, without doubt, prove a success. It is situated within one mile of Kurow Township. The land on the flat is of first-class quality, while that on the hill is good grazing land. The settlers are nearly all residing, and the buildings and fencing are of a substantial character. The crops harvested this year were very good, and have given a favourable start to the settlers, who appear well satisfied with their prospects.[34]

Tahawai Settlement and Kurow Settlement were small-scale, however, compared with the third government settlement during this period. In February of 1908 Robert Campbell and Sons' Otekaike Station was settled as seven sheep runs, thirty-seven farms and twelve smallholdings. The land area involved was 48,854 acres. The tenure for all of this land was the newly introduced Renewable Lease of Rural and Pastoral Land.[35] Otekaike Settlement was a development of some consequence for the district and it will be looked at in detail in the next chapter.



[Kurow Museum]

Kurow Township from Kurow Hill, Early 1900s
Paddy's Flat, Kurow Settlement and Otiake in Background

The remainder of Robert Campbell and Sons' Station Peak property was sold off around 1905. The land was freehold, so this represented the first private settlement during this period. Three properties on the river frontage of the Waitaki were formed as a result of this (Wainui, The Swamp and a much smaller Station Peak). A number of properties were also created in the Cattle Creek area. Not much is known about the initial settlers on these properties, but the land soon passed into local hands.

In addition to this, another private settlement of land took place in 1910 when just under 6,000 acres were freeholded out of Hakataramea Station. The land in question was at the bottom of the Hakataramea Valley and had been known as the Farm Block. The land had been leased from Canterbury Agricultural College by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company and, when the lease fell due, the College sold the land off under freehold title. Ten farms were formed as a result of this, ranging in size from 167 acres to 1645 acres. Four of the properties were bought by local people but all but one of the outside buyers settled in the district.[36]

FARMING PRACTICE

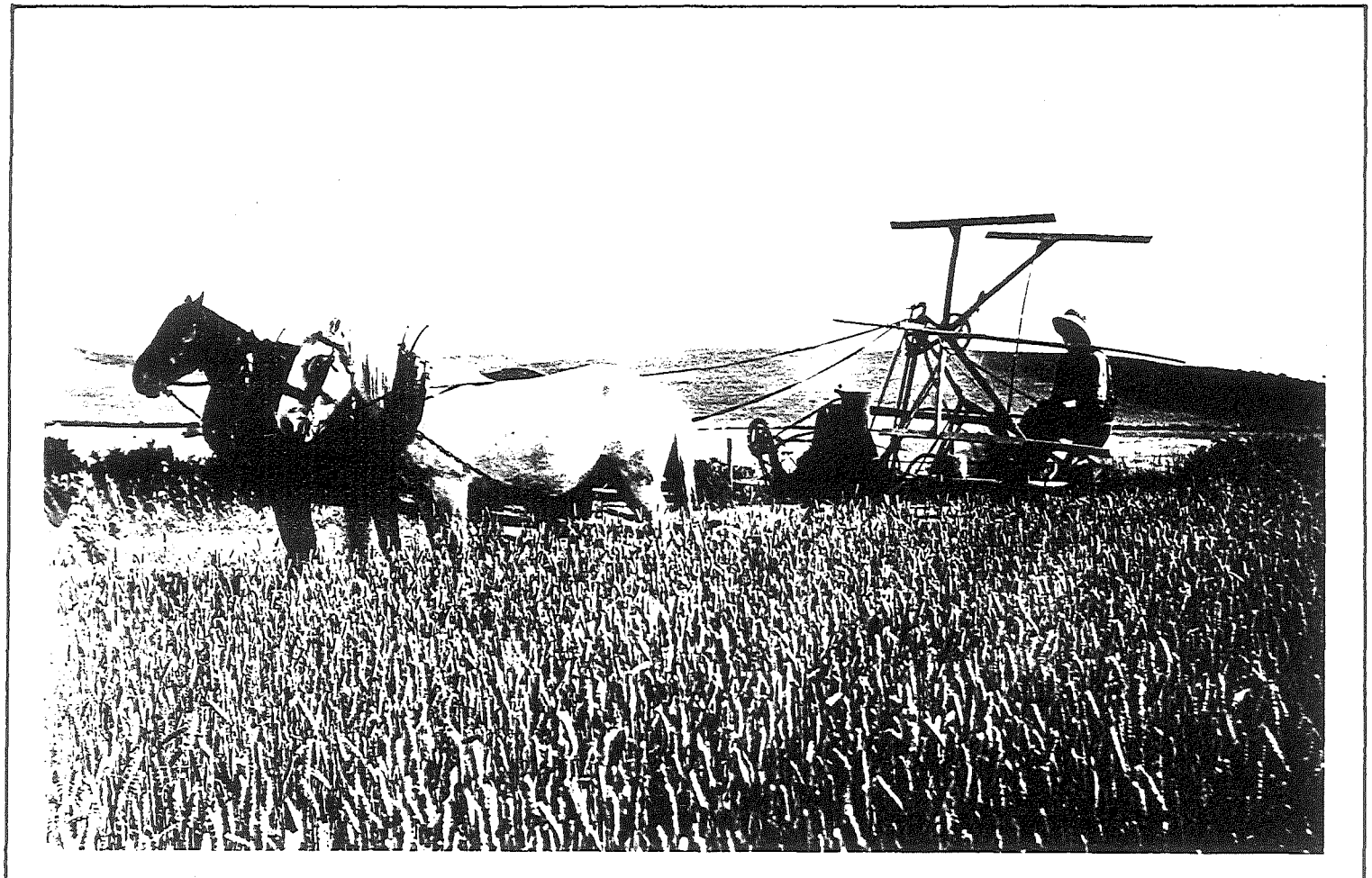
There were also changes in farming practice between 1890 and 1920. The introduction of refrigeration in the meat trade with Britain took a number of years to have a major effect, but by 1905 its economic implications were being realised and the trend to more intensive sheep farming was underway.[37] The momentum of this change was sustained between 1893 and 1910 by the land settlement policies of the Liberal Government.[38]

Until the price of wool was stabilised after World War II sheep farming continued to be a precarious economic activity, so there was extensive cropping done in the district during this period. In Otiake, for example, there would have been little sheep farming done prior to 1905. Instead, the settlers' main income came from cropping and from contracting on Otekaike Station. Wheat was grown as a cash crop and oats to feed the horse team. On average, it took between fifteen and twenty acres of oats to feed a horse for a year. Almost all of the Otiake properties employed a ploughman in 1905 and therefore would have had at least one team of horses.

Sheep increased in importance in Otiake after 1905, but the fluctuations in sheep numbers for the locality subsequent to that (see Figure 3 in Appendix 3) probably reflected the movement of farmers between sheep and wheat depending on the respective prices. In 1920, all twelve of the farms in Otiake would have been classified as "mixed sheep and crop" farms, eight of them had one horse team and three of them had two teams.

Unfortunately, we have no systematic data available on cropping in the district that would allow us to reconstruct this aspect of its farming economy.[39] We do have some information on sheep farming, however, and Table 8.10 gives an indication of how sheep numbers in the district varied during this period.

The contrasts between the largest and the smallest flocks were quite striking. In 1905, the contrast was between Thomas Dunstan, a farm worker, running 10 sheep on his smallholding in the Hakataramea Valley and the New Zealand and Australian Land Company running 62,953 sheep on Hakataramea Station. In 1920, the



[Charles Martin]

Massey Harris Binder
McGimpsey's Farm, Otiake, 1920

Table 8.10 : Number of Flocks and Sheep, 1890-1920

FLOCK SIZE	Number of Flocks '90	'05	'20	Proportion of Flocks '90	'05	'20	Proportion of Total Sheep '90	'05	'20
17 to 49	3	4	3	6%	5%	3%	0%	0%	0%
50 to 99	2	4	7	4%	5%	6%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%
100 to 249	15	11	16	26%	14%	14%	0.9%	0.8%	1%
250 to 499	9	2	19	16%	15%	16%	1%	2%	3%
500 to 749	5	7	14	9%	9%	12%	1%	2%	3%
750 to 999	4	8	4	7%	10%	3%	1%	3%	1%
1000 to 2499	4	16	32	7%	21%	28%	2%	10%	22%
2500 to 4999	3	5	11	5%	6%	10%	3%	6%	17%
5000 to 9999	5	4	6	9%	5%	5%	12%	11%	18%
10000 plus	7	7	4	12%	9%	3%	79%	65%	35%
TOTAL	57	78	116	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

contrast was between Bill Condon, a Kurow handyman running seventeen sheep on his smallholding outside Kurow Township and the Cameron Brothers running 29,763 sheep on Otematata Station. In 1905, six of the eleven largest flocks were run by companies but by 1920, this had been reduced to only two.[40]

The main changes in sheep numbers that took place at the local level during his period were: an increase in the number of flocks (from 57 in 1890 to 116 in 1920); a decrease in the average number of sheep per flock (from 5,434 in 1890 to 2,102 in 1920); and a redistribution in the size of flocks. There was an increase in the number of flocks in the range of 250 to 750 sheep (14 to 33).[41] There was also an increase in the number of flocks in the range of 1,000 to 4,999 sheep (7 to 43). The

significance of these latter flocks lay in the total number of sheep that they represented (an increase from 5% of all sheep to 39%), and this was matched by a consequent decrease in significance of flocks of more than 5,000 sheep (91% of all sheep to 53%).

These trends represented the consolidation of smaller-scale intensive farming, the emergence of small sheep runs and the decline in significance of large-scale pastoral farming (see Figure 2 in Appendix 3 for an indication of how this developed in the intermediate years between 1890 and 1920). The overall effect of this was that the total number of sheep in the district decreased from 309,756 in 1890 to 243,913 in 1920. As Figure 1 in Appendix 3 shows, this decrease took place mainly in the Canterbury sector of the district.[42]

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

As a result of these changes, the number of rural properties in the district increased from 118 in 1890, to 124 in 1905 and to 163 in 1920 (see Table 8.11). Of the additional forty-five properties between 1890 and 1920, thirty-five were in the North Otago localities.

The actual extent of this increase is not as great as might have been expected, however, given our earlier discussion. The combined effect of the settlements discussed above would have been to add about eighty-seven properties to the district's total but the actual increase was only forty-five. The shortfall has to be put down to the net effect of property amalgamations. Between 1890 and 1920 there was a decrease in the number of

Table 8.11 : Numbers of Rural Properties, 1890 to 1920

PROPERTY CATEGORY	Number of Properties '90	'05	'20	Proportion of Properties '90	'05	'20
Smallholdings	23	24	39	20%	19%	24%
Orchards	0	0	2	0%	0%	1%
Small Farms	25	21	27	21%	17%	17%
Middle farms	44	33	44	37%	27%	27%
Large farms	7	13	13	6%	11%	8%
Sheep Runs	10	26	34	9%	21%	21%
Sheep Stations	9	7	6	8%	6%	4%
TOTAL	118	124	163	100%	100%	100%

properties in Otiake (-9), in Wharekuri (-8), in Kurow Creek (-4) and in the vicinity of Hakataramea Township (-7). The localities where there were the greatest increases during this period were Kurow vicinity (including Paddys Flat) (+18), Otekaike (+36), the Lower River locality (+5) and Hakataramea Valley (+11).

This seems to suggest that if these settlements that have been discussed had not taken place, the total number of farms in the district would have decreased quite considerably during this period. Presumably much of this decrease would have been due to the changing nature of farming itself whereby smaller, less economic properties were amalgamated into larger properties (and there is certainly evidence of this in what took place in Kurow Creek and Wharekuri). Some of the settlements themselves, however, particularly those of Station Peak and Otekaike Station, may have contributed to the decrease as employment opportunities

were removed, not only for farm workers on the stations, but also for small farmers in neighbouring localities. It is notable, for example, that the landholding pattern in Otiake (which neighboured Otekaike) underwent significant changes in the period just after the settlement of Otekaike Station as a number of amalgamations took place. A similar change took place outside Haka Township subsequent to the settlement of Station Peak.

In both these localities, farmers on marginally economic units had been able to supplement the income from their land either by working on the stations or by contracting on them.[43] The disappearance of such opportunities made their economic existence even more marginal - hence the decrease in the number of properties in both these localities.

The overall effect of these settlements, therefore, was to counteract some of the economic trends in farming by maintaining the number of farms, while at the same time, increasing the number of smallholdings and sheep runs. The broad effects of these changes are shown in Table 8.12: a proportional decrease in sheep stations and middle farms matched by a proportional increase in smallholdings and sheep runs, a redistribution of land from sheep stations to sheep runs, and a redistribution of wealth from sheep stations to sheep runs, middle and large farms.

Despite these changes, one might expect that property-based wealth would still have had some significance in a rural district like this - especially in 1890 and 1905 - and would have been reflected in differences in lifestyles between the elite and the rest. Included in that elite were the managers of Haka-taramea Station, Station Peak and Otekaike Station. While they

Table 8.12 : Characteristics of Landholding Categories[44] 1890-1920

		SMALL-HOLD'S	SMALL FARMS	MIDDLE FARMS	LARGE FARMS	SHEEP RUNS	SHEEP STATIONS	TOTAL
NUMBER OF PROP-ERTIES	1890	23	25	44	7	10	9	118
	1905	24	21	33	13	26	7	124
	1920	39	27	44	13	34	6	163
% Total Number	1890	19%	21%	37%	6%	9%	8%	100%
	1905	19%	17%	27%	11%	21%	6%	100%
	1920	24%	17%	27%	8%	21%	4%	100%
AREA (Acres)	1890	516	3150	19313	15370	50030	414614	502994
	1905	513	2774	16197	20549	146832	360941	547806
	1920	774	2933	23328	26385	190719	315342	559820
Average Area (Acres)	1890	22	126	439	2196	5003	46068	4263
	1905	21	132	491	1581	5647	51563	4418
	1920	20	109	530	2030	5609	52557	3434
% Total Area	1890	0.1%	0.6%	4%	3%	10%	82%	100%
	1905	0.1%	0.5%	3%	4%	27%	66%	100%
	1920	0.1%	0.5%	4%	5%	34%	56%	100%
CAPITAL VALUE (Pounds)	1890	1986	6847	42212	48012	45405	387057	531519
	1905	4937	12441	62432	66968	201314	379230	727322
	1920	16643	27682	156264	160750	426090	324545	1118574
Average Cap Val (Pounds)	1890	86	274	959	6859	4540	43006	4504
	1905	206	592	1892	5151	7743	54176	5866
	1920	427	1025	3551	12365	12532	54091	6779
% Total Cap Val	1890	0.4%	1%	8%	9%	9%	73%	100%
	1905	0.7%	2%	9%	9%	28%	52%	100%
	1920	2%	3%	14%	14%	38%	29%	100%
POUNDS PER ACRE	1890	3.8	2.2	2.2	3.1	0.9	0.9	1.1
	1905	9.6	4.5	3.9	3.3	1.4	1.1	1.3
	1920	21.5	9.4	6.7	6.1	2.2	1.0	2.0

may not necessarily have owned great wealth themselves, these managers were nevertheless the representatives of wealth in the district and their lifestyle tended to reflect that, for example, that of Robin Campbell, manager of Otekaike Station at the end of 1905:

> Last evening Otekaike House presented a very gay appearance, a ball having been tendered by Mr and Mrs R.O. Campbell to their employees and employees' friends, to whom over three hundred invitations were extended, all being accepted. At 8.50pm, Mr D. Jardine (working foreman of Otekaike Station) with Miss Grant (Otiake) led off the grand march followed by close on one hundred couples and dancing was then kept going until day break.[45]

Similar hospitality was extended by the Campbells to the Waitaki Hunt Club in July of 1905.

Further echoes of property and status combined into a squirely role are to be found in the Oamaru Mail's report of the Hakataramea Valley school picnic of December 1905. This time, the gentleman concerned was Norman Hayes of Normanvale:

> Yesterday, Mr Hayes, chairman of the Valley school committee, gave a delightful picnic at his residence, Normanvale, one of the finest picnic resorts in South Canterbury and aptly known as "the gem of the valley". Though the day was wet and rather unfavourable for outdoor games, the guests nevertheless enjoyed themselves, Mr Hayes, having placed his large granary and woolshed at their disposal. At this season of the year, Normanvale can be seen to advantage. The velvety lawns, the numerous beds of roses and the charming walks all greatly helped to make it look a veritable fairyland. Indeed, it was quite a treat to see the vegetable garden through which the guests were allowed to wander. The crops around the homestead are very far advanced and this also added to the beauty of the oasis.[46]

Reflecting back to that time, an informant contrasted the small and middle farmers with the large farmers in the following way:

> The others [small and middle farmers] were more just sort of everyday working folk and these other people [large farmers] employed more labour - maids inside the house and men out working. They were able to afford more. They had money behind them.[47]

There was little interaction between these larger farmers and the rest in Hakataramea Valley, but local girls working in their houses gave insights into the different way of life that was lived there:

> They had a separate table for the maids and the working men. In fact, it was like two separate houses. There was an alley-way between them. The maid's quarters, the kitchen and the men's dining-room were separate. And they always took a slate through to Mrs X to get the orders of what the meals were for the day.[48]

The way in which ownership of the rural and township land was distributed among the various occupational groups in 1905 and 1920 is shown in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13 : Land Ownership by Occupational Group Adult Males, 1905 and 1920

	Farm(*)		Small Holding		Town Section		No Land		TOTAL	
	1905	1920	1905	1920	1905	1920	1905	1920	1905	1920
Farmer	57	93	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	93
Business	0	1	8	9	22	15	8	8	38	33
Farm Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10	10	10
White Collar	1	1	0	0	0	2	12	12	13	15
Farm Manual	0	0	8	16	15	15	135	145	158	176
Other Manual	0	0	5	11	1	3	24	31	30	45
Non-Occupat	3	1	3	3	3	3	2	5	11	12
TOTAL	55	96	24	39	41	38	186	211	317	384

* : Includes farms, runs and sheep stations.

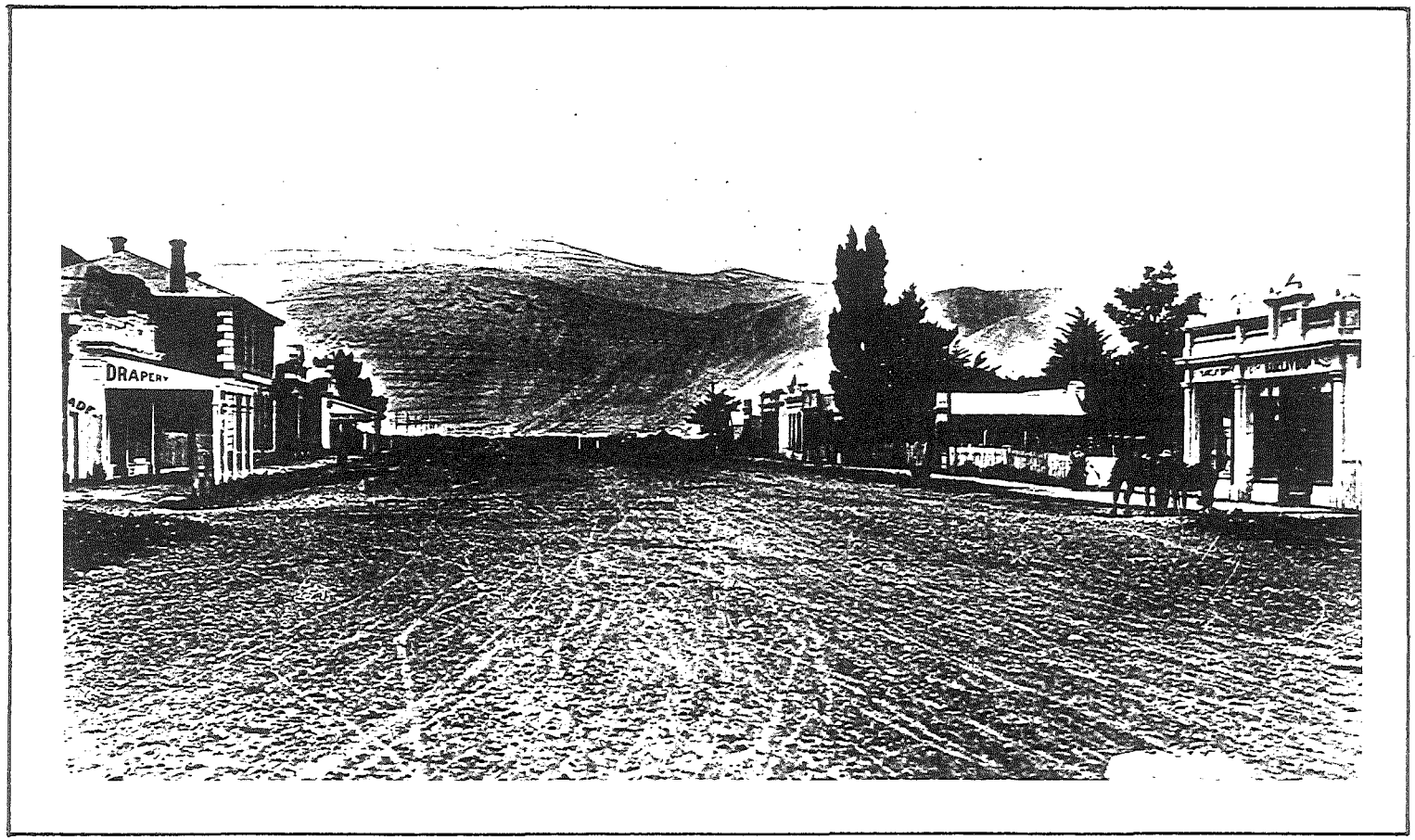
The significant thing to note from this table is the relative proportion in each occupational group who owned no land whatsoever in the district. All of the farmers owned land, and so too did roughly 80% of the other proprietors.[49] Only a few of the other non-manual group, and none of the farm non-manual, owned land.[50] Over 80% of the manual groups owned no land in the district. Taken altogether, 59% of the 1905 adult males owned no land in the district, and this dropped slightly to 55% in 1920.

Females accounted for only a very small proportion of the rest of the land ownership,[51] and so the difference between the number of farm properties in Tables 8.11 and 8.12 gives an indication of the amount of company ownership and absentee-landlordism in the district at these two dates.[52]

SOURCES OF LAND MORTGAGE FINANCE[53]

Brooking has suggested that cheap credit was essential to the closer settlement of land and that this was the justification for the Government entering the mortgage arena with low interest Advances to Settlers loans from the mid-1890s onwards (see Brooking, 1981a:238). When we examine the Kurow situation, however, we find that Government support contributed little to financing land ownership in the Kurow district during this time.

By aggregating the mortgage information obtainable from certificates of title, we can establish that between 1880 and 1920, there were 519 mortgages taken out on rural land in the Kurow district.[54] The sources for 319 of these mortgages (62%) were private individuals three-quarters of whom lived outside the



[Kurow Museum]

Kurow Main Street, Late 1890s
Kurow Hotel on Left and Barclay Brothers Store on Right

Kurow district.[55] The other 200 mortgages (38%) came from institutional sources overwhelmingly from outside the district.

This means that only 17% of the mortgages were financed by sources within the Kurow district.[57] Of the 200 mortgages provided from institutional sources, sixty-six (33%) came from banks, thirty-eight (19%) came from loan companies and only forty-three (21%) came from the Government.[58] This means that 25% of the mortgages related to smallholdings, 35% to small farms, 25% to middle farms, 14% to large farms or sheep runs and only 1% to sheep stations. Matching these figures against the proportional figures for the numbers of properties in these categories, it is evident that small farms were over-represented in these mortgage figures, while large farms, runs and sheep stations were under-represented.[59]

A similar pattern of private finance from outside the district is found among mortgages on land in the townships. Between 1880 and 1919 there were eighty-two mortgages taken out in the townships, sixty-seven in Kurow and fifteen in Haka-taramea. The finance for two-thirds of these mortgages was provided by private individuals, the majority of whom lived outside the district. All of the institutional sources during this period were also based outside the district, the most significant being banks (10) and businesses (6).

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

People may have had to go outside the district for mortgage finance, but the same was not the case when they came to look for marriage partners. Local marriage registers for the

three main denominations - Presbyterian, Anglican and Roman Catholic - were researched for information on marriages involving people from the Kurow district.[60] The research revealed 224 marriages between January of 1880 and December of 1920 in which one or other of the marriage partners had been born in the Kurow district, or gave a locality in the district as their usual place of residence on marriage.[61] Of these 224 marriages, 135 grooms (61%) and 117 brides (52%) gave localities in the Kurow district as their usual place of residence.

The ocupational distribution of these grooms and brides is shown in Table 8.14.

Table 8.14 : Occupations of District Grooms and Brides 1880 to 1920

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	NUMBER		PROPORTION	
	Grooms	Brides	Grooms	Brides
Farmer	49	0	36%	0%
Business	22	0	16%	0%
Farm Manager	5	0	4%	0%
White Collar	4	5	3%	4%
Farm Manual	27	1	20%	1%
Other Manual	28	29	21%	25%
Non-Occupational	0	82	0%	70%
TOTAL	135	117	100%	100%

Bride's occupations were generally one of three types. They were either single-at-home, domestics or clerks. Given the small number in paid employment, they are excluded from subsequent discussions of occupation.

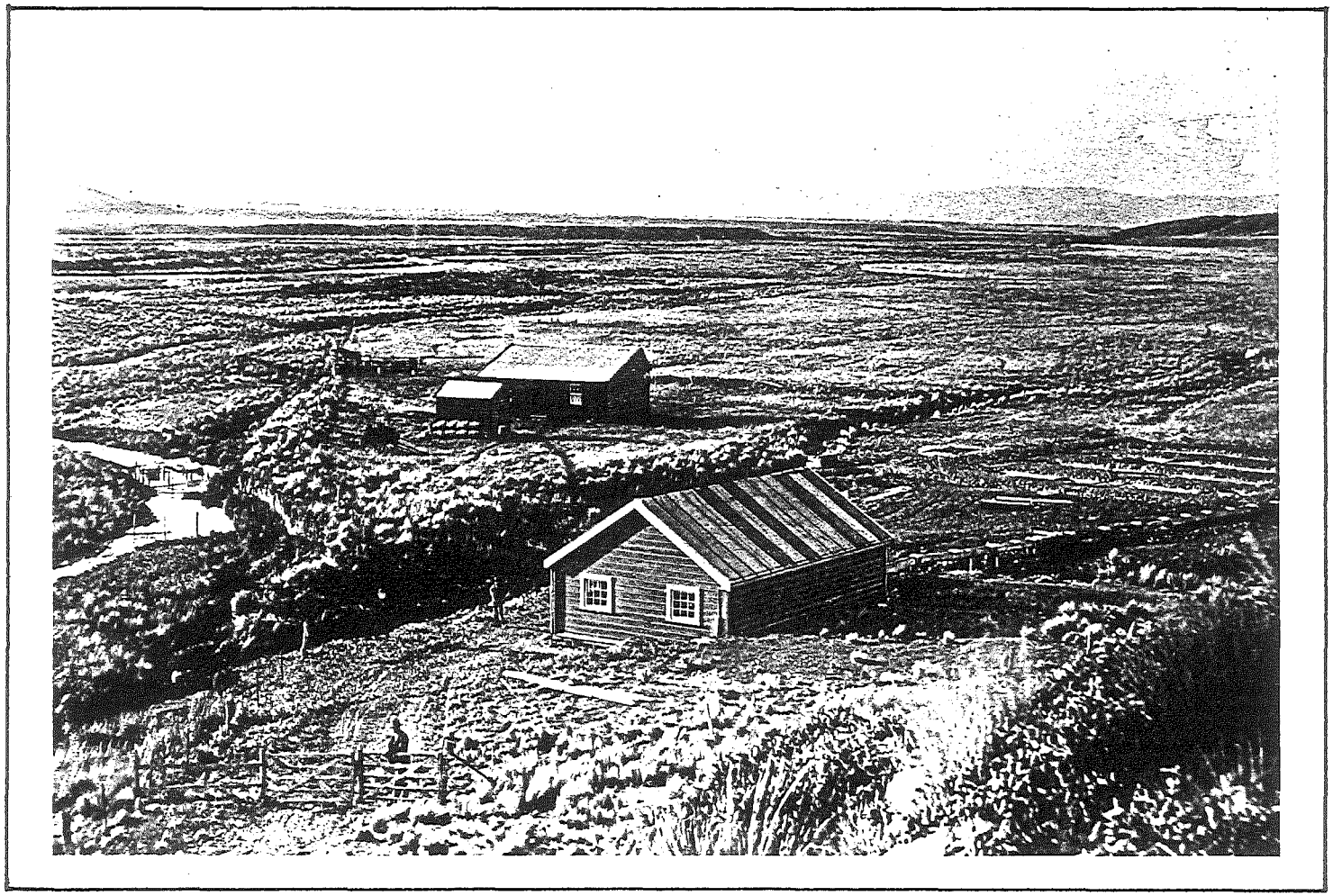
Ninety-one marriages involved a local groom marrying a local bride.[62] Sixty-eight percent of local grooms and 79% of local brides, therefore found their respective partners within the Kurow district.[63] In fact, all but nine of the grooms and all but fifteen of the brides found their marriage partners between Kurow and Oamaru.[64] Only a quarter of these marriages between local grooms and local brides took place in a church. The overwhelming majority (63%) were held in private homes in the district.[65]

A local marriage that did take place in a church was between Alfred Newton and Isabel Fynes-Clinton on August 30th, 1905. The Oamaru Mail of September 2nd reported on it:

> A large number of people assembled at the English church on Wednesday, 30 August to witness the marriage of Miss Mabel Fanny, daughter of the Reverend Fynes-Clinton to Mr Alfred Hillier, son of Mr H. Newton, Solicitor of Oamaru. The bride, who was given away by Dr Stevens, was graceful in cream and wore a lovely veil of lace. After the marriage, the guests adjourned to the drawing room of the parsonage to look at the many beautiful presents, over a hundred in number, given the bride by her many friends. Tea was handed round and a pleasant hour was spent socially. The bride's cake, purveyed by Mr Brooks, was an exquisite piece of workmanship, admired by all who saw it.[66]

The Reverend Fynes-Clinton was the Anglican vicar in Kurow between 1901 and 1906, Dr Stevens was the local doctor between 1892 and 1910, Charles Brooks was a general storekeeper in Kurow, and the relevant entry in the marriage register reveals that Fred Newton was the manager of the Kurow creamery.[67]

Fred Newton was not the only manager to marry locally. Charles Ayson, manager of the Hakataramea fish hatchery was another.[68] The Waimate Roman Catholic marriage register



[Fred Chase]

Hakataramea Fish Hatcheries, Early 1900s
Looking up the Hakataramea Valley

records that on April 18th, 1904, Ayson, a 21-year-old fish culturist, married 21-year-old Bridget Downey, a Hakataramea domestic.[69] Bridget's father, Michael, was a railway worker in Hakataramea Township and the wedding took place in the Downey home. The witnesses to the wedding were Bridget's sister Catherine and William Menzies, a Hakataramea sheepfarmer.[70]

A more typical pattern in this period was for a farmer to marry the daughter of a farmer. Such was the case, for example, on April 30th, 1890 when John Porter, a 34-year-old Otiake farmer married Mary Elizabeth Grant, the 21-year-old daughter of John Grant, also an Otiake farmer. John Porter had been born in Ireland and Mary Grant in Scotland. They were married at the private residence of John Grant in Otiake, but their marriage was recorded in the register of the Duntroon parish, since there was no resident Presbyterian minister in the Kurow district at the time. The witnesses to the marriage were Robert Porter, a "farm servent" (sic!) of Kurow and Jemima Grant of Otiake.

Matching of occupational background between groom's family and bride's family is of interest and an indication is provided in Table 8.15 of how groom's occupation matched with bride's father's occupation in these 91 district marriages.

These figures reveal that there was more class endogamy at the proprietorial end of the scale (farmers and other proprietors) than at the manual worker end. Just over one third of these marriages took place within the proprietorial group as opposed to just over a tenth within the manual group. There was no significant inter-marrying within the non-manual group. The number of farmers and other proprietors who married daughters of

Table 8.15 : Groom's Occupation by Bride's Father's Occupation District Marriages, 1880 to 1920

GROOM'S OCCUPATION	BRIDE'S FATHER'S OCCUPATION					
	Farmer	Business	White Collar	Farm Manual	Other Manual	TOTAL
Farmer	17	6	1	0	6	30
Business	6	2	0	2	4	14
Farm Manager	4	1	0	0	0	5
White Collar	1	0	1	0	2	4
Farm Manual	10	5	1	2	3	21
Other Manual	10	1	0	0	6	17
TOTAL	48	15	3	4	21	91

manual workers is of some significance, however, as is the number of farmer's daughters who married manual workers. Just over half of the farm manual grooms were sons of farmers. Allied to the factor of localism in the selection of marriage partners, this seems to suggest that, while class endogamy was preferred, a lack of available prospective spouses meant that at times class boundaries had to be crossed.[71]

In comparing groom's occupation with bride's father's occupation we are comparing two different stages in occupational career.[72] A more realistic comparison is that between the occupation of the groom's father and that of the bride's father. This is done in Table 8.16, and it confirms the impression of class endogamy within the proprietorial class. The patterning here is very similar to that shown in Table 8.15. There was high levels of intermarriage within the proprietorial group (51% of marriages), relatively low levels within the manual group (10%) and negligible levels among the non-manual group (1%). There were also significant levels of inter-marriage between the

proprietorial and manual groups (27% of marriages). In fact, in considering all 224 marriages from this period, we find that these intra-class proportions were matched almost exactly in the total population.[73]

Table 8.16 : Groom's Father's Occupation by Bride's Father's Occupation, District Marriages, 1880 to 1920

GROOM'S FATHER'S OCCUPATION	BRIDE'S FATHER'S OCCUPATION					
	Farmer	Business	White Collar	Farm Manual	Other Manual	TOTAL
Farmer	26	7	1	1	2	37
Business	7	5	1	3	4	20
Farm Manager	0	0	0	0	2	2
White Collar	2	1	1	0	2	6
Farm Manual	6	1	0	0	3	10
Other Manual	7	1	0	0	8	16
TOTAL	48	15	3	4	21	91

Only one of the Catholic marriage certificates - for a marriage in 1902 - bore a declaration of non-interference by the groom in recognition of the fact that any children of the marriage were to brought up as Catholics. While this might suggest a low level of inter-marrying across denominational lines, such an impression needs to be qualified. Research into the Catholic baptismal registers in Oamaru and Waimate revealed that between 1890 and 1919 there were seventy children from the Kurow district baptised into the Catholic church.[74] In twenty-one of these baptisms (30%), either the father or the mother was recorded as not being a Catholic.[75] There were twice as many fathers who were not Catholics as there were mothers.[76] This

would suggest that there was significant inter-marriage between religious groups.

KINSHIP DENSITY

In 1905, 75 of the households (40%) had kin living in other households in the district, and by 1920 this had risen to 109 (43%). As will be seen from Table 8.17, the proportions were reasonably high in most of the district with the exception of the smaller localities (Mount Parker and Waitangi) and those more recently settled (Otekaike and Cattle Creek).[77]

Table 8.17 : Household Kinship Density, 1905 and 1920

	Number with Kin		Proportion with Kin		TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	
LOCALITY	1905	1920	1905	1920	1905	1920
Kurow	14	24	30%	49%	46	49
Kurow Vicinity	12	20	34%	48%	35	42
Otiake	16	13	70%	56%	23	23
Otekaike	0	11	0%	26%	0	43
Wharekuri	5	11	24%	69%	21	16
NORTH OTAGO	47	79	38%	46%	125	173
Haka Township	11	14	42%	54%	26	26
Mount Parker	3	3	38%	30%	8	10
Waitangi	1	0	33%	0%	3	2
Haka Valley	13	11	52%	32%	25	34
Cattle Creek	0	2	0%	25%	0	8
SOUTH CANT	28	30	45%	38%	62	80
TOTAL	75	109	40%	43%	187	253

The localities where there were the greatest numbers of households with kin were Kurow Township, Otiake, Hakataramea

Township and Hakataramea Valley. There were proportionately more households in North Otago with kin (63% in 1905, rising to 73% in 1920) than there were in South Canterbury (37%, dropping to 27%). An obvious conclusion to draw from this is that the longer a locality had been settled, the greater were the chances of those settlers establishing kinship linkages in the district.

The extent of kinship linkages was also affected by the nature of occupation. As Table 8.18 shows, households whose heads were farmers or farm workers were more likely to have kin in other households in the district.

Table 8.18 : Proportions of Household Occupational Categories with Kin, 1905 and 1920

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Households With Kin		Proportion Households With Kin		Proportion Category With Kin	
	'05	'20	'05	'20	'05	'20
Farmer	27	53	36%	49%	51%	51%
Business	12	14	16%	13%	38%	45%
Farm Manager	5	3	%	3%	71%	30%
White Collar	2	1	9%	1%	13%	6%
Farm Manual	15	19	20%	17%	32%	37%
Other Manual	4	7	5%	6%	24%	28%
Non-Occupational	10	12	13%	11%	63%	75%
TOTAL	75	109	100%	100%	40%	43%

In 1905 36% of households with kin were farmer households and 20% were farm worker households. By 1920 these proportions had altered to 49% and 17% respectively. Taken together, these two categories accounted for 56% of the households with kin

connections in 1905 and 66% in 1920. The other category that should not be overlooked is the "business" category (store-keepers, hotel proprietors, petty proprietors and self-employed tradesmen). Taken together with farmers, they accounted for 52% of households with kin in 1905 and 62% in 1920.

Of the 592 adults in the district in 1905, 38% had kin living in other households in the district. By 1920, this had risen to 43%. The male proportion rose from 35% with kin in 1905 to 44% in 1920 while the female proportion rose from 41% to 45% - see Table 8.19.

Table 8.19 : Adult Kinship Density, 1905 and 1920

	Kin in District		No Kin in District		TOTAL ADULTS	
SEX	1905	1920	1905	1920	1905	1920
Females	41%	45%	59%	55%	275	332
Males	35%	44%	65%	56%	317	384
TOTAL	38%	43%	62%	57%	592	716

The number of adult males with kin in 1905 was 111 (35%) while in 1920 it had risen to 157 (41%). For adult females, the equivalent increase was from 114 in 1905 (42%) to 150 in 1920 (45%). The total number of adults with kin therefore rose from 225 in 1905 (38%) to 307 in 1920 (43%). Table 8.20 presents a summary of some selected characteristics of these adults who had kin living in the district.

Table 8.20 : Selected Characteristics of Adult Males With Kin in District, 1905 and 1920

	Number of Adult Males With Kin		Proportion of Adult Males With Kin		Proportion of Category With Kin	
CATEGORY	'05	'20	'05	'20	'05	'20
OCCUPATION :						
Farmer	29	53	26%	34%	51%	51%
Business	17	14	15%	9%	45%	42%
Farm Manager	4	3	4%	2%	40%	30%
White Collar	3	1	3%	1%	23%	7%
Farm Manual	45	65	41%	41%	29%	38%
Other Manual	7	11	6%	7%	23%	30%
Non-Occupational	6	10	5%	6%	55%	83%
OWNERSHIP OF LAND :						
Farm Property	28	45	15%	29%	55%	50%
Small Holding	13	22	12%	14%	37%	48%
Town Section	16	27	14%	17%	39%	71%
No Land	54	63	49%	40%	28%	30%
TOTAL	111	157	100%	100%	35%	41%

Considering farmers and businessmen together, the proprietorial group accounted for 41% of males with kin in 1905 and this rose to 43% in 1920. This was matched in both these years, however, by the farm manual group which also accounted for 41% of males with kin. The significance of the proprietorial group lies, however, in the fact that those with kin accounted for 48% of all adult males in this group (49% in 1920), while for the farm manual group, the equivalent proportions were only 28% in 1905 and 38% in 1920. The proprietorial group were numerically smaller than the farm manual group, but proportionately more of them had kin in the district. The other point of significance in relation to occupation is that in 1905 71% of all

males with kin in the district were in farm-related occupations and by 1920 this had risen to 77%. Just over a third of all males in farm-related occupations in 1905 had kin in the district. The equivalent figure for 1920 was 42%.

A similar pattern exists in the ownership of land. Among those males with kin in the district the proportion who owned land of some sort is quite high (51% in 1905 and 60% in 1920) and the ownership of farm land (i.e. runs and sheep stations as well as farms) featured prominently here. But this means that the equivalent proportions for men who didn't own land were also quite high (49% in 1905 and 40% in 1920). This presumably matches our earlier observation in connection with the high incidence of farm workers who had kin in the district. Again, however, it needs to be noted that between 50% and 55% of those men who owned farm land in 1905 and 1920 had kin in the district while for men without land, the equivalent proportions were only 28% and 30%.

This suggests is that while the ownership of land was a reasonably significant factor in influencing kinship density it was not the only factor. There were others at play too and one that seemed to have equal significance for females as well as for males was what is being referred to as "settler status". This is based on the distinction that was drawn in chapter 4 between locals, newcomers and transients. It will be remembered that by definition, locals are more than first generation in the district, while newcomers, transients and original settlers will be first generation - see Table 8.21.

Table 8.21 : Selected Characteristics of Adults With Kin in District, 1905 and 1920

	ADULTS WITH KIN			
	Males		Females	
CATEGORY	'05	'20	'05	'20
SETTLER STATUS :				
Local	39%	50%	40%	48%
Newcomer	44%	41%	45%	47%
Transient	17%	9%	16%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
GENERATION :				
First Generation	61%	50%	61%	52%
Second Generation	33%	38%	38%	38%
Third Generation	6%	12%	1%	10%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	111	157	11	150

From the figures in Table 8.21, it will be noted that in 1905 locals accounted for 39% of males with kin and 40% of females. By 1920, these proportions had risen to 50% of males and 48% of females. The proportion of males and females from the newcomer group was also quite high in both periods (44% and 41% for males and 45% to 47% for females), and it will be remembered that this group was distinguished from the transients by ownership of "assets" in the district - land, a business or a spouse. The kinship density of transients was noticably low. The issue that now needs to be addressed, therefore, is the nature of the link that may exist between land ownership, occupation and continuity in the district.

CONTINUITY

An indication of continuity in the district is provided in Table 8.22, where the proportions of 1905 and 1920 households and individuals who were in the district at selected dates is shown. The population of individuals in this table includes children as well as adults.

Table 8.22 : Continuity of Households and Individuals 1905 and 1920

	Households		Individuals	
CONTINUITY	'05	'20	'05	'20
There in 1890	17%	4%	21%	8%
There in 1905	100%	24%	100%	30%
There in 1920	25%	100%	31%	100%
There in 1935	9%	21%	7%	36%
There in 1950	3%	12%	5%	9%
There in 1965	-	3%	2%	4%
There in 1982	-	-	1%	1%
NUMBER	187	253	897	1074

Similar profiles are evident between the 1905 and 1920 households. Between 20% and 25% of the households had been in the district for at least 15 years and the same proportion were to continue in the district for the next 15 years. At both points in time, the households with greatest continuity were farmer households, farm worker households and skilled manual proprietorial households. Also provided in Table 8.22 is an indication of the continuity of individuals. The pattern is very similar to that of the households.

If we look at the continuity profile for the adults, however, and consider it in terms of settler status then we find significant differences. In 1905 and 1920 the people who had been in the district longest and who lasted the longest were the locals, closely followed by newcomers. Transients were hardly in the district for any time at all - see Table 8.23.

Table 8.23 : Continuity of Adults by Settler Status 1905 and 1920

	Locals		Newcomers		Transients		Total	
CONTINUITY	1905	1920	1905	1920	1905	1920	1905	1920
There in 1890	81%	26%	52%	11%	2%	0%	30%	12%
There in 1905	100%	57%	100%	29%	100%	15%	100%	33%
There in 1920	17%	100%	46%	100%	11%	100%	18%	100%
There in 1935	13%	21%	15%	23%	3%	6%	7%	18%
There in 1950	12%	18%	4%	11%	2%	1%	4%	10%
There in 1965	3%	9%	0%	3%	0%	0%	1%	4%
There in 1982	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
NUMBER	133	211	231	290	228	215	592	716

The distribution of adults between these three categories is shown in Table 8.24, where it will be noted that the proportion of locals in the district increased between these two years.

As will be seen from this table, the proportion of newcomers was quite high in relation to locals in 1905 and again in 1920. This was undoubtedly a reflection of the fact that the district was still in the process of being settled.

Table 8.24 : Distribution of Adults by Settler Status
All Adults, 1905 and 1920

SETTLER STATUS	Proportion of Adult Males '05	Proportion of Adult Males '20	Proportion of Adult Females '05	Proportion of Adult Females '20	Proportion of Total Adults '05	Proportion of Total Adults '20
Locals	22%	28%	23%	32%	22%	30%
Newcomers	39%	38%	40%	42%	39%	40%
Transients	39%	34%	37%	26%	39%	30%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
1st Generation	78%	72%	77%	68%	78%	70%
2nd Generation	20%	23%	22%	27%	21%	25%
3rd Generation	2%	5%	1%	5%	1%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	317	384	275	332	592	716

In Table 8.25, the high proportions of local and newcomer males who were farmers, businessmen and owners of farm land should be noted. This reinforces the earlier comment about interlinkages between occupation, ownership of property and continuity in the district.

The high proportion of locals and newcomers in the farm manual category is attributable to the fact that approximately half of these were farmers' sons who were working for their fathers. This would have contributed also to the high proportion of locals who owned no land in the district but it would still be the case that there were a large number of local males whose continuity in the district cannot be explained by ownership of land.

Table 8.25 : Selected Characteristics of Adult Males 1905 and 1920

	LOCALS		NEWCOMERS		TRANSIENTS	
ADULT MALES	'05	'20	'05	'20	'05	'20
OCCUPATION:						
Farmer	11%	26%	40%	49%	0%	0%
Business	9%	3%	28%	21%	0%	0%
Farm Manager	1%	1%	1%	2%	5%	5%
White Collar	0%	0%	0%	1%	11%	12%
Farm Manual	73%	62%	22%	16%	70%	71%
Other Manual	6%	6%	6%	7%	11%	12%
Non-Occupational	0%	3%	3%	4%	3%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
LAND OWNERSHIP:						
Farm Property	10%	22%	31%	41%	0%	0%
Smallholding	3%	8%	23%	23%	0%	0%
Town Section	4%	7%	26%	18%	0%	0%
No Land	83%	63%	20%	18%	100%	100%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
KINSHIP DENSITY:						
Kin in District	61%	73%	41%	44%	15%	11%
No Kin	39%	27%	59%	56%	85%	89%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	71	106	144	164	102	114

Table 8.25 presents occupational distribution and land ownership within these settler status groups, but we need to look at this from another perspective and note the proportions of these settler groups in each of the occupational categories. In 1905, 86% of farmers were newcomers, and this fell to 71% in 1920. The rest of the farmers were locals. Eighty-four percent of the business group in 1905 were also newcomers, and this had risen to 91% by 1920. Again, the rest of the business group were locals. Transients comprised 70% of farm managers in 1905 and in 1920. Transients also comprised the majority of white collar workers - 100% in 1905 and 93% in 1920. The distribution of farm manual workers in 1905 was 33% locals, 16% newcomers and 51% transients. This had changed slightly by 1920 to 39% locals, 14% newcomers and 47% transients. Transients comprised 60% of other manual workers in 1905 and also in 1920.

LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

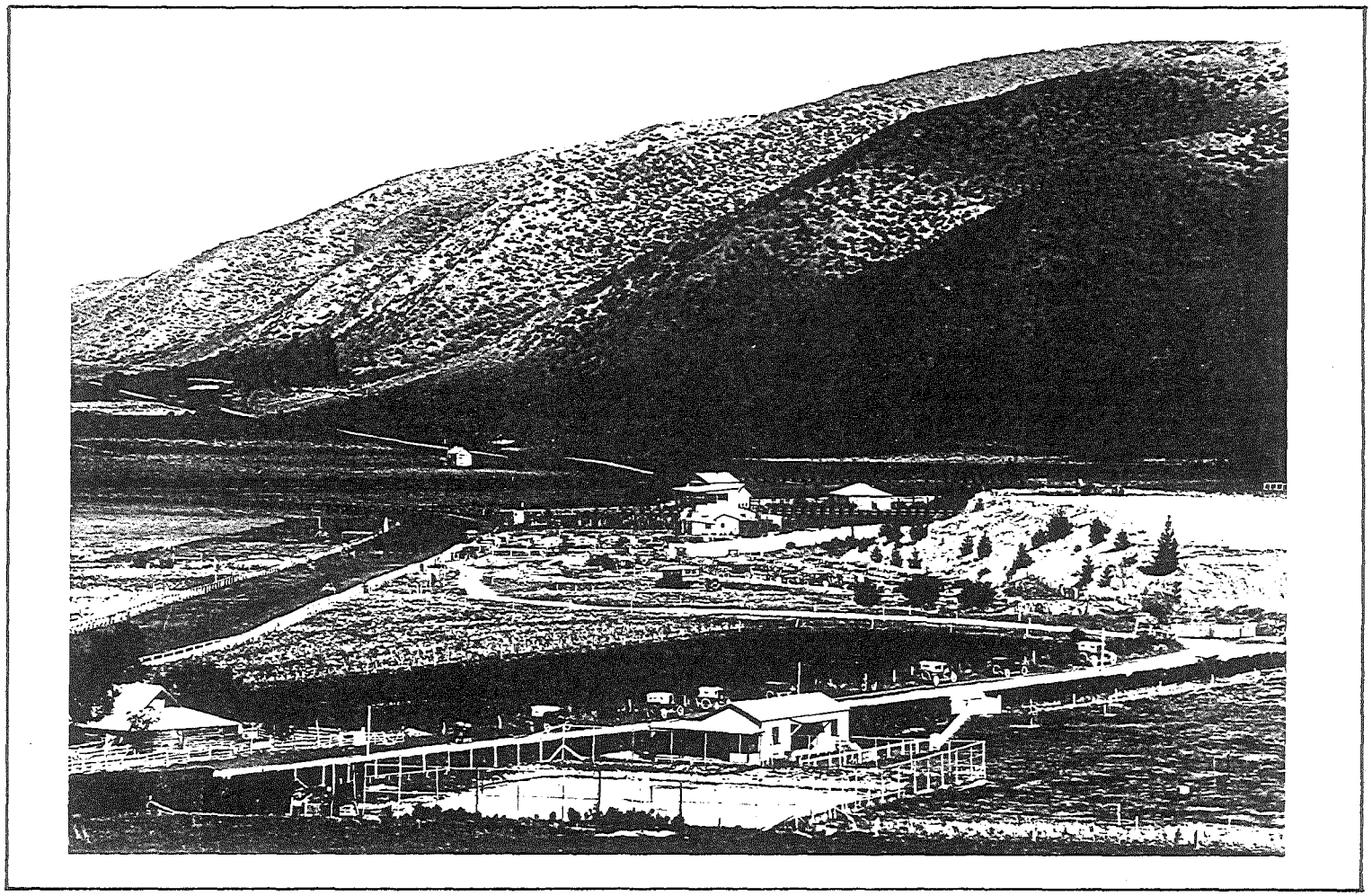
The two earliest organisations to be formed in the district were the Waitaki Collie Dog Club and the Kurow Jockey Club. The Waitaki Collie Dog Club was formed in 1885 and is the oldest recognised club of its kind in New Zealand. A few dog trials had been held in the district prior to 1885, but the formal beginnings of the club occured on October 3rd, 1885, when a meeting was held in Molloy's Hotel, Hakataramea, with the purpose of organising a dog trial for March of the following year.[78] Prominent at the meeting were Malcolm McKellar, manager of Otekaike Station, Donald McFarlane, manager of Hakataramea Station and Joseph Austin, storekeeper of Haka-

[Kurow Museum]

Members of Waitaki Collie Dog Club, 1910
Norman Hayes (President) fourth from left in Centre

taramea. On October 26th, 1889, a formal decision was taken at a public meeting to form a club known as the Waitaki Collie Dog Club. From then on, dog trials were held annually on land just outside Hakataramea Township. Among the first presidents and vice-presidents of the club were prominent station managers in the district - Malcolm McKellar (Otekaike), Donald McFarlane (Hakataramea), Duncan Sutherland (Otematata) and Robert Orr (Station Peak).[79] Between 1886 and 1920, office-bearers in the club were overwhelmingly farmers or farm managers.

In September of 1884 the first Kurow race meeting was held in a paddock west of the township. A few other race meetings were held subsequent to this, and then on June 24th, 1887, a public meeting was held in Goddard's hotel, Kurow, to form a club and elect a committee.[80] John Molloy, the Hakataramea publican, chaired the meeting. Duncan Sutherland was elected president and Donald McFarlane vice-president. The treasurer and secretary were both publicans - John Molloy of Hakataramea and Richard Odbert of Kurow. By 1888, the club had twenty-eight members. Annual race meetings were held on the same site outside the township but this was not too satisfactory. Attempts were made in 1893 and 1895 to secure a more permanent site either in Kurow or outside Haka Township but these were unsuccessful. Finally, in 1904, the club managed to buy some flat land at the back of Kurow. This was to be a turning point for the club, as the chairman's report for 1910 acknowledged:



[Kurow Museum]

Kurow Racecourse and Recreational Domain
1927

> For years, the club had what might be termed a "hand-to-mouth existence", but when it was deemed advisable for the club to make the change from the old racecourse on the main Waitaki Road to the new situation, which they purchased at the back of the township, the tide turned as each succeeding year has proved the wisdom of the above step. Indeed, as each year rolls past, a new record has been put up, and this last year has taken its place in the history of the club as the most successful. During the year, the club has paid off the whole of its liability as regards the buildings and improvements on the course. Except for a comparatively small mortgage on the property, the club stands free. You may now look on your property as one of the best equipped and furnished courses outside of the chief centres in the South Island.[81]

The Kurow meetings, held in September or October each year, were sufficiently popular that special trains were run from Oamaru for them. The same was done for the dog trials.[82] As with the Collie Dog Club, the office-bearers of the Jockey Club between 1887 and 1920 were principally farmers or farm managers.

Cultural associations were also formed during this period. On June 4th, 1892, there was a public meeting held in Kurow to form a community library,[83] attended by just under twenty people. A committee was elected, a list of subscribers was opened and plans were made for the erection of a building in the township. A modest building was opened in 1895 and, in addition to housing the library's collection of books, it was also used by other local groups for their meetings.[84] In contrast to the Collie Dog Club and the Jockey Club, the office-bearers of the community library in the first thirty years of its existence were principally professionals such as the Anglican minister, the Reverend Fynes-Clinton, Dr Stevens the doctor, or the headmaster, John Kelly. The other major stalwarts on the committee were

local storekeepers such as Hugh and James Barclay and Charles Brooks. The first president, however, was Archibald Miller of Te Akatarawa.

The occupations of the principal office-bearers of the Collie Dog Club, the Jockey Club and the Community Library for the period up to 1920 are shown in Table 8.26. Also shown in this table are the occupations of the members of the Peace Celebrations Committee, set up in 1919 to organise the district's commemoration of the end of World War I.[85]

Table 8.26 : Occupational Distribution of Office-Bearers Selected Organisations, 1886 to 1920[86]

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Collie Dog Club (1886)	Kurow Jockey Club (1887)	Library Cttee (1892)	Peace Cttee (1919)
Farmer	18	8	5	9
Farm Manager	8	5	0	0
Business	1	4	10	3
Professional	0	1	13	3
White Collar	0	0	3	0
Manual	1	0	2	5
TOTAL	28	18	33	20

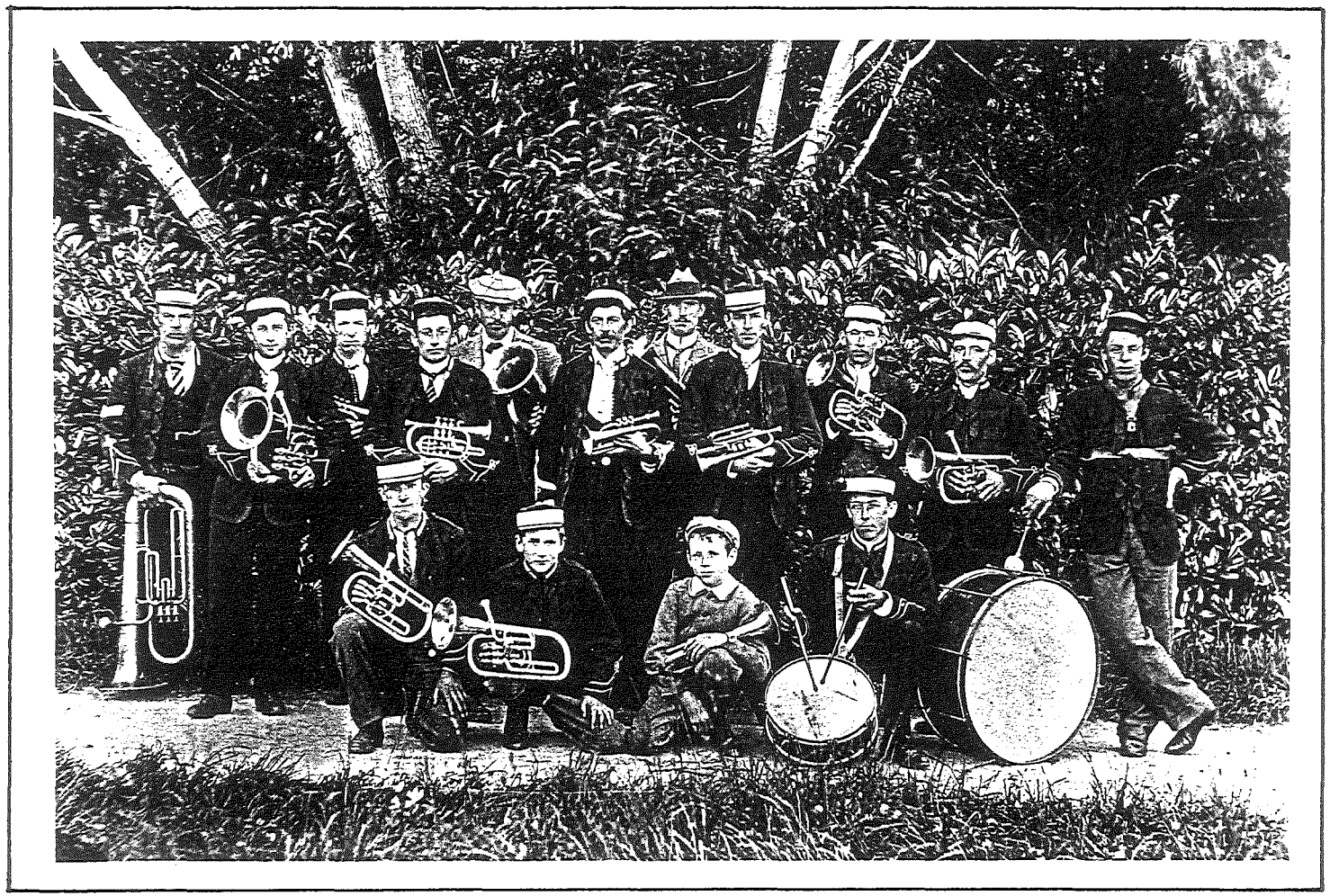
Farmers and farm managers dominated the Collie Dog Club and the Jockey Club while professionals and businessmen held sway on the Library Committee.[87] The Peace Celebrations Committee would have required a broad base of support, hence the wider range of occupations represented among its members, but its chairman was a prominent local sheep farmer, T.A. Munro.

Table 8.27 provides similar information up to 1920 on the occupations of the chairmen and secretaries of the school committees in Kurow and Hakataramea Townships. Unfortunately, in the case of the Kurow committee, minute books prior to 1903 had been lost and so the material for Kurow only relates to the period 1903 to 1920.[88] Again, the dominance of farmers, businessmen and professionals needs to be noted.

Table 8.27 : Occupational Distribution of Office-Bearers Kurow and Hakataramea School Committees, to 1920

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	SCHOOL COMMITTEE	
	Kurow	Hakataramea
Farmer	5	5
Business	5	5
Professional	4	0
White Collar	0	2
Manual	1	3
TOTAL	15	15

There were varieties of other clubs and organisations that were also formed during this period. Some of them were functional associations, such as the Hall Committees in Hakataramea and Otiake and the school committees in Kurow, Hakataramea, Otiake, Wharekuri and Hakataramea Valley; others were sporting clubs, such as the Kurow Tennis Club, Hockey Club and Rugby Club; still others had ethnic affiliations, such as the Upper Waitaki Gaelic Society. Some were purely recreational, however, such as the Kurow and Hakataramea Brass Band, which achieved some local fame in the early 1900s.[89] There was even a local gymnasts' club which, under the instruction of Mr McCulloch, a local tailor, gave a gymnastic exhibition in Kurow in September 1905:



[Kurow Museum]

Kurow-Hakataramea Brass Band
Early 1900s

> Five young ladies then took to the floor and, under the guidance of Mr McCulloch, went through a series of club exercises in a most creditable manner. The physique of the young ladies spoke of the benefits of braced muscles.[90]

By far the most significant organising that took place during this period, however, was in the churches. On December 28th, 1890, a meeting of Anglicans was held in Kurow to discuss the beginning of church work in the district.[91] A vestry committee was formed, the district was canvassed and an annual subscription of 48 pounds towards a stipend was realised. Some 6,000 pounds had been bequeathed in the will of the late Mrs Robert Campbell of Otekaike to build an Anglican church and vicarage to be shared between Duntroon and Kurow. A suitable site could not be found to accommodate both and so the vicarage was built in Kurow in 1892 and the church was built in Duntroon. The Kurow vicarage was an imposing two-storey building. On the ground floor there was a drawing-room, a dining-room, a morning-room and a study as well as a large kitchen and scullery area. Upstairs there were several bedrooms. There was also a separate servants' wing and, at the rear, stables and a groom's room.[92]

Although numerically more dominant, it took the Presbyterians a little bit longer to get similarly organised. After a church service on March 17th, 1889, a meeting of those present was held for the purpose of appointing a committee of management and establishing ways and means of forming a separate Kurow Presbyterian parish.[93] At that stage the Kurow congregation was formally part of the Duntroon parish, as it remained until 1898. Although an immediate need of the congregation was for a church building, it also appears that their singing

required improving. In the session minutes of April 28th, 1889, we read the following:

> That it be remitted to Messrs Hale and Anderson to provide for the resumption of singing practice for the improvement of church psalmody at such time and place as they may deem fit.[94]

The matter of providing for a church building was addressed on October 20th, 1890, when it was resolved to apply to the Oamaru Presbytery for a suitable site "on account of the increased congregation rendering our present meeting place (the public school) too small to meet the requirement of the congregation".[95] The formal decision to proceed with the building of a church was taken at a meeting on July 1st, 1891 and funds were to be raised by subscription and by musical evenings. By November 10th, 1892, it was decided that sufficient funds had been accumulated to justify calling for tenders for the church building and this was done.[96] The church was officially opened on April 23rd, 1893 and was used for the first time on May 10th. The boundaries for the church's activities were set to include Otiake, Kurow Township, Wharekuri, Hakataramea Township and Hakataramea Valley. Kurow was declared to be a separate parish in 1898 but this was not without its frictions. There was a dispute with the Duntroon Session over monies that were alleged to be owed by Kurow and this was not resolved for some time.[97]

After the Anglican and Presbyterian churches had been built, a meeting was called by the Roman Catholics to consider a similar proposition for their people. The Anglicans and Presbyterians were invited to attend and, in a grand ecumenical gesture, agreed to participate in a bazaar to raise funds for the

building. The Catholic church was opened in Kurow in 1898 but there was never a resident priest in the district. The parish was serviced from Oamaru. Catholics on the other side of the river, in Hakataramea, were serviced from Waimate since it was in a different Roman Catholic parish. There had been a small chapel established in the Hakataramea Valley to meet the religious needs of men working on Hakataramea Station,[98] but in 1900 this was moved into Hakataramea Township onto a site donated by John Molloy, the publican.[99] Unfortunately we do not have access to as much information on the local Catholic Church as we do on the other denominations, and so their history is not as fully known.

Local lodges were also of some importance during this period. The two main lodges in the district were the Forresters' Lodge and the Masonic Lodge. We know little about the Forresters' Lodge apart from the fact that it was a benevolent society whose prominence in the district stemmed from the fact that members appeared at their annual ball dressed in musketeer outfits and riding on horses.[100] In terms of status, the masons were much more significant. The register for Lodge Kurow No. 164 was opened in 1909 with forty-two names, the vast majority of whom were local farmers.[101]

The occupations of members of the Presbyterian Committee of Management,[102] Anglican Vestry and Masonic Lodge, up to 1920, are shown in Table 8.28.

Fifty-six percent of the members of the Presbyterian Committee of Management were farmers, as compared with only 30% of the members of the Anglican Vestry. Fifty-one percent of the masons in the district up to 1919 were farmers. The other

[Kurow Museum]

Members of Kurow Forrester's Lodge
Circa 1899

Table 8.28 : Occupational Distribution of Members of the Presbyterian Committee of Management, Anglican Vestry and Masonic Lodge, to 1920

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Presbyterian Management		Anglican Vestry		Masonic Lodge	
Farmer	27	56%	19	30%	44	51%
Farm Manager	0	0%	3	5%	4	5%
Business	10	21%	13	20%	19	22%
Professional	3	6%	8	13%	6	7%
Other Non-Manual	4	8%	11	17%	4	5%
Manual	4	8%	10	16%	10	12%
TOTAL	48	100%	64	100%	87	100%

largest occupational category in each case was "businessmen", who comprised 21% of the Committee of Management, 20% of the Vestry and 22% of the Masons. Sixteen of the Presbyterians and ten of the Anglicans were also members of the Masonic Lodge. The fact that the Masonic Lodge was an exclusively Protestant organisation served to define boundaries between Protestants and Catholics in the district in relation to membership as well as access to status networks and opportunities.

Social functions during the year revolved around the activities of such groups as we have described. Church concerts, school picnics and annual balls provided a much-needed relief from work and many took advantage of it. As we noted in an earlier chapter, the sponsorship of district picnics appears to have been the prerogative of wealthier farmers in the district. This was still the case in 1905:

> The residents of Duntroon, Otiake and Kurow, despite the cloudy and sometimes drizzly weather, spent a pleasant time at Otekaike House on Tuesday at the invitation of Mr and Mrs Campbell. The beautiful place yields a charm no matter what the outlook is ...But now the guests are gathered on the lawn. Mr. Campbell loses no time in drawing the interest of all present to the pleasure of the sport. Here we have games for boys and girls and the "man of the big house" draws pretty heavily on the exchequer, I can tell you, which makes competition fast and strong ...Excellent tea and varied refreshments for old and young provided on tables under the willows and other trees make up a complete day of change and pleasure. If you add to this the cheerfulness of the host and hostess, you have an inkling of what a picnic is at Otekaike House. We ended the day with three cheers for Mr and Mrs Campbell, which the recollection of many such picnics in the past made the more lusty.[103]

Generally speaking the lack of transport meant that a lot of these functions were localised. One informant, in commenting on this aspect of life in the early 1900s, said: "There weren't many social gatherings then. It was all work and no play. Of course, there wasn't the transport either. We had either to ride or drive a gig and that was the only way of getting about".[104] She had been a farmer's daughter in the Hakataramea Valley. A contemporary of hers in the valley, who was a farm worker's daughter, reported that she and her sisters had to walk down to Hakataramea or Kurow if they wanted to go to social functions.[105] There appeared to be differences between Kurow and Hakataramea, however, when it came to socialising. The farmer's daughter went on to say: "Kurow and Haka didn't mix really. Haka Township and Haka Valley always seemed to fit in very well together but Kurow didn't seem to be the same. Until we were older we didn't go there very much and even when they

came over to the Haka side, each one seemed to keep to their own side of the hall. There always seemed to be that little bit of division. I don't know what it was, but we just didn't seem to click with the Kurow people somehow".[106] The Hakataramea Valley people did not have much to do with the scattered population in Cattle Creek then, either: "They were so scattered and we only had a horse and cart to go about in in those days. We didn't go far afield really and there was no one from up there that came down to any of the functions".[107] Such contact as there was with Cattle Creek came only when the boy from Haka Valley delivered the mail.[108] Indeed, much social contact seemed to revolve around collecting the mail:

> Haka Township was quite a busy centre then. All the valley ones went down there for their provisions, to get their horses shod and that sort of thing. There was the blacksmith's shop and there was the store and the hotel. It was quite busy in those days. The mail came over in the train every night so we'd drive down and collect it, even if it was 10 miles. Lots of people did that. It was quite a centre where people could talk really. That's where people met each other.[109]

There was no store in Otiake, but gathering at the blacksmith's shop to collect the mail provided the same social function there. The other main occasions for social contact were at church or at school functions such as the one described in the Oamaru Mail in December of 1905:

> The Haka Valley school concert and dance took place on last Friday night and proved to be, by far, the best of its kind ever held in the valley. Being a lovely night, the schoolroom and porch were crowded to the doors. Items were provided by Mr Hanley, Miss Annie Parks (a very small schoolgirl), Miss Maggie Milne, a master Fraser and Miss Mary Stewart. The second part of the programme began with gramophone selections, Mr

> Wain having lent his splendid gramophone for the occasion. Mrs McLennan sang the wll known Scotch song "Rothesay Bay" and had to respond to a hearty encore. Mrs Emmett, an old valley favourite, quite excelled herself in the sympathetic song "Don't Forget Old Ireland". She was loudly applauded and responded to the inevitable encore with "Only a Band of Gold". Miss Delargy, who was the possessor of a highly cultured contralto voice, sang with great effect "The Kerry Dance". She had to respond to an undeniable encore, this time rendering the rather amusing song "Is Your Mother In, Molly Malone ?". This lady's singing is too seldom heard in these districts, it being her first appearance in the valley. Mr Kelly, who is well known for his readings, gave a very humorous Scotch piece on "Phrenology", for which he received the plaudits of the audience. The chairman was Mr Hayes.[110]

The nature of the musical items offered at the Hakataramea Valley concert reveal an obvious Scots and Irish influence in the district, an influence that was strongly promoted by the Waitaki Gaelic Society.[111] At its annual ball on November 9th, 1905, an event which "severely taxed" the accommodation in the Haka Hall,[112] James Menzies, the society chief, left the gathered crowd in no doubt as to what he saw as the desirable outcome from the district's blend of nationalities:

> During the course of the evening the chief congratulated the society upon its continued success and expressed his pleasure at seeing such a large and representative gathering before him. Mr Menzies referred to the prosperity enjoyed at present by the Waitaki Gaelic Society and said that he hopefully expected to see the prosperity continued during the following year. He was glad to notice that the young people of the district were taking an interest in gaelic matters and he was looking forward to the time when some of the young colonials would be able to deliver an address in gaelic (laughter and loud applause). He was of the opinion that a judicious blend of English, Irish and Scots would ultimately produce first class highlanders.[113]

The majority of the district's farmers in 1905 were of Scots or Irish descent. We have definite information on the place of birth of fifty-nineof these farmers (this includes farm managers also) and, from Table 8.29 we can see that most of them were born in Scotland.[114] Of the seventeen who were born in New Zealand, six were born in the Kurow district itself. Perhaps of greater significance, however, was the family background of these farmers. Forty of these farmers were of Scots descent, seventeen of Irish descent and only nine of English descent. This represents a change from the pioneer stage of the district's development when almost all of the land owners were English.

Table 8.29 : Place of Birth and Country of Origin of Kurow District Farmers, 1905

COUNTRY	Farmer's Place of Birth	Family's Country of Origin
Scotland	23	40
Ireland	12	17
England	4	9
Germany	0	4
Canada	0	1
Australia	3	0
New Zealand	17	0
TOTAL	59	59

Only 35% of these 1905 farmers had come from farming families, so there is evidence here of upward mobility through the acquisition of land. Four of the Scots farmers had, in fact, worked in the district either as station managers or head shepherds prior to acquiring their properties. Descendants of

three of these farmers were still living in the district in 1982. By and large, though, the Scots as well as the Irish moved into the district on acquiring their properties. The Irish settled mainly in Otiake, in Kurow vicinity or in Wharekuri. Many of them were agricultural farmers. Only three held sheep runs. The Scots settled throughout the whole district, from Otiake to Cattle Creek, and many of them held sheep runs. With the exception of the Edinburgh-based Land Company, however, the largest land owners in the district in the early 1900's tended to be either farmers of English descent (such as John Sutton of Waitangi Station and Jasper Nicols of Belfield estate) or English Companies (such as Robert Campbell and Sons). The Campbells relinquished their Kurow estates between 1905 and 1912, and Nicols' Belfield estate was finally dismembered around 1920, but the Suttons retained their ownership of Waitangi, celebrating their centenary of ownership in January of 1987.[115]

Ethnic differences within the district were never very great, but an incident at the end of World War I pointed to undercurrents of ethnic hostility of a different kind when an Austrian taxidermist, who lived and worked in Kurow Township, had his premises ransacked by patriotic locals. Anti-German feeling like this was unusual in Kurow since two German families, the Hilles and the Thieles, had played prominent roles in the early settlement of the district, and members of their families had intermarried with the sons and daughters of British settlers. Such feelings during World War I may have been fueled, however, by local suspicion that the Kurow doctor's German housekeeper was a spy (see O'Connor, 1979).

FOOTNOTES :

1. John Kelly and I share an affinity of origin. The first 18 years of my life were spent in the township of Carluke, in Lanarkshire, Scotland. This is where Kelly was born.

2. See page 12 of the Jubilee Booklet of the Kurow school, published in 1932.

3. When John Allan arrived in Kurow in March of 1909 to take over as teacher from Kelly's successor, he was "agreeably surprised" to discover that the Kurow Hotel was lit by gas. Allan commented: "my first impression of Kurow was that it seemed a progressive country town" (Jubilee Booklet, 1932, page 14).

4. It should be noted that information on the numbers of males and females within localities are only provided up to the 1921 census. After that, the only locality figures that are available relate to the total number of people residing in the locality.

5. Viewed in this context, the fact that the ratio then decreased to 0.75 females per male in 1921 is perplexing. A perusal of locality figures from the 1921 census, however, reveals that the imbalance between males and females was especially pronounced in the Hakataramea Valley. In the 1916 census there were 325 people (183 males and 142 females) recorded as living in localities in the Hakataramea Valley (Hakataramea, Hakataramea Vicinity, Hakataramea Station and Hakataramea Valley). In the 1921 census, the equivalent figure for Hakataramea, Hakataramea South and Hakataramea Valley had risen to 429 people (267 males and 162 females). The point of significance here is that while the number of females increased by only 20 between these years, the equivalent increase for males was 84. A possible explanation for this reversal therefore lies in the fact that manpower shortages during World War I allowed the rabbit problem to get out of hand and that after the war extra rabbiters were employed in the Hakataramea Valley to counteract this.

6. It will be remembered that the term "children" is being used in relation to those who were either attending school or were pre-schoolers. The ratio of approximately 1 male to 1 female applied in each of the categories of adult, school child and pre-school child at both dates.

7. It should be borne in mind that what is being dealt with here are the populations in the settled localities only. Excluded from consideration are people connected with the larger stations in 1905 and people connected with Otekaike Special School in 1920 - see chapters 3 and 4. Unless otherwise stated, the tables in this chapter have been generated from fieldwork data.

8. The North Otago population increased by 17%, from 633 to 738, while the South Canterbury population increased by 27%, from 264 to 336. The number of households in the North Otago segment increased by 38%, from 125 to 173, while the households in the South Canterbury segment increased by 29%, from 62 to 80.

9. It will be noted from the data in Tables 8.1 to 8.3 that, compared with the equivalent census figures, the 1905 reconstruction total is short of 192 people while the 1920 reconstruction total is 119 short. A discussion of the 1905 shortfall has already been provided in chapter 3 where it was pointed out that the population on such large estates as Otekaike Station, Hakataramea Station and Station Peak were included in the census figures but, because of problems of traceability, were excluded from the reconstruction figures. Turning to the 1920 shortfall, it would seem that part of the explanation for this has already been offered above since the main shortfall is the in the number of males. Comparing the figures for males and females in Table 8.1 and 8.3, it will be seen that the figures for females in the 1920 census and 1920 reconstruction are practically the same (513 in the census as compared with 504 in the reconstruction) but that the 1920 reconstruction is short of 110 males. It would seem reasonable to suppose therefore that, in line with the discussion above, most of these males would have been employed as rabbiters in the district.

10. This decline in the single category affected males as well as females. In 1905, single adult males accounted for 17% of the population but by 1920 this had fallen to 15%. Similarly, the proportion of single adult females in the population declined from 12% in 1905 to 10% in 1920.

11. This information is taken from the Souvenir Programme issued to commemorate the peace celebrations in the district on July 21st, 1919.

12. These deaths were particularly felt in households that lost more than one member. The Crees and the Mitchells of Otekaike and the Jeffries and the McGimpseys of Otiake, all farming families, lost two members each during World War I.

13. Since the Kurow doctor was serving in the armed forces at the time, the doctor's house in Kurow was used as a treatment base by the Red Cross. One place where the epidemic did strike quite hard was Hakataramea Station where Parry commented that there was a "serious outbreak" (1964:147). When armistice was declared, a number of the men from the station went to Kurow to celebrate and brought the virus back with them. Two deaths occurred within a week and the epidemic spread to Hakataramea Downs.

14. One area where the manpower shortage was felt during World War I was in the area of rabbit control. This was certainly a factor that contributed to the rabbit problem intensifying during this time.

15. Pregnant women were particularly susceptible. An informant commented: "The flu' epidemic was not long after we were married. They set up a hospital over in Kurow. They were looking for volunteers and wanted me to go as a nursing aide but I was pregnant at the time and, of course, they wouldn't take anyone who was pregnant" (interview, April 14th, 1982).

16. The ratio of males to females was 1/0.91 in 1905 as compared with 1/0.88 in 1920. In 1905 and again in 1920, the ratio of males to females among the adults was 1/0.86. Among the children, however, the ratio was 1/1 in 1905 and 1/0.92 in 1920.

17. In 1905, the extended families comprised single siblings living with married siblings (4), married children living with parents (5) or grandchildren living with grandparents (2). The 1920 extended households comprised a widow living with a married daughter and her husband, and a widower son and his infant daughter living with his parents. Four of the single parents in 1905 were males and six were males in 1920. In most of these cases, their wives had died in childbirth. All of the female single parents were widows. The related adult households were either brothers living together, a brother and sister living together, or a widow living with her grown-up children. The unrelated adult households derived either from single or widowed farmers who had live-in domestic help or from single males living together as a work group.

18. In 1905, 14 of these households were farmer households while in 1920, the number was 16.

19. In 1905, 3 of the women were in white collar occupations (2 teachers and a governess), 2 were business-women (they owned a dress shop) and 37 were in manual occupations (2 cooks, 1 shop assistant, 1 tailoress, 1 waitress and 30 domestics). In 1920 there were 6 women in white collar occupations (1 nurse, 4 teachers and a post office clerkess) and 39 in manual occupations (2 tailoresses, 4 housekeepers, 1 waitress and 31 domestics).

20. In 1905, 165 of the women would have been housewives and 68 would have been single-at-home. In 1920, there would have been 217 housewives and 70 single-at-home. The female single-at-home category were very difficult to trace.

21. This woman was aged 94 when I interviewed her on March 31st, 1982. She had been a farmer's daughter in Haka Valley. Of those who could not find work locally she said: "Some of the girls worked in Oamaru and went to the North Island to work as housemaids and cooks in hotels. There was nothing for them to do locally".

22. This woman was interviewed in 1980 when she was 85. She had been a labourer's daughter in Haka Township.

23. Interview, March 31st, 1982.

24. This was a "Village Homestead Settlement", settled under provisions of The Land Act, 1892 and The Land for Settlements Act, 1894. The Government paid 622 pounds for the property.

25. The term of the lease was 999 years. The average rental for these properties was between 4 and 5 pounds per annum. The period was from January 1st, 1896. Under lease requirements, had to take up residence within one year and live continuously on the property for ten years.

26. These were Bridget O'Neill, wife of John O'Neill, Kurow labourer; Mary Jane Hawthorne, wife of Samuel Hawthorne, Otiake labourer; and William Warwick, Kurow labourer.

27. The Scotsman was Thomas Prentice. He was originally a carpenter from Motherwell, Scotland, and already had a small dairy farm of 84 acres up Kurow Creek. The English family were three brothers and a sister by the name of Rayne. William Rayne was a 26-year old Kurow shepherd. On September 14th, 1892 he had married Margaret Orr, daughter of George Orr, a Kurow farmer. One of the witnesses to that marriage had been William's brother Bartholomew, a labourer of Ngapara. Bartholomew also drew a section in Tahawai Settlement as did their sister Mary and their brother John. On June 6th, 1896, John married Jemima Grant, the daughter of John Grant, an Otiake farmer. On their marriage certificates, the birthplace of William and John was recorded as being England. Their father was James Rayne, a farmer.

28. After selling this property, Logan moved across the Waitaki River where he owned a run known as The Swamp until 1913. On June 18th, 1913, he married Mary Simpson, daughter of Donald Simpson, an Otiake farmer.

29. The land was settled under the provisions of The Land Act, 1892, The Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, 1900 and The Land for Settlements Amendment Act, 1901. It was leased from the Crown for 999 years as from July 1st, 1907.

30. The average capital value in 1907 of these agricultural properties was 335 pounds.

31. The average size of these pastoral properties was 146 acres. Their average capital value in 1907 was 773 pounds. The average annual rental for the eight agricultural properties was 16 pounds while for the five pastoral properties it was 38 pounds. The total rental to be paid per year on all of these properties was approximately 321 pounds.

32. These original leaseholders were : George Ivers, Haka labourer (140 acres); James Whyte, Kurow labourer (35 acres); William Murphy, Kurow labourer (13 acres); John Gilmore, Kurow farm labourer (13 acres); Angus Fraser, Kurow grocer assistant (14 acres); Henry Gilmore, Kurow blacksmith (14

acres); Ellen Gray, wife of James Gray, South Oamaru farmer (13 acres); Lawrence Cairns, Otekaike wagoner (16 acres); Joseph Condon, Kurow station manager (11 acres); Margaret Watson, wife of Arthur Watson, Otiake farm labourer (93 acres); Charles Cameron, Kurow musterer (122 acres); George Warwick, Kurow farm labourer (392 acres); and Alison Stewart, wife of Robert Stewart, Kurow musterer (69 acres). George Ivers was a brother-in-law to Tom Wright, the Haka Valley storekeeper; John and Henry Gilmore were brothers; Angus Fraser's father was a shepherd on Station Peak; Lawrence Cairns' father was Walter Cairns of Wharekuri; Robert Stewart may have been a relative of James Stewart of Haka Valley; and George Warwick was a son of William Warwick of Tahawai settlement.

33. Alison Stewart held the title to sections 12a and 16a for 38 years.

34. See The Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, Vol C-1, 1908, page 76. At the time of the ranger's report there were 12 dwellings on the land, housing 19 people. There were also 150 sheep, 10 cattle, 4 horses and 2 pigs. The area in new grass was 13 acres, in white crops 180 acres and in green crops 5 acres. Shortly after the ranger submitted his report there was severe flooding in the locality but the settlers survived.

35. The term for this lease was 33 years and it was renewable for similar periods. The renewal was subject, however, to a revaluation of rent and capital value for the property. Otekaike was one of the first estates to be settled under the provisions of this new legislation.

36. The local buyers were Margaret Delargy, wife of Bernard Delargy; Charles Ayson who was manager of the Hakataramea Fish Hatchery; Tommy Cairns, who was a son of Walter Cairns of Wharekuri; and Sarah McCaw, who was the wife of Alex McCaw, a Hakataramea farmer. Of the other six buyers, five were from Waimate and one was from Maerewhenua.

37. Commenting on the introduction of refrigeration, Brooking described it as: "one of the most significant technological developments to affect the New Zealand economy" (1981:232).

38. The land settlement programme of the Liberal government between 1891 and 1910 is commented on at the beginning of the next chapter.

39. No equivalent information to the sheep numbers is available from published government sources. The only possibility for obtaining district-wide cropping information was from grain merchant records in Oamaru. Unfortunately, company amalgamations in the early 1970s led to the rationalisation of records and this information was destroyed.

40. The eleven flocks in 1905 that were greater than 5,000 sheep were as follows: Thomas Kelcher, Hurstlea, Haka Valley (5602 sheep); Jasper Nicols, Belfield (6,266 sheep); Donald Matheson, Roseneath, Wharekuri (7,605 sheep); The Loan Company, Mount Parker (7,727 sheep); Teschemaker and Co, Otematata Station (12,000 sheep); Hugh Cameron, Aviemore (14,055 sheep); National Mortgage and Agency Co Ltd, Te Akatarawa (15,230 sheep); John Sutton, Waitangi (15,379 sheep); Robert Campbell and Sons, Station Peak (15.506 sheep); Robert Campbell and Sons, Otekaike (26,086 sheep); and the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, Hakataramea Station (62,953 sheep). It is obvious from this that companies were still significant in the district's economy in 1905. This situation had altered by 1920. Of the ten flocks greater than 5,000 sheep only two were run by companies: The New Zealand and Australian Land Company's Haka Station flock (27,494 sheep) and Patterson and Co's Te Akatarawa flock (11,516 sheep). The others who were running flocks larger than 5,000 sheep in 1920 were: McIlraith Brothers, Mount Parker (5,410 sheep); William H. Munro, Otekaike Station (5,899 sheep); Herbert Munro, Rugged Ridges (5,980 sheep); Leonard Kelcher, Hurstlea (7,064 sheep); Robert Gillies, Belfield (8,320 sheep); Hugh Cameron, Aviemore (9,900 sheep); John Sutton, Waitangi (16,174 sheep); and the Cameron Brothers, Otemetata Station (29,763 sheep).

41. It is worth noting here, though, that in proportional terms, this only represented an increase in 3% of overall flock numbers (25% to 28%) and 4% of total sheep numbers (2% to 6%).

42. Lack of space in the text precludes us from commenting in detail on locality trends but these are worth noting. Although there was a decline in the actual number of farms in Otiake between 1890 and 1920, the number of flocks actually increased from 15 to 16 and the total number of sheep being run in the locality increased from 4,777 to 18,670 (see Figure 4 in Appendix 3). This would have been a reflection of a change in emphasis within the district away from cropping and towards intensive sheep farming although the fluctuations in sheep figures for the locality probably reflect farmers moving between cash cropping and sheep farming, depending on market circumstances. There were similar increases in Wharekuri where, despite a decline in the number of farms, the number of flocks increased from 8 in 1890 to 10 in 1920 and the total number of sheep being run increased from 5,248 to 14,572. This would have been a reflection of the amalgamation of properties. In the Haka Valley (excluding Haka Station), the number of flocks increased from 8 to 24 and the number of sheep being run increased from 17,418 to 32,948 (see Figure 5 in Appendix 3). These increases would have been the direct result of increased settlement. The increase in flock numbers and total sheep during this period would therefore have resulted not only from the effects of closer settlement but also from changes in farming practice.

43. This was certainly the case with Otiake farmers in relation to Otekaike Station. When the Otekaike freehold was valued in October 1905, a list of contract croppers on Otekaike was appended and this included the names of a number of Otiake and Kurow vicinity farmers - McCone, McGimpsey, Simpson, Stringer, Taylor (see Pinney, 1981:171). It would also seem reasonable to presume that small farmers in the vicinity of Hakataramea Township would also have found some outlet for contract work on Station Peak before it was settled.

44. It will be remembered from the previous chapter that these farm property categories are being defined in the following way: smallholdings (1 to 49 acres); small farms (50 to 400 acres); middle farms (400 to 1,000 acres); and large farms (1,000 acres plus). The other two property categories are sheep runs and sheep stations.

45. Oamaru Mail, February 10th, 1905.

46. Oamaru Mail, December 15th, 1905.

47. Interview, April 14th, 1982.

48. Interview, April 14th, 1982. For a discussion of the operation of such a "table system" see Hatch, 1981.

49. The properties with the highest capital value in Kurow Township in 1905 and 1920 were the two hotels. In 1905, the capital value of T.A. Munro's Kurow Hotel was 1,390 pounds while Matthew Crannitch's Bridge Hotel was valued at 1,300 pounds. In 1920 the Kurow Hotel was valued at 2,830 pounds and the Bridge Hotel at 1,480 pounds. The only other properties in 1905 that approximated the value of the hotels were John Orr's store (920 pounds) and the National Bank building (1,200 pounds). In 1920, the next most valuable properties were Barclay Brothers store (1,255 pounds) and the National Bank (1,200 pounds).

50. There was one white collar male in 1905 who owned a farm up behind Kurow. This was Dr Stevens. The white collar farm owner in 1920 was Charles Ayson, the manager of the Haka fish hatchery, who owned a property in Haka Valley. The businessman who owned a farm in 1920 was Henry McGregor the butcher. He owned a small property up Kurow Creek.

51. In 1905 women held the title to 5 farm properties, 1 smallholding and 3 town sections. In 1920, the equivalent figures were 7 farm properties, 3 smallholdings and 6 town sections.

52. In 1905, the main company landholders were: The New Zealand and Australian Land Company - 81,533 acres valued at 145,229 pounds; Robert Campbell and Sons Ltd - 70,900 acres valued at 134,431 pounds; and McLure and Izard (Mt Parker) - 10,062 acres valued at 27,665 pounds. Of the fifteen largest properties in the district, 4 were owned by companies and

another five were owned by absentee landlords (52,580 acres valued at 68,215 pounds). All of these properties were run by farm managers. By 1920, the only company operating in the district was the Land Company (92,247 acres valued at 161,440 pounds) and Patterson and Co who owned Te Akatarawa (31,093 acres valued at 25,015 pounds). Among the fifteen largest properties in 1920 only one other was owned from outside the district, a Cattle Creek property owned by the Ruddenklau Brothers (9434 acres valued at 22,310 pounds). Again, these properties were run by managers.

53. This information relates only to mortgages on land and does not include mortgages on stock and equipment that farmers may have had with stock and station agents.

54. Some of these would have been multiple mortgages on the same property so these figures do not represent 519 separate properties. There were 60 mortgages in the 1880s, 92 in the 1890s, 150 in the 1900s and 217 in the 1910s.

55. It was possible to establish which of these private individuals lived outside the district by comparing their names with records generated during the research project.

56. Only 19 of the mortgages were provided by institutional sources local to North Otago (18) or South Canterbury (1). The rest therefore came from sources outside the region altogether.

57. It is not without significance here that one local storekeeper was a significant source of local mortgage finance during this period. While the sums provided were not great, the number of mortgages ensured continued custom for the store.

58. The other institutional sources were as follows: stock agents 14 (7%), insurance companies 13 (6%), business firms 13 (6%), local bodies 6 (3%), pastoral companies 4 (2%), building societies 2 (1%) lodges 1 (0.5%).

59. Unfortunately we know nothing about the amounts of money involved here, or the rates of interest that were being paid. This information is obtainable from mortgage records held in the Lands and Deeds section of the Justice Department but the work involved in gathering this information for the whole of the district was considered to be too large a job to be worth tackling.

60. Five Presbyterian, two Anglican and two Roman Catholic registers were researched. The Presbyterian registers covered parishes from Oamaru to Kurow, the Anglican registers likewise, while one of the Catholic registers covered the parish from Oamaru to Kurow and the other covered the parish from Waimate to Hakataramea. The Presbyterian parishes were Kurow, Duntroon, Lower Waitaki, St Paul's Oamaru and Columba Oamaru. The two Anglican parishes were Waitaki and St Luke's

Oamaru. The two Catholic parishes were St Patrick's Oamaru and St Patrick's Waimate.

61. The number of marriages by decade was as follows: 1880s 37; 1890s 45; 1900s 63; and 1910s 70. The distribution of marriages by register was as follows: Kurow Presbyterian 51; Duntroon Presbyterian 40; Lower Waitaki Presbyterian 19; St Paul's Presbyterian 28; Columba Presbyterian 12; Waitaki Anglican 16; St Luke's Anglican 16; St Patrick's Oamaru 28; St Patrick's Waimate 5. Thus 149 of the marriages were Presbyterian (70%), 33 were Anglican (15%) and 33 were Roman Catholic (15%).

62. Of these 88 marriages, 64 were Presbyterian, 12 were Anglican and 12 were Roman Catholic.

63. This patterning of localism in the selection of marriage partners is consistent with Perry's findings for North Otago (see Perry, 1969).

64. The localism in selection of marriage partners that this suggests is reinforced by the fact that 186 of the marriages involved people from Otago and 20 involved people from Canterbury. Thus all but 9 of the marriages involved people from one or other of these provinces.

65. Of the 88 marriages, 21 took place in a church, 6 in a manse, 2 in a hotel, 4 in other locations and 55 in a private residence. There was a similar spread for all 224 marriages

66. Oamaru Mail, September 2nd, 1905. It will be noticed from the qotation that the marriage took place on a Wednesday. Of the 224 marriages researched for this period, 46% took place on a Wednesday with the next most popular day being Tuesday (18%). The change from Wednesdays to Saturdays took place during the 1950s. In the 1940s, Wednesday was still accounting for 30% of marriages. By the 1950's this had fallen to 4%. The proportion of marriages taking place on a Saturday rose from 30% to 82% during these decades.

67. The Kurow Creamery was opened in the middle of November, 1902 by the North Otago Dairy Company Limited. Its separator was capable of treating 250 gallons of milk an hour. During the first season there were 21 local suppliers and about 400 gallons of milk were treated daily. The cream was sent to Oamaru very morning. By 1905 it was facing difficulties. The Oamaru Mail of June 12th reported: "During the two seasons of the creamery's existence the winters have been comparatively mild and feed plentiful so that suppliers have been able to keep the works going. Not this season, however, for the drought experienced in the Upper Waitaki district during the past few months has made feed very short and it was therefore unfortunately rendered necessary to close the creamery until such time as the suppliers are able again to send in good returns". The final demise of the creamery was brought about by the general availability around this time of

cream separators, thus rendering the creamery's services redundant.

68. The Hakataramea Salmon Experimental Station was established in November, 1900. The site of the station was on 26 acres on the east bank of the Hakataramea river, about a mile from the township. This was a government facility, established for the purpose of introducing Atlantic and Pacific coast salmon into New Zealand. The stock in 1903 consisted of 30,000 yearlings, 10,000 18-month smolts, and 10,000 two-year olds. In October 1902, 10,000 two-year olds and 9,000 yearlings were liberated in the Haka river (see the New Zealand Cyclopedia, Canterbury volume, page 1100). Ayson was appointed manager in January, 1902 and at that time the station comprised a residence for the manager, office accommodation, a hatching house, a meat house, workshop, chaff house, stable and sundry sheds. By 1903 fifteen ponds had been constructed. For background information on the Ayson family involvement with fish hatcheries, see Freshwater Catch, Spring 1981, page 24.

69. This couple married at a much earlier age than was usual at the time. The average age of grooms in this marriage cohort for the 1900s was 29.6 while for brides it was 24.6. Nationally, the average age of grooms during this decade was 29.8, while for brides it was 25.8 (national figures compiled from the New Zealand Yearbook).

70. William Menzies and Catherine Downey were subsequently married on September 20th, 1909 and the wedding again took place in the Downey house.

71. There was still the likelihood of family disapproval in such an eventuality, however. One elderly female informant, whose father had been a farmer in the district, related how her brother had been forced to leave home in the early 1900s after marrying the daughter of a Kurow labourer.

72. It is for this reason that I would prefer not to use a comparison of groom's occupation with groom's father's occupation as a measure of the groom's social mobility, or the lack of it. There are ways of compensating for this, and for a discussion see Pearson and Thorns (1986) and Pearson (1986).

73. The closeness of the figures makes it pointless to include a table that shows how groom's father's occupation matched bride's father's occupation for all of the 224 marriages. Equivalent figures for intermarriage within the three main groups in all the marriages were as follows: proprietorial group 50%; manual group 9%; and non-manual group 1%. Marriages between families in the proprietorial and manual groups represented 30% of all 224 marriages. Again, this reinforces the impression of class endogamy within the proprietorial group.

74. The earliest available baptismal register for the Oamaru parish was from 1908 while for the Waimate parish, the earliest register was from 1894.

75. The relevant entry in the register would read either "pater acatholicus" or "mater acatholicus". Some knowledge of latin is obviously helpful when researching Catholic registers. Unfortunately, the Catholic register gave no indication of the occupation of the parents. The only one of the denominational baptismal registers to do so was the Anglican register.

76. This ratio of non-Catholic fathers increased in later periods. Between 1920 and 1949 it rose to 6 to 1 and between 1950 and 1979 it increased still further to 7 to 1. It would seem reasonable to suggest that this differential reflects the importance that the Catholic church places upon children since a Catholic mother is more likely to bring her children up as Catholics than a mother who has married in to the faith. This incidence of one of the parents being a non-Catholic remained quite high during the later periods also - 25% of Kurow baptisms between 1920 and 1949 (30 out of 122) and 26% between 1950 and 1979 (33 out of 127).

77. One informant commented that the fact that Otekaike had been settled after the other North Otago localities had not really helped its integration into the district. By that stage, he said, the Otiake people had had a chance to get established and married in with the Kurow population.

78. Historical background on the Waitaki Collie Dog Club was obtained from the Souvenir Programme for the Club's 75th anniversary, held in 1960.

79. Duncan Sutherland was manager of Omarama Station and was an influential figure in North Otago local politics. He was a member of the Waitaki County Council from 1876 to 1911 and when he retired in 1911, he had been chairman of the council for 30 years. He had also been President of the Board of Waitaki Boys High School for 11 years.

80. Historical background on the Kurow Jockey Club was obtained from their minute books.

81. Extracted from the Chairman's report, presented at the annual meeting of the Jockey Club, held on June 28th, 1910.

82. Commenting on the race meeting in 1905, the Oamaru Mail reported: "This fixture is one of the events of the year to a certain section in Oamaru and the special train was well patronised, there being nearly 400 passengers, the numbers being increased at the stations en route. Added to this, holiday makers came down in large parties from the many adjoining stations, the result was that by about two o'clock in the afternoon there must have been fully fifteen hundred people present, including a very generous proportion of ladies" (October 6th, 1905).

83. Historical information on the Community Library Committee was obtained from their minute books.

84. The minutes of the library committee record that requests were received from the Forrester's Lodge, the Brass Band and various religious groups.

85. Information on the members of the committee was obtained from the Souvenir Programme, published in conjunction with the celebrations. The celebrations were held on July 21st and the programme included a procession to the race course from the school grounds, an exhibition of physical drill by the school children, an afternoon of sports and horse events, fireworks in the evening at Kurow Hill and then a concert and dance in Munro's Hall.

86. Information is provided on the principal office-bearers of the Collie Dog Club and Jockey Club (i.e., presidents and vice-presidents) and the Community Library (presidents, vice-presidents, treasurers and secretaries). For the Peace Celebrations Committee, however, information is provided on the whole committee. The dates in brackets indicate the earliest information in each case.

87. The Library Committee is the first committee in the district where women start to appear as office-bearers in their own right. Mrs T.A. Munro and Mrs James Barclay were vice presidents 1912-1916 and 1919 respectively. T.A. Munro was a prominent sheep farmer and James Barclay was a storekeeper. Neither of these ladies became president during this period. A more normal role for women during this period was as secretary or treasurer to such committees and this was the role fulfilled by the wife and daughter of the local butcher, Henry McGregor. His wife was secretary in 1918 and treasurer in 1919 while his daughter was secretary in 1919. Two other women served as office bearers during this time. A Miss Sinclair, who was a store assistant, served as secretary in 1917 and a Mrs Collins, wife of a rabbiter, served as treasurer in 1919.

88. Lost records also accounted for the lack of systematic information on the membership of the school committees in Haka Valley, Otiake and Wharekuri.

89. As K.C. McDonald indicates (1962:226) brass bands were a feature of many of these small North Otago townships during this time.

90. Oamaru Mail, September 30th, 1905. McCulloch had a small shop in Kurow but he lived in Paddy's Flat.

91. Historical information on the Anglican church was obtained from the vestry minutes.

92. Information from an article in the Timaru Herald, October 9th, 1978.

93. Historical information on the Presbyterian Church was obtained from two main sources: the session minutes and the section in E. and M. Neave (1980) dealing with the history of the Kurow Presbyterian church.

94. Session minutes, April 28th, 1889. Thomas Anderson was a Wharekuri farmer and William Hale was a baker for Frederick Thiele. According to Neave (1980:7), Hale belonged to the Anglican church but joined the Presbyterians because they offered more scope for his singing.

95. Presbyterian Session minutes, October 20th, 1890.

96. The calling for tenders was not without controversy, however. A.H. Chapman, who was a member of session, resigned over the issue because he believed the church did not have sufficient funds to cover the building.

97. As might be expected, the establishing of boundaries for new ventures was often a source of conflict. Similar problems over territory occurred between the Haka Township school and the Haka Valley school when the former was set up in 1891.

98. The chapel was situated in what became known as the chapel paddock. This was across the road from where the Haka Valley Presbyterian church building now stands.

99. This brief bit of historical information on the Catholic Church in Haka was obtained from the centenary booklet of the St Patrick's parish, Waimate, published in 1965.

100 They changed in the ferry paddock just above Kurow cemetry and then rode into the township. A few photographs of them in their uniform have survived.

101 The Masonic Lodge is noted for its secrecy but, through the auspices of an informant, I was able to get access to the membership register for a brief period.

102 The division of labour within the Presbyterian church was such that the church Session was responsible for spiritual oversight while the Committee of Management was concerned with the management and upkeep of the church's buildings and so forth. Membership of the Session will be commented on in chapter 12.

103 Oamaru Mail, December 23rd, 1905.

104 Interview, March 31st, 1982.

105 Interview, April 8th, 1982. In the case of this family, it was about a seven-mile walk to get to Kurow.

106 Interview, March 31st, 1982.

107 Interview, March 31st, 1982. There were not too many people living in Cattle Creek around 1905 anyway. Most of those who were living there worked for the Land Company.

108 In the early 1900s it was the brother of one of my informants who delivered the mail: "My brother Jack used to take the mail up every Saturday, right up to Haka Downs. He rode a horse. Up on Saturday and back on Sunday. I used to ride up to Rocky Point and have dinner with Mrs Stevens and come back with him". Interview, April 8th, 1982.

109 Interview, April 14th, 1982.

110 Oamaru Mail, December 11th, 1905. Mr Hanley was the teacher. Annie Parks was the daughter of a ploughman, Maggie Milne was a farmer's daughter, master Fraser would have been related to the blacksmith and Miss Mary Stewart would have been related to a bullock driver. Mrs McLennan was the wife of a farmer and Mrs Emmett was the roadman's wife, and former teacher at the school. Miss Delargy was the daughter of a sheep farmer who lived in Haka Township. Mr Kelly was the Kurow headmaster and Mr Hayes was a prominent Haka Valley farmer.

111 Unfortunately no records of the Gaelic Society have survived beyond a few photographs and some newspaper reports. While the membership list contained such names as McInnes, Grant, McKenzie, Munro and Milne it did not only consist of Scotsmen. In 1905 it also had some Irishmen (Harry Delargy) and Englishmen (John Sutton) among its members.

112 See report in the Oamaru Mail, November 10th, 1905.

113 Oamaru Mail, November 10th, 1905.

114 This material originally appeared on pages 165-167 of Hall et al, 1983.

115 Thirty-six of the families that were resident in the Kurow district at the end of 1905 still had descendants in the district at the end of 1982. Of these thirty-six families, nineteen were farm-families and seventeen were non-farm-families. It is perhaps, of significance though, that eight of these non-farm families subsequently did own farm land.

CHAPTER NINE

THE SETTLEMENT OF OTEKAIKE STATION 1908

INTRODUCTION[1]

When James Clemens Williams applied for Section 39a of Otekaike Settlement, he was a 31-year old agricultural contractor from St Andrews in South Canterbury. He was single, and his declared assets were 502 pounds. He owned no land, but when he was seventeen he had drawn a section in the Springbrook Settlement in South Canterbury. The section was too small to be economic, however, and he later sold it.

His father was a labourer and worked away from home a lot. Being the eldest in a family of ten, James therefore had to help his mother supplement the family income. She ran a few milking cows and James often had to mind them as they grazed on the roadside. His schooling was repeatedly interrupted by cow-minding and potato picking. At the age of twelve he was helping his mother deliver potatoes around Timaru. By fourteen he was driving a four-horse team and had started to work on farms and stations south of Timaru. By the time he was twenty-eight he had saved enough to buy his own team and plough and, in partnership with three others, began contract ploughing on stations in South Canterbury. The dream, however, was to own his own farm.

He applied for properties in the Waikakahi and Corriedale Settlements but was unsuccessful. He improved his chances at Otekaike, however, by applying for a farm of 461 acres that had no water on it. There was only one other applicant, and this time, Williams was successful. Shortly after taking up his farm he married a girl from Pareora, south of Timaru. They subsequently had four sons and, after farming for thirty-eight years, the farm was passed on to the eldest son, Clemens James Williams.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The historical context for the subdivision and settlement of the Otekaike estate was the Liberal Government's land settlement programme of 1891-1910. When it came to power in 1891, the Liberal Government introduced a number of social reforms with the intention of attacking the land monopoly of the large estates. Responsibility for achieving this had been entrusted, in large part, to John McKenzie as Minister for Lands, and the vigorous measures of closer settlement that he initiated under the provisions of the various Land for Settlement Acts are seen by some as the "chief means" by which the economic deadlock resulting from the land monopoly was broken.[2] Other commentators have been more sceptical in appraising the impact of these legislative measures. Oliver, for example, in reviewing the great increase in the number of small farms that took place during this period, placed more weight on economic factors such as rising overseas prices, easier credit and the spread of dairying.[3]

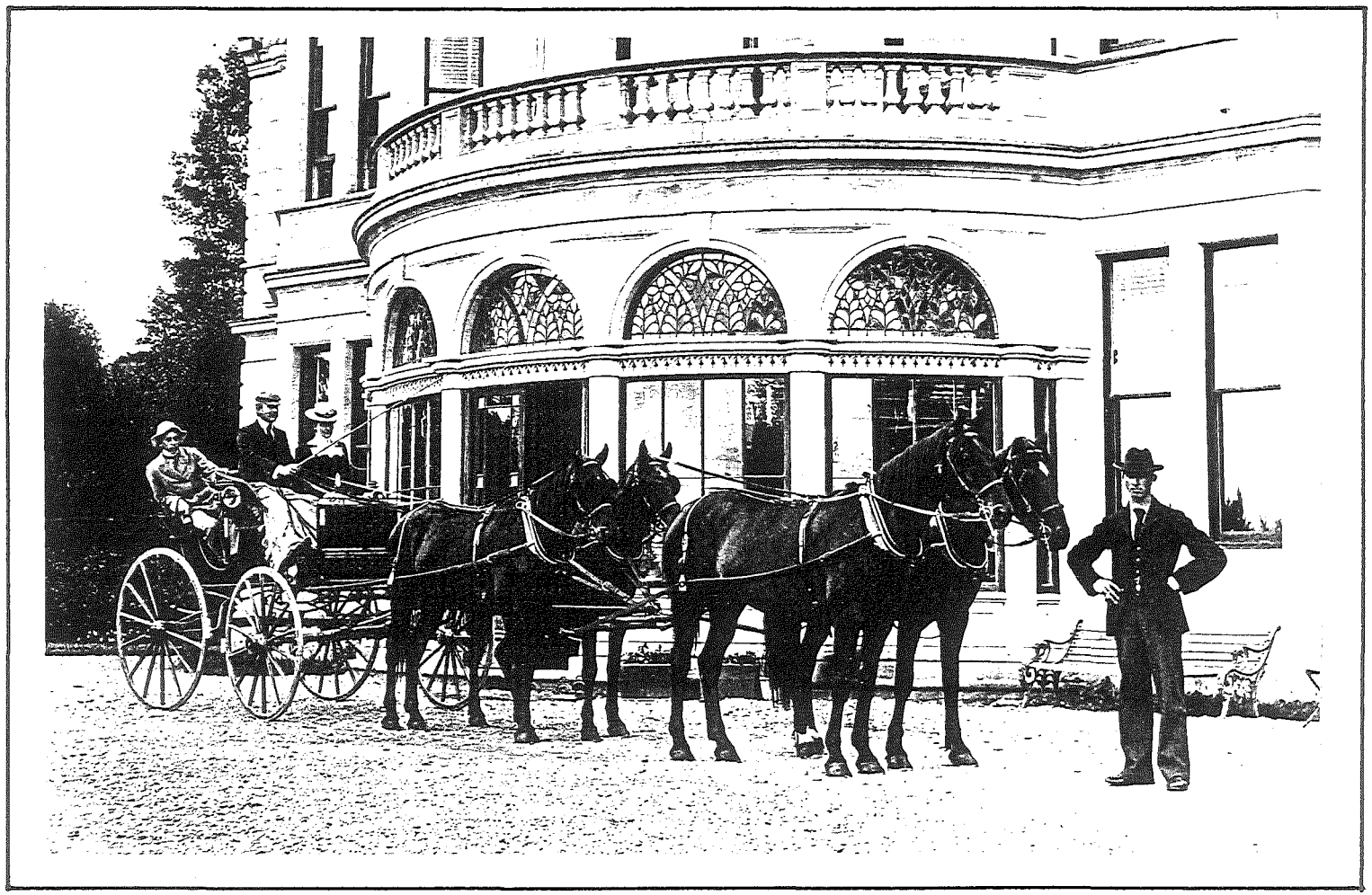
Whether political factors or socio-economic factors played a larger part in the process of land settlement has been debated by New Zealand scholars for some time. Land settled under the provisions of Liberal legislation nevertheless represented only a fraction of the total land that was subdivided and settled up to and including this period. Under the Lands for Settlement Scheme, one and a half million acres were opened for settlement, but at the same time, private subdivision and the alienation of Maori land had added four million acres and over three million acres respectively.[4] The lease-in-perpetuity system had played

an important part in the Liberals' programme, but in 1908, towards the end of their period in office, they experimented with a new form of lease, the Renewable Lease of Rural and Pastoral Land. The term for this new type of lease was 33 years, renewable for similar periods subject to a revaluation of rent and capital value. One of the first estates to be settled under the provisions of this new legislation was Otekaike Station.

NEW DIRECTIONS

Nineteen hundred and five marked the end of an era for Otekaike Station. When Robin O. Campbell took up residence at Otekaike in 1897 and assumed responsibility for the oversight of the pastoral affairs of Robert Campbell and Sons Limited, he and his wife continued the grand lifestyle and "squirely role" established earlier by Robert Campbell.[5] But a new path of development was being charted that was to bring this to an end.

By stages, the government had responded over the years to local pressure and had resumed portions of Campbell land for closer settlement - Otiake in 1878, Ben Lomond and a large part of Station Peak in 1890 - but the bulk of Otekaike Station had remained untouched in the midst of this. A petition requesting that the 31,880 acres of Otekaike Station's two runs (28 and 28A) be subdivided as small grazing runs had circulated in the Kurow district in 1889 and had been submitted to the government. An administrative "bungle" by Richardson, the Minister of Lands, however, had resulted in the runs being re-leased for 21-year terms to Campbell before an enquiry could be held into the suitability of the land for subdivision.[6]



[Fred Chase]

Mr and Mrs Robin O. Campbell
Otekaike Station Homestead, 1898

Subsequently the government expressed concern that the station did not lend itself to being worked efficiently if it were cut up. They also expressed fears that the run country would not be taken up by settlers if it was separated from the flatter agricultural land below it. By 1904, therefore, it appeared to residents in North Otago that the Liberal Government had allowed its land settlement policies to languish.

And then, in January of 1905, the Lyttelton Times carried a story that Otekaike Station was to be cut up privately and offered for sale in lots. Robin Campbell promptly denied this, saying that this would be impracticable given the variety of leases on the station.[7] He did admit, however, that negotiations had taken place between the company and the government over the issue of the resumption of the estate, but he indicated that there were differences between the parties in relation to the final price.[8] This, however, was to be nothing more than the final stalling of the inevitable.

CONTINUING GRASS-ROOTS PRESSURE

By May of 1905, petitions were again circulating in the district, urging the government to take over the estate and subdivide it for closer settlement. The Oamaru Mail commented as follows at the time :

> The petition draws the attention of the government to the fact that Otekaike is in every way suitable for settlement purposes. The land is of good mixed quality and the rail line runs through the property for eleven miles with the result that no portion of the estate would be more than four and a half miles from the railway. So far as the petitioners were aware, Messrs Campbell and Sons are prepared to negotiate. ... It may be mentioned that the signatorees are all men who desire to obtain holdings in the district.[9]

These efforts had the support of the local member of parliament, Mr Herdman, but, being an opposition member, he could have little influence on the government's thinking on the matter. Moves were therefore afoot in the electorate to have him replaced in the election at the end of the year.

Perhaps in response to the continued local grass-roots pressure, the Land Purchase Commissioners visited the region in the middle of the year and looked at Otekaike, Corriedale and Waitaki Plains. When interviewed later on the outcome of the visit, Mr Duncan, Minister of Lands, stated that the delegation had gained the impression that Messrs Campbell and Sons were not anxious to part with the estate. In addition to this, he said that the government was still of the mind that the property could not be worked to its greatest advantage if it were cut up. The Oamaru Mail commented on this as follows :

> Residents in the district who know every acre involved know most about the matter and their opinion is worthy of respect. The Commissioner will visit the property again within a month and advocates of the resumption of the property should meet him in full force and demonstrate its possibilities and prove that it will be taken up if available.[10]

At the same time as this pressure was building up in Otekaike, petitions were also circulating in Hampden and the Upper Waitaki pressing for land-settlement in these two districts also. These petitioners were no doubt greatly heartened by the progress of events in Otekaike. Commenting on the success of the Otekaike pressure, the editorial writer of the Oamaru Mail said:

> There is no doubt that the awakening of the government to the necessities of North Otago is in some measure, if not entirely, attributable to the strenuous endeavour of land for settlement advocates in the district.[11]

On September 27th, in response to a question in the House from Herdman, Premier Seddon indicated that negotiations for the purchase of the Otekaike estate were in progress.[12] By the end of October 1905, the Land Purchase Commissioners were again back in the district continuing their investigations, and in mid-November a deputation of settlers waited on the Minister of Lands to press their claims for resumption of the estate. They maintained that, if settled, the estate would be one of the most successful in the district, since a fair proportion of it was admirably suited for small grazing runs. They also sought to allay Duncan's fears that the run country might not be taken up if the property was sub-divided.

Early in December 1905 their pressure was rewarded when the government announced that Otekaike would be resumed for settlement. The price paid for the 17,495 acres of freehold land was 97,359 pounds, a price of about five pounds and eleven shillings per acre.[13] The announcement that the estate was to be resumed was greeted by the sitting member, Herdman, with claims that the government was "expending trust monies to keep itself in power".[14] The Oamaru Mail was not amused with Herdman's seeming change of heart over the issue and responded in the following manner :

> We take leave to say that the people of this district will rejoice at the resolve of the government to acquire the property and will view its acquisition as the best use to which public money could be devoted. To tell the truth, Mr Herdman does not approve of the acquisition of land by the government for the purposes of putting those people upon it who have sought in vain - many of them through weary years of disappointment - to secure homes upon the soil.[15]

The electoral campaign in the local districts at the end of 1905 was dominated by the Otekaike acquisition issue, and it was obvious that, to some people at least, the memory of John McKenzie's influence on land-settlement policy was not dead.[16] Herdman didn't survive the campaign. He was replaced by the government candidate, John Andrew MacPherson.

OTEKAIKE SETTLEMENT

When the Otekaike estate was finally offered for settlement by the government in 1908, it had been sub-divided into seven small grazing runs, thirty-seven farms and twelve smallholdings. The runs ranged in size from 998 acres to 12,364 acres, the farms from 58 acres to 817 acres and the smallholdings from 10 acres to 40 acres.[17]

The balloting for the properties was to be carried out on Friday, February 7th, 1908, at the Court House in Oamaru. In advertising this fact, the government commented on the settlement properties as follows :

> A great number of sections are watered, while on others, water may probably be obtained by sinking. There are several limestone bluffs on the property, and stone has been quarried for building purposes. The country varies in altitude from 685 feet to 2200 feet and is dry and healthy. The altitude of the pastoral portion runs up to between 5000 feet and 6000 feet. ... A fair part of the land is suitable for agriculture and dairying, the remainder being good grazing country.[18]

Details of the average size, capital value and annual rent for these properties are provided in Table 9.1

FIGURE 9.1

OTEKAIKE SETTLEMENT

1908

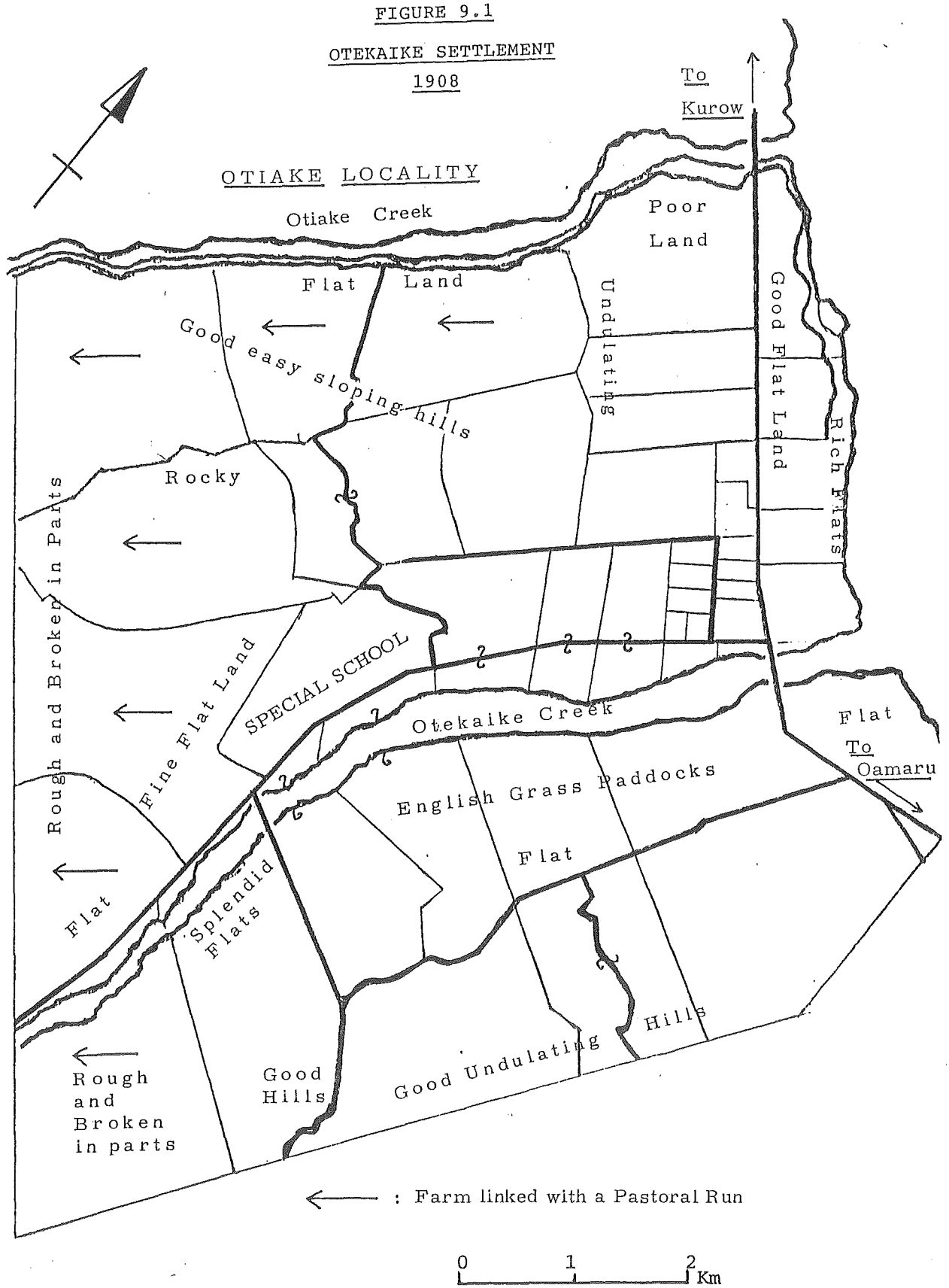


Table 9.1 : Properties in Otekaike Settlement

PROPERTY TYPE	Number	Average Size (Acres)	Average Capital Value (Pounds)	Average Annual Rent (Pounds)	Average Value Per Acre (Pounds)
Run	7	5314	4887	262	0.9
Farm	37	509	1888	84	6.0
Smallholding	12	20	175	8	8.4

The improvements included in these capital values were mainly fencing, although two properties also had sheep yards and two others had dwellings. These were a smallholding of forty acres which had the five-bedroomed lodge and a farm block which had the estate manager's house. The original Campbell homestead was too large to be attached to any of the properties, and so, since the Campbells had no wish to retain it, the government reserved some of the land surrounding it and set the place up as a "School for Defectives".[19] Details of the total acreages, values and rents for the properties are shown in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2 : Value of Otekaike Settlement Properties

PROPERTY TYPE	Total Acreage (Acres)	Total Capital Value (Pounds)	Total Unimproved Value (Pounds)	Total Value of Improvements (Pounds)	Total Annual Rent (Pounds)
Runs	37200	35208	33848	1360	1840
Farms	11414	69858	68652	1206	3104
Smallholding	240	2496	2012	484	92

[Fred Chase]

Otekaike Station Homestead, 1898

In economic terms, it is obvious that the government saw the value of sub-dividing the estate in the farm properties. Despite the fact that all the farms together occupied only one-third of the acreage of the runs, their total capital value and annual rent was double that of the runs. With the renewable leases on all these properties to run for 33 years before review, the government obviously expected to recoup about 166,000 pounds in rent during the first term of the leases. Of this sum, 62% was expected to come from farm rentals.

Applicants for sections in the settlement were required to appear personally before the Otago Land Board in the Oamaru Court House on February 4th for examination as to eligibility. In order that members of the Land Board might be in a position to judge the general ability of applicants to work and cultivate the land and also to fulfil the conditions of the lease, applicants were required to provide such personal details as occupation, age, assets, prior farming experience, marital status and landholdings. Applicants had to be at least 21 years of age. In relation to balloting for sixteen of the properties (one run, nine farms and six smallholdings, altogether totalling 9,747 acres), preference was given to married applicants with families. Similarly, in relation to a further thirteen properties (eight farms and five smallholdings totalling 3,471 acres), preference was given in the balloting to landless applicants who had been unsuccessful at previous land settlement ballots. The rest of the land was open for general application, apart from four properties which were allocated as "preferential blocks" under Section 80 of the Lands for Settlement Act.[20] These four

properties were allocated to former employees of Robert Campbell and Sons Limited.

These former employees were Hugh McKellar who had formerly been a shepherd on Benmore Station, William Mitchell who had formerly been a manager on part of Station Peak, Dickson Jardine, the working foreman on Otekaike Station just prior to its being cut up, and Edmund Dineen, a groom at Otekaike.[21] Since three of these former employees - McKellar, Mitchell and Jardine - obtained runs under this preferential system, the situation was not without its critics. A correspondent to the Oamaru Mail addressed the issue in the following terms :

> With regard to the extraordinary position at Otekaike in which a favoured three are getting 16,300 acres of the leasehold country presented to them without competition, out of a total acreage available of 32,450 acres - that is, they get nearly half of it - you are, perhaps not quite aware of the extent of the dissatisfaction which prevails among other land seekers.[22]

In an editorial reply published the same day, the Oamaru Mail offered the following comment on the situation :

> We know, only too well, the dissatisfaction which exists, not only among land seekers, but everywhere. Preference, as it is being worked, means that, through state and government influence, proprietors who have been paid for their estates out of public funds, can bestow them on their servants at their own sweet will. If, as our correspondent asserts, a favoured three are getting nearly half of Otekaike and nearly all the best of the country, then those who have waited for years to secure sections upon it are being sacrificed by the system of preference which, by reason of its extraordinary results, will meet with condemnation and abolition, all the more prompt.[23]

An original drafting of the Act had specified that Section 80 was to apply only to local employees who had been employed on

the property in question. At the instigation of the Minister of Lands, however, the relevant wording had been deleted, extending the preferential provisions to employees anywhere whose employment could be taken to be in jeopardy as a result of the purchase of the property. This was what caused the controversy in the Otekaike situation. No one doubted that Jardine and Dineen were entitled to preferential sections. The controversy centred around what were considered to be the dubious claims of McKellar and Mitchell, men who at one stage had worked for the company on Waitaki Valley properties but who were not employed on Otekaike at the time of the government purchase. At the eleventh hour, with the application-interviews already underway in the Oamaru Court House, the Oamaru Mail sent the following telegram to the premier :

> There is universal indignation at the operation of the preference clause which ... gives several employees of the late owners the choice of sections so that they may become possessed without ballot of a large proportion of the property. Preference was originally designed to prevent old servants from being thrown out in the cold but it seems that, after the state has purchased a property with public money, the seller may beneficially apportion it amongst his servants, wherever they may be, as a sort of pension. Is the clause mandatory ? Must these employees have choice themselves and cannot the clause be restricted to employees on the purchase estate? Can nothing be done now?.[24]

The claim of McKellar and Mitchell to preferential blocks was subsequently tested in the courts, but it was upheld. The expression of local indignation achieved nothing of substance.

Meanwhile, in Oamaru, the work of processing the applications of the "common herd" continued. The Otago Land Board met at the Court House from Tuesday February 4th until the

end of that week, interviewing each of the 847 applicants in order to establish their eligibility to enter the balloting. They proceeded alphabetically. On the second day of the interviews, the Oamaru Mail commented as follows :

> The corridors and precincts of the Court House were again crowded today with a throng of applicants, waiting their turn for examination by members of the Land Board as to their fitness to become lessees of the Otekaike sections, should they be lucky enough to draw one of the winning numbers. The work of examination proceeds slowly and, this afternoon, no progress had been made beyond the letter 'H'. This, notwithstanding that the Board had continued its sitting to a late hour last evening.[25]

An indication of how the applicants were spread across the three types of property is provided in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3 : Otekaike Settlement Applicants

PROPERTY TYPE	Number of Properties in the Ballot	Total Number of Applicants	Average Number of Applicants
Runs	4	252	63
Farms	33	564	17
Smallholding	6	31	5
TOTAL	43	847	85

Three of the seven runs were not included in the ballot-ing, since, as already mentioned, these had been allocated as preferential blocks. Of the other four runs, two were accessible only from the neighbouring Otiake locality, and this with some difficulty, so there were not many applicants for them. The strongest interest in the runs, in fact, was for the 4,500-acre

run 28D (Kenmore) for which there were 170 applicants.

One farm had already been allocated as a preferential block, and four others were combined into two. In relation to the remaining 33 farms in the ballot, a notable trend was that, on average, the number of applicants increased as the size and capital value of the farms increased.

The number of applicants for the smallholdings was small. Indeed, six of these sections failed to attract any applicants at all. It was felt that the sections were too small for farming and that, unless the lessees obtained work locally, the yearly rentals of between seven shillings and ten shillings per acre would be too high. It had been the government's intention that these sections would provide workingmen's homes, but there was no work available locally at that time.

While there was little interest in the smallholdings there was, as we have seen, substantial interest in the farms. This was the largest ballot ever held for settlement sections in North Otago.[26] According to the Oamaru Mail, the task of processing the applications was a time-consuming one:

> No stronger evidence of the weariness of the process of undergoing a short examination at the hands of the Land Board as to one's fitness to become the lessee of a section of land is required than that to be gleaned from the faces of those who daily invade the portals of the Court House, waiting their turn to be called. There is depicted a patience that would, indeed, do credit to Job and can only be accounted for by the fact that the element of expectancy quite outweighs all other considerations. The crowd is not confined to men, for there is a very large mingling of the gentler sex and these latter seem just as content to face the monotony of standing around to take their chances of a seat. Sleep, at times, overcomes the anxious applicants and a few hours may, thus, be beguiled in blissful ignorance.[27]

And then the waiting was over. On Friday February 7th, the ballot was held, and hopes were either dashed or realised according to the fall of a number. It is unfortunate that we know nothing at all about the unsuccessful candidates. The Land Board retained in its files the application forms only of those who were subsequently successful.[28] A comparison of the successful with the unsuccessful would no doubt have been extremely illuminating, but at least we have some information on the applicants who were successful.

THE SUCCESSFUL APPLICANTS

If the four men who received preferential sections are included, there were fifty-six successful applicants, forty-seven men and nine women.[29] The successful applicants ranged in age from 21-year-old Mary Fraser, a Kurow domestic and blacksmith's daughter, to 72-year-old James Earl, a Duntroon farmer. The average age of the men was thirty-five, and of the women thirty-eight.

Half of the successful applicants were from North Otago, of whom twenty-one were from the Waitaki Valley itself, between Kurow and the sea. This confirms the fact that there was considerable interest among the local population in obtaining land for settlement. The rest of the successful applicants came from Southland (three), South Otago (one), South Canterbury (nine), Mid-Canterbury (five), Christchurch (four) and North Canterbury (five). There was also an applicant from Masterton in the North Island. This was William Mitchell, who had been allocated a preferential block.

In terms of their backgrounds, fifty-two of the successful applicants were from rural and four from urban backgrounds. In spite of this, all of them claimed on their application forms to have had some prior farming experience. Thirty-seven of the men were in farm-related work when they lodged their applications and the largest groups among these were farm-hands (fifteen) and farmers (eleven).[30] Quite significantly, eleven of the farm-hands were single, and all of the farmers were married.[31] Nine of the farm-hands were from North Otago as were four of the farmers. Seven of the successful female applicants were also from North Otago.[32]

Ten of the male applicants were in non-farm-related occupations when they lodged their applications: two blacksmiths, a Christchurch businessman, a builder, a Cheviot storekeeper, a stock agent, a railway ganger, a surfaceman and two labourers.

The two crucial criteria for the Lands Board committee in screening applicants for land settlement sections were their declared assets and their ownership of other land. The applicant was required to have sufficient capital in order to "make a go of it" on the prospective property, but the applicant was also supposed to have no other landholding of any consequence. This second criterion was of some importance, since the settlement programme was intended to benefit the landless sector of the population.

Eleven of the successful applicants declared themselves to be farmers at the time of making their applications, and two of the women were wives of farmers. In spite of this, only six of these successful applicants declared themselves to have any land,

apart from leasehold or town land. Of these six, only three were farmers, and all six declared that the land that they held was insufficient for economic farming. Despite the fact, then, that so many of the applicants were farmers, it appears that Otekaike settlement did indeed benefit the landless.

ASSETS, OCCUPATIONS AND LAND

While the applicants may not have owned land prior to their entering the Otekaike ballot, they did at least have access to capital. Their declared assets ranged from 42 to 3,200 pounds, with the average being 568 pounds.[33] The applicant with the lowest assets was 32-year-old David Peevers, a Kurow farm-hand. Interestingly, the applicant with the highest assets, 24-year-old Hugh McKellar, also declared himself to be a labourer.[34] In addition to McKellar, there were seven other applicants with declared assets greater than 1,000 pounds.[35] David Peevers, however, was the only applicant with assets of less than 100 pounds.

In considering the declared assets of the women, it seems reasonable to suppose that they were applying on behalf of husbands or fathers and that, as such, their assets represented joint or family assets rather than individual assets of their own. Certainly, if one looks at the subsequent use that was made of the land drawn by these women, one sees that it was farmed by husbands, fathers or brothers. If the assets of these women are reallocated into the occupational groups that would best fit their husbands or fathers, the occupational distribution of assets among the applicants was as is shown in Table 9.4.[36] If

Hugh McKellar is taken out of the labouring group, then the average level of assets for labourers is reduced to 344 pounds.

Table 9.4 : Otekaike Settlement - Declared Assets of Successful Applicants

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	Number	Total Assets (Pounds)	Average Assets (Pounds)
Businessmen	12	7,954	663
Farmers	18	11,108	617
Labourers	22	10,478	476
TOTAL	52	29,540	568

The outcome of the balloting in terms of which occupational groups got which kind of property is shown in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5 : Otekaike Settlement - Distribution of Property Types between Occupational Categories

OCCUPATION	Run	Farm	Smallholding	TOTAL
Businessmen	2	7	5	14
Farmer	3	13	2	18
Labourer	2	17	5	24
TOTAL	7	37	12	56

The distribution of occupational categories between the three property types is very much as might have been expected except for the fact that five people in the "business" category drew smallholdings. Since the declared assets of all these

people were relatively low, we can conclude that they represented "small" business interests.

An interesting point to note from this table is the number of labourers who drew farms. The fact that three-quarters of them managed to secure farms would seem to suggest that the settlement of Otekaike Station was, indeed, successful in providing land for the landless, especially of the labouring class. Table 9.6 gives an indication of the relative quality of the properties that were drawn by these three occupational groups.

Table 9.6 : Otekaike Settlement - Capital Value of Properties Obtained by Occupational Categories

CAPITAL VALUE	Businessmen	Farmers	Labourers	TOTAL
Under 250 pounds	5	1	4	10
250 to 999 pounds	1	5	4	10
1000 to 1999 pounds	5	2	8	15
2000 to 2999 pounds	0	6	4	10
3000 to 8200 pounds	3	4	4	11
TOTAL	14	18	24	56

The even spread of the twenty-four labourers across these property categories further substantiates the earlier point insofar as this group was not bunched at the lower end of the capital value scale but was well represented over the full range.

Nevertheless, it was still the case that those with the greatest assets, whether businessmen, farmers or labourers, drew the best land. As was noted earlier, the range of the applicants' declared assets was from 42 pounds to 3,200 pounds,

and the overall average was 564 pounds. Similarly, we can note that the range in capital value of the available land was from 70 pounds to 8,200 pounds with the overall average being 1,900 pounds.

If we regroup the properties and the successful applicants around these mid-points, we end up with a distribution as shown in Table 9.7.

Table 9.7 : Otekaike Settlement - Declared Assets in Relation to Value of Land Drawn in Ballot

ASSETS OF APPLICANT	CAPITAL VALUE OF LAND		
	Below Average	Above Average	TOTAL
Below Average	28	8	36
Above Average	2	14	16
TOTAL	30	22	52

The pattern is a fairly predictable one. Those with below-average assets tended to get properties of below-average capital value, while those with above-average assets tended to get properties of above-average capital value.

The terms of the lease required the successful applicant to pay the half-year's rent for the section drawn. The average yearly rental for the runs was 262 pounds, while for the farms and smallholdings it was 84 pounds and 8 pounds respectively,[37] and this would obviously have been a contributing factor in producing the spread of applicants across the properties. Perhaps the impact of this should not be overemphasised given the relatively small number of runs. Nevertheless, it serves to

qualify remarks made earlier about members of the labouring class getting access to land through settlement schemes such as this. Where such men got access to good land, it was only because they already had accumulated or had access to enough capital to cover rental and running expenses. Unfortunately, we do not know how many of these labourers were, in fact, sons of farmers.

THE AFTERMATH

The implications of the outcome of the ballot were not lost on one correspondent who, immediately afterwards, wrote to the Oamaru Mail in the following terms :

> I think the greatest absurdity in connection with the land for settlement scheme, as instituted by the Liberal government of New Zealand, is the present farce entitled 'The Examination of Applicants as to their Financial Position' before allowing them the privilege of the ballot. I think that the Land for Settlement scheme was devised by its promoters to enable the poor man, the working man, the landless man to obtain a section irrespective of what capital he may be possessed of. No man would be foolish enough to seek land if he had not, beforehand, made preparations to finance his holding in the event of his being fortunate enough to draw it. So sir, I trust (and many more trust) that, insofar as finance matters are concerned, it will be abolished from the examination altogether.[38]

This was not the only critical comment to appear in the newspapers after the balloting was over. On February 11th an opinion was expressed in the Otago Daily Times by unsuccessful applicants from Alexandra that "the rent of most of the sections at Otekaike is out of proportion to the value". To this, the Oamaru Mail replied that such critical comments obviously came from strangers to the district who did not appreciate the potential of the land and who had been misled by the recent two-

year period of drought - "of more than ordinary severity". They concluded that the history of the Otekaike estate showed that such negative comments were in error, for the overall productivity of the property had been excellent in the past. Proof of this was to be found, they claimed, in the "avidity" with which applications had been made for sections.[39] The record number of applications also vindicated the feasibility of the leasehold system even where, as in the case of Otekaike, the leases were of relatively short duration (33 years) with right of renewal. This point was further emphasised in subsequent editorials:

> The Otekaike settlement is being referred to as the most startling proof of the popularity of the leasehold system, even when the term is comparatively short and it contains the principle of periodic revaluation. The crowd of applicants for sections at Otekaike, the long distances travelled by large numbers of them and the anxiety displayed during a whole week of examinations and the ballot, would suffice as evidence that leasehold is a most popular tenure, but the feverish rush for Otekaike is nothing new. Ever since the initiation of the Land Settlement Scheme in 1874, the ballot has attracted crowds. Fifty times the amount of land would have found enthusiastic applicants.[40]

The clearing sale of stock and furniture from the homestead ran for three days from March 3rd, and much of the stock was bought by the settler-farmers who had been successful in the ballot. These settlers must have looked to the future with some degree of anticipation and hope, and the feeling was shared in no small measure by the editorial writers of the Oamaru Mail. On March 3rd they wrote as follows:

> The rapid, unqualified transformation of Otekaike is now in progress. As a property of great circumstance, its glory is passing away and is dissolving into modest acres on which numerous cottages will take the place of a mansion and people will not be so hard to find. ... It goes without saying that the Otekaike country, under the new conditions, will be much more productive than ever and that the sum total of its produce, when the new settlers have got shaken into their places, will show a marvellous development to the advantage of all.[41].

This last statement was one of faith that had still to be tested. Nevertheless, as the drought persisted, the Oamaru Mail continued to hold a favourable view of what the future had in store:

> The new Otekaike settlers are losing no time in getting their farms in order and, already, quite a transformation has taken place on the estate. Boundary and division fences are everywhere being erected and, in some instances, the timber is already on the ground for building purposes. Hills and dales that hitherto have never been dominated by a ploughshare have been turned over. What was once purely grazing country will soon be green with crop. There is all over the estate an abundance of feed which cannot but be gratifying to the settlers.[42]

On April 15th 1908 representations were made by the settlers to the Minister of Education to have a school established at Otekaike. This was eventually opened on September 7th 1908, and by the end of that year twenty-three children were in attendance. A new course had therefore been charted for Otekaike, but it remained to be seen what the future would bring and whether optimism would be vindicated.

In fact, the Oamaru Mail's favourable prognosis was not borne out by events in the early years of the settlement. With the benefit of hindsight, it was generally acknowledged that the

government had made two major mistakes in settling the Otekaike estate. In the first place, by attempting to settle as many people as possible, they made the size of the properties too small. Secondly, in setting capital values and rents for the properties, the government assessors had taken insufficient account of the vagaries of the district's climate. The North Otago historian, G.B. Stevenson, commented on this as follows :

> The land was generally good, but the best of land will only produce what the climate will allow, and a combination of low rainfall and smallholdings with a high rent creates a ceaseless struggle for the farmers which steadily becomes worse. Much of the Otekaike settlement lies exposed to the full force of the norwesters that sweep down the Waitaki Valley.[43]

The early years of the settlement were not helped by the fact that the drought conditions persisted for another two or three years. Stevenson cites the instance of one settler who sowed fifty bags of wheat in that first season and subsequently harvested five bags of "shrivelled fowl feed".

Drought was not the only problem that confronted the settlers; they also had to contend with rabbits. One of the original settlers remembered the extent of the problem in those early days :

> When we took up the sections they were overrun with rabbits. It appears that the station owner put off the rabbiters when the place was sold. The rabbits didn't know what a gun or dog was. My brother and I shot ninety-six and skinned them in two hours. I shot thirteen without moving from one spot.[44]

The difficulties of these early years were made worse for some by the fact that under the conditions of the lease, the first settlers were not allowed to transfer their title for five

years. Those initial five years ended in 1913, and almost immediately settlers began selling up and moving from the district. As Table 9.8 shows, by the end of 1919, there had been a substantial turnover of these original settlers. All of these properties, with the exception of three farms and three small-holdings, were transferred to non-relatives, i.e., they were not retained within the families of these original settlers.

Table 9.8 : Otekaike Settlement - Number of Property Transfers by Original Settlers 1913-1919

YEAR	Runs	Farms	Small-holdings	Total	Total Acreage
1913	2	3	1	6	13,036
1914	2	2	2	6	18,430
1915	0	2	0	2	395
1916	1	0	0	1	4,627
1917	0	1	0	1	382
1918	1	1	0	2	2,450
1919	0	4	0	4	1,719
TOTAL	6	13	3	22	41,039

These figures show that by the end of 1919 there had been a turn-over of 60% of the original settlers, with the greatest movement being among the runholders and farmers. Perhaps more significantly, however, we can note that during the period between 1913 and 1919, 92% of the land changed hands and that most of this change took place during the two years 1913 and 1914.

Overall, only six of the title changes during this seven-year period involved titles being transferred or transmitted to

family members, but about 65% of the total transfers were to people from within the Kurow, Duntroon or Omarama districts. Coincidentally, the sub-divisions of Benmore Station (1916) and Omarama Stations (1918) occurred at a time when many of the Otekaike settlers wanted to sell up, and some shepherds who lost jobs in the Upper Waitaki as a result of these sub-divisions, and who had not been able to secure land in the subsequent ballots, were able to take over properties in Otekaike.

The disposal of the remaining original landholdings in the settlement took place as shown in Table 9.9.

Table 9.9 : Otekaike Settlement - Number of Property Transfers by Original Settlers 1920s-1950s

DECADE	Runs	Farms	Small-holdings	Total	Total Acreage
1920s	1	6	5	12	2,664
1930s	0	1	0	1	181
1940s	0	0	1	1	16
1950s	0	3	1	4	956
TOTAL	1	10	7	18	3,818

The average length of time for which the runs were held by the original settlers was eight years, while for the farms and smallholdings it was fifteen and sixteen years respectively. The average length of time for which business-settlers, farmer-settlers and labourer-settlers held their properties was six, fifteen and sixteen years respectively.[45]

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT

In subdividing Otekaike estate, the Liberal Government intended not only to to open up land for closer settlement and thus give more people access to land, but also to ensure that that land would be farmed more productively than it had been previously. They tried to achieve this latter intention in two main ways. In the first place, through the auspices of the Land Board examination committee, they tried to ensure that prospective settlers had sufficient capital to sustain their subsequent farming activities. Applicants who could not meet this criterion were declared ineligible to enter the ballot. In addition to this, under the conditions of the settlement lease system - the Renewable Lease of Farm Land - the Government attempted to ensure that adequate standards of husbandry and stewardship of the land were adhered to. These lease conditions not only stipulated in a detailed way the improvements and weed control the settler had to effect on the property, but they also regulated significant aspects of the settler's farming practice.[46]

At first sight, this appears to be a remarkable instance of state involvement at the local level. In effect, however, these regulations were not strictly enforced, and, as a result, much of this land was severely overcropped during these early years. In some instances, informants reported that successive crops of wheat were taken from the same land for as many as sixteen years in a row, and this resulted in harvests that were as low as sixteen bushels to the acre. This obviously had an extremely adverse effect on the soil.

In those early days after initial settlement, most of the farms were operated as mixed sheep-and-cropping units. On an average small farm of 150 acres, twenty acres would be given over to growing rape, twenty acres to oats, twenty acres to greenfeed, thirty acres to wheat, and the rest used for grazing sheep. The rape and greenfeed would be used as winter feed for the sheep. Most of the oats would be used to feed the horses, but some might also be sold as a cash crop. The main cash crop, however, was wheat.

There had been some share-cropping on the pre-settlement Otekaike estate by neighbouring farmers from the Otiake locality. Unfortunately, however, we know nothing about the productivity of the estate during this period or after the settlement. The only indicator of productivity of these farms comes from sheep numbers (see Figure 4 in Appendix 3).

These figures show that the expected increase in productivity after settlement did not occur for some time. From a peak figure of 36,000 sheep in 1891, Robert Campbell and Sons Limited had reduced their Otekaike stock to 20,000 sheep by 1898. When agreement was reached to sell the property in 1905, they were running just over 26,000 sheep on the estate. The increase to just under 30,000 sheep by 1907 was clearly a result of preparations being made for the clearing sale of 1908. Viewed against this background of pre-1905 sheep numbers, however, the subsequent performance of settlers on the runs and farms is not remarkable.

Campbell's average flock size between 1890 and 1905 was approximately 28,500 sheep, a figure that was not matched by the

combined flocks of the settlers until 1928. Furthermore, it is clear from the separate run and farm figures that the increase in sheep numbers subsequent to 1928 reflected the fact that increased stock was being carried on the farms. Stevenson maintains that this was a necessary reaction to the economic realities of high rents and interest payments. He commented:

> In order to pay the high rents and interests, the settlers were compelled to retain more sheep than the land would carry in bad seasons, in other words, they had to take a chance and overstock. The result was that the native grasses and tussocks which protected them were destroyed.[47]

Stevenson claimed that long train-loads of starving sheep left the locality for pastures in the south during the early 1930s and that train-loads of turnips were hauled in to feed the stock that remained.[48]

At the Otekaike school's 75th jubilee in October 1983, only one of these properties still remained in the hands of an original settler-family. Farming the property that his father originally drew in 1908, Clem Williams provided an important link back into the history of the settlement of the Otekaike estate. As a single man, however, Clem had no obvious family heirs to carry that link on into the future. When he retires, another era in Otekaike's history will have come to an end.

Coming, as it did, towards the end of the Liberal government's programme of land reform, the settlement of Otekaike reflected in some part the outcome of a patterning of intention and purpose that had already been well established. It could be said that there was a degree of inevitability to the sub-division

of the Otekaike estate. Trends elsewhere in the region, as well as throughout the nation, pointed to the necessity for such a course to be taken. Nevertheless, the nature of the government's role in the process remains an unresolved issue. At the national level, as much as at the local, it is not clear whether the Liberal Government played a determinant role in initiating the process of land-reform or whether it merely acted in concert with forces already under way. At the local level, the demand for land led to grass-roots pressure for sub-division that was vocal and insistent, but in itself this had never been a necessary guarantee of success.

In order to appreciate fully the context within which the Liberal Government operated, we need to view this local situation against the national, and indeed, international context of a changing economic order, technological innovation in the frozen-meat trade and the changing balance of political power within the New Zealand electorate. All of these factors had a bearing on the changing nature of the patterning of the ownership and use of rural land in New Zealand, and they helped to shape the destiny of the Otekaike locality.

The intention of the settlement was to break a local instance of landed monopoly, provide land for the landless and thus establish a new basis for community formation. As we have seen however, the "landless" settlers who initially benefitted from the settlement were necessarily people who already had access to capital but who did not remain on their properties long enough to contribute substantially to the process of community formation.

FOOTNOTES :

1. This chapter has been adapted from Hall (1985a). Material on the Williams family has been taken from notes and unpublished typescripts prepared by James Williams and his son Clem.

2. See J.B. Condliffe (1959:233).

3. See W.H. Oliver (1960:144) and W.B. Sutch (1969:142-4).

4. For a full and comprehensive discussion of this see J.S. Duncan (1962) and J.D. Gould (1965 and 1970).

5. Selected abstracts from the Oamaru Mail of 1905 give an indication of the "squirely role" which the Campbells were still fulfilling prior to the break-up of the estate. For instance, a ball was hosted in February for the estate's employees and their friends. A similar function was hosted in July for the Waitaki Hunt Club, when a "substantial lunch was provided to which, needless to say, all did justice" (July 25th). In the midst of this entertainment, the "common people" were not overlooked. A picnic was held for "the residents of Duntroon, Otiake and Kurow" on December 23rd.

6. See The Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, (AJHR) C-8, 1889, pages 1-5.

7. At this point in time, Otekaike Station comprised 17,805 acres of freehold land and 36,731 acres of leasehold land. Of this leasehold land, 31,880 acres were held in two Crown pastoral leases, 1,473 acres were education-reserve land, 2,009 acres were hospital-reserve land, and 1,369 acres were Oamaru Municipal Endowment land.

8. This was consistent with a statement that Seddon, the Premier, made in the House on 4 October 1904 (see Parliamentary Debates, 1904, 130, p 663). It is not clear, however, which of the two parties initiated the discussion.

9. Oamaru Mail, 13 May, 1905.

10. Oamaru Mail, 30 September 1905.

11. Oamaru Mail, 13 October 1905.

12. It is not without significance, of course, that the Oamaru Mail itself was a strong advocate of land settlement in North Otago. For a more general discussion of the urban location of such regional pressure, see D.A. Hamer (1979).

13. By the end of 1908, the Liberals had acquired 115,877 acres of land for settlement in North Otago. They paid a total of 791,023 pounds for this land. (See AJHR, 1912, C-5A).

14. Oamaru Mail, 4 December 1905.

15. Ibid.

16. A correspondent to the Oamaru Mail wrote on December 1st 1905 from Central Otago: "We recognise that the compulsory taking of land is likely to go to the wall if Mr. Massey assumes the reins of office and there are large numbers of landless young people who will not vote to jeopardise John McKenzie's land policy".

17. In order to make six of the runs more manageable, each was linked with a farm block. This, plus the fact that four of the other farms were amalgamated into two, reduced the number of farms that were available for settlement.

18. The quotation is taken from the information map produced by the Otago Lands Board for Otekaike settlement.

19. See AJHR, 1908, E-1, p xxxvii. The school is still in operation as Campbell Park School and operates to house, educate and train delinquent boys. The original Campbell homestead is now an earthquake risk, however, and has not been in use for some time.

20. The relevant section in the Act reads as follows : "Before any land acquired under the principal act is opened for public selection, the Board may, with the approval of the Minister, grant a renewable lease of any allotment thereof, without competition, to any person who has been employed by the late owner thereof for at least five years immediately preceding its acquisition, and who, by such acquisition, is deprived of his employment ..."

21. The area of land that was actually settled totalled 48,965 acres. Of this, 19,049 acres were allocated in preferential sections. Jardine was allocated 11,500 acres of pastoral land and 864 acres of agricultural land. McKellar was allocated 3,100 acres of pastoral land and 813 acres of agricultural land. Mitchell was allocated 1,700 acres of pastoral land and 667 acres of agricultural land and Dineen was allocated 105 acres of agricultural land. Dineen appears to have been more interested in dealing in cattle than in raising sheep, which presumably was why he chose a smaller farm. The annual rentals on these four properties were 676 pounds, 160 pounds, 184 pounds and 42 pounds respectively.

22. Oamaru Mail, 4 February 1908.

23. Ibid.

24. Oamaru Mail, 5 February 1908.

25. Ibid.

26. Proportionately, however, applications for the sections in the Corriedale Settlement in North Otago in 1907 exceeded those at Otekaike. There were 629 applicants there for 18 sections.

27. Oamaru Mail, 5 February 1908.

28. These application forms for Otekaike Settlement, and for other Otago land settlements, are to be found in the Hocken Library, Dunedin.

29. Since disbursement of the land in such settlements was by ballot, it was quite common for different family members to enter the balloting for separate sections. Indeed, at times, different family members would enter the ballot for the same section and use the same deposit. As long as wives, sons and daughters were able to provide the necessary deposit and satisfy the Land Board committee as to their suitability as candidates for the ballot, they were eligible to be considered as applicants. One of the women was a widow while six were married and two were single.

30. There were also two sheep station managers, three farm contractors, two share-croppers, one shepherd, one ploughman and a groom.

31. This high correlation between occupation and marital status in the rural context is further highlighted by the fact that one of the sheep-station managers, two of the contractors, one of the share-croppers as well as the shepherd, the two ploughmen and the groom were also single. Quite a few of these men got married relatively soon after taking up their Otekaike land.

32. The occupations of the husbands of the six married female applicants were as follows : a Lyttleton railway shunter, a Kurow blacksmith, a Gore farmer, a Duntroon draper, an Oamaru dairy farmer, and a Ngapara mill owner. The widow's husband had been a publican in Duntroon, and the fathers of the two single females were a blacksmith and a farmer respectively.

33. Four of the applicants provided no details whatsoever of their assets. Two of these were farm labourers and the other two were women - the draper's wife and the publican's widow.

34. McKellar's assets were atypically high for a labourer. He was undoubtedly a relative of a former manager of Otekaike Station.

35. These were the wife of a Gore farmer, a Pleasant Point stock agent, the wife of a Ngapara mill owner, a Christchurch businessman, a Masterton station manager (William Mitchell), and a Cheviot storekeeper.

36. These occupational groups were made up in the following way. The "businessman" group comprised a businessman, a builder, a storekeeper, a stock agent, two blacksmiths, a mill owner, a draper, a publican and three farm contractors. The "farmer" group comprised twelve farmers, two dairy farmers, two sheep station managers and two croppers. The "labourer" group comprised a shepherd, a ploughman, a groom, a road surfaceman, two railway labourers and fifteen farm-hands.

37. One of the run rentals, that of Run 28E was atypically high at 676 pounds per annum. The range in the annual rentals for the other six runs was from 90 pounds to 284 pounds with an average of 194 pounds.

38. Oamaru Mail, 11 February 1908.

39. Oamaru Mail, 10 February 1908.

40. Oamaru Mail, 12 February 1908.

41. Oamaru Mail, 3 March 1908.

42. Oamaru Mail, 27 April 1908.

43. Stevenson, op. cit., page 8.

44. Taken from an unpublished typescript written by James C. Williams in 1957 when he was 81.

45. In the mid-1970s, almost all of the properties in the locality were freeholded. This was not coincidental. When the term of the first leases had expired in 1941, times were hard and the rents had to be reduced. Four farmers walked off their properties subsequent to this and the farms in question lay unoccupied for a few years before tenants were found for them. These rents remained in effect throughout the thirty-three year term of the second generation of leases and, in anticipation of sizeable increases in rent from the mid-1970s when the leases were due for review, most of the local farmers took up the option of freeholding their land under the Deferred Payment License system.

46. The following conditions of lease appeared on the settlement certificates of title: "The Lessee will not take more than three crops, one of which must be a root crop, from the same land in succession; and will either with or immediately after a third crop of kind sow the land down with good permanent cultivated grasses and clovers and allow the land to remain as pasture for at least three years from the harvesting of the last crop before being again cropped. The Lessee will at all times during the said term so farm the demised land, if the area of the whole exceeds twenty acres, as that not less than one-half of the total area shall be maintained in permanent pasture. The Lessee will not cut the cultivated grass or clovers for hay or seed during the first year from the time of sowing as aforesaid, nor at any time remove from the demised land or burn any straw grown thereon" (lease conditions 5, 6 and 7).

47. Stevenson, undated typescript, page 8.

48. Where productivity has increased in the locality, it has been in the years after 1952. As we shall see in a later chapter, a number of factors contributed to this. First and foremost

was the establishment of a Rabbit Board in the locality in 1948. Bringing rabbits under control was a significant factor in laying a foundation for restoring the sadly depleted soil fertility. Top-dressing could now be effective where before, its value was nullified by the rabbit-pest. High wool prices in the early fifties provided farmers with capital for development and also encouraged them to switch from cropping to concentrate more fully on intensive sheep farming. The beginnings of irrigation in the locality from the early fifties also helped to improve the productivity of farms on the flat land. In recent years, the availability of electric fencing has allowed local farmers to make more effective use of their pastures by rotational grazing. The cumulative effect of all of these factors has been to increase the carrying capacity of these properties considerably. Where in 1952 they were running a combined total of 28,500 sheep between them, in 1982 that figure would have been closer to 60,000 sheep.

CHAPTER TEN

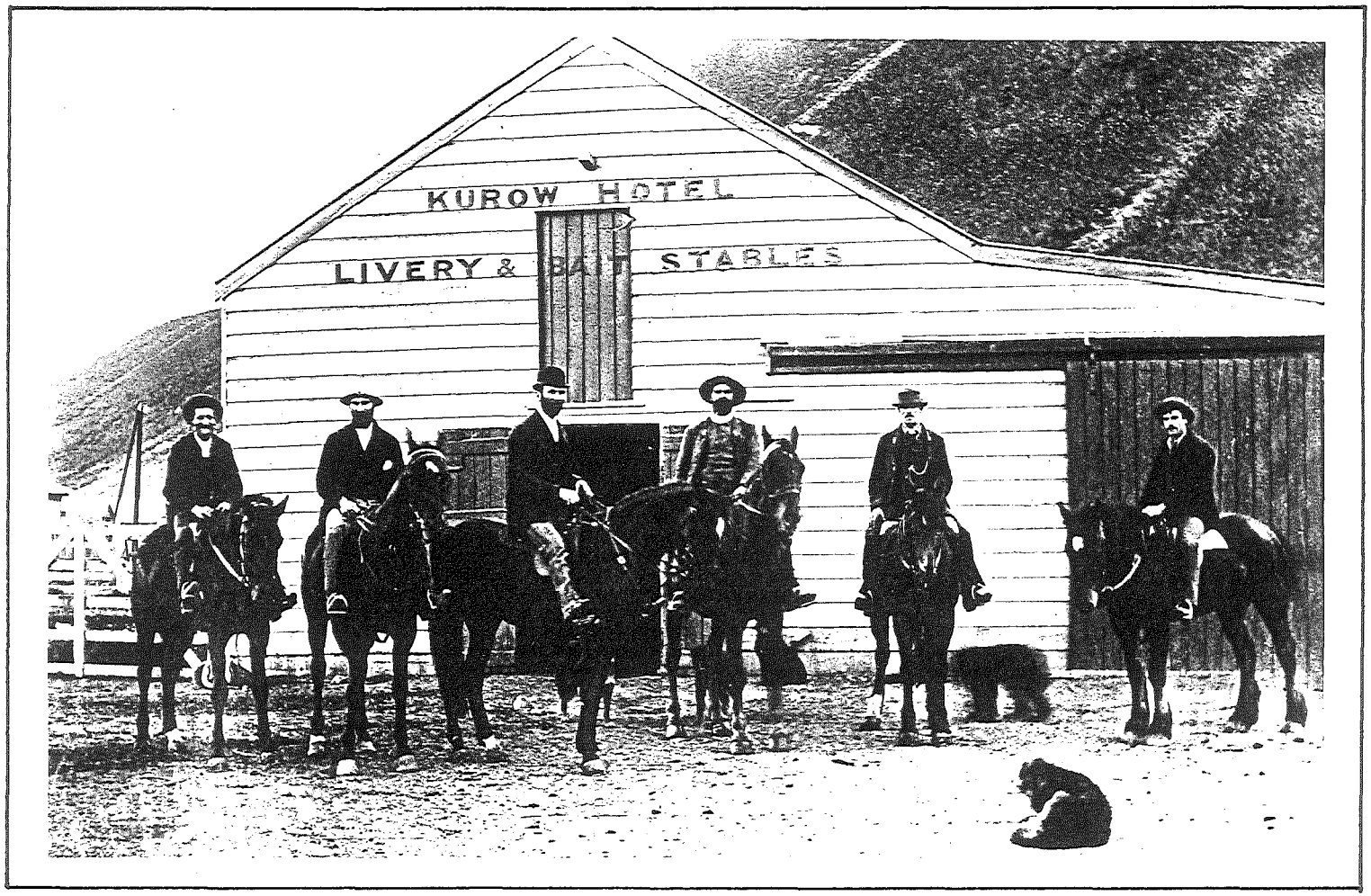
THE MIDDLE YEARS

1920 to 1950

INTRODUCTION

On January 25th, 1932, Thomas Alexander Munro was attending a luncheon at the Kurow school's 50th jubilee celebrations when he fell ill and had to leave. Later that day he died, aged 64. He had been born at Rugged Ridges in 1867, one of nine sons and two daughters of William Grant Munro and Louisa Lavannah Munro, proprietors of the Otematata accommodation house.[1] Thomas Munro's first job was driving the mail coach between Kurow and Omarama for William Goddard, the Kurow Hotel proprietor. When Goddard sold the hotel and its livery stables in 1890, Munro continued to work for the new owner, Bernard Delargy. In 1892, Munro married Janet Thiele, daughter of a Kurow storekeeper and in 1895 he took over proprietorship of the hotel and livery stables from Delargy.[2] He leased out the hotel shortly afterwards but retained the livery stables and extended his business interests into sheep farming. On April 29th, 1904, in partnership with his brother Herbert Munro, he took up the lease of the 8,510 acre Sunny Peaks run behind Kurow and on July 11th, 1908, his wife Janet took over the lease of the 1,970 acre Kurow Hill run.[3] Both properties were run together, and by 1910 they shared a combined flock of 2,700 sheep.[4]

T.A. Munro had been active in local and regional public life for a number of years prior to his death and the obituaries and appreciations that appeared in a variety of Otago newspapers after his death bore testimony to this.[5] He had been a Mason, a member of the Kurow Presbyterian Church session and a member of the Kurow School committee. He had also served on a variety of other local committees and in 1919 had been chairman of the Kurow



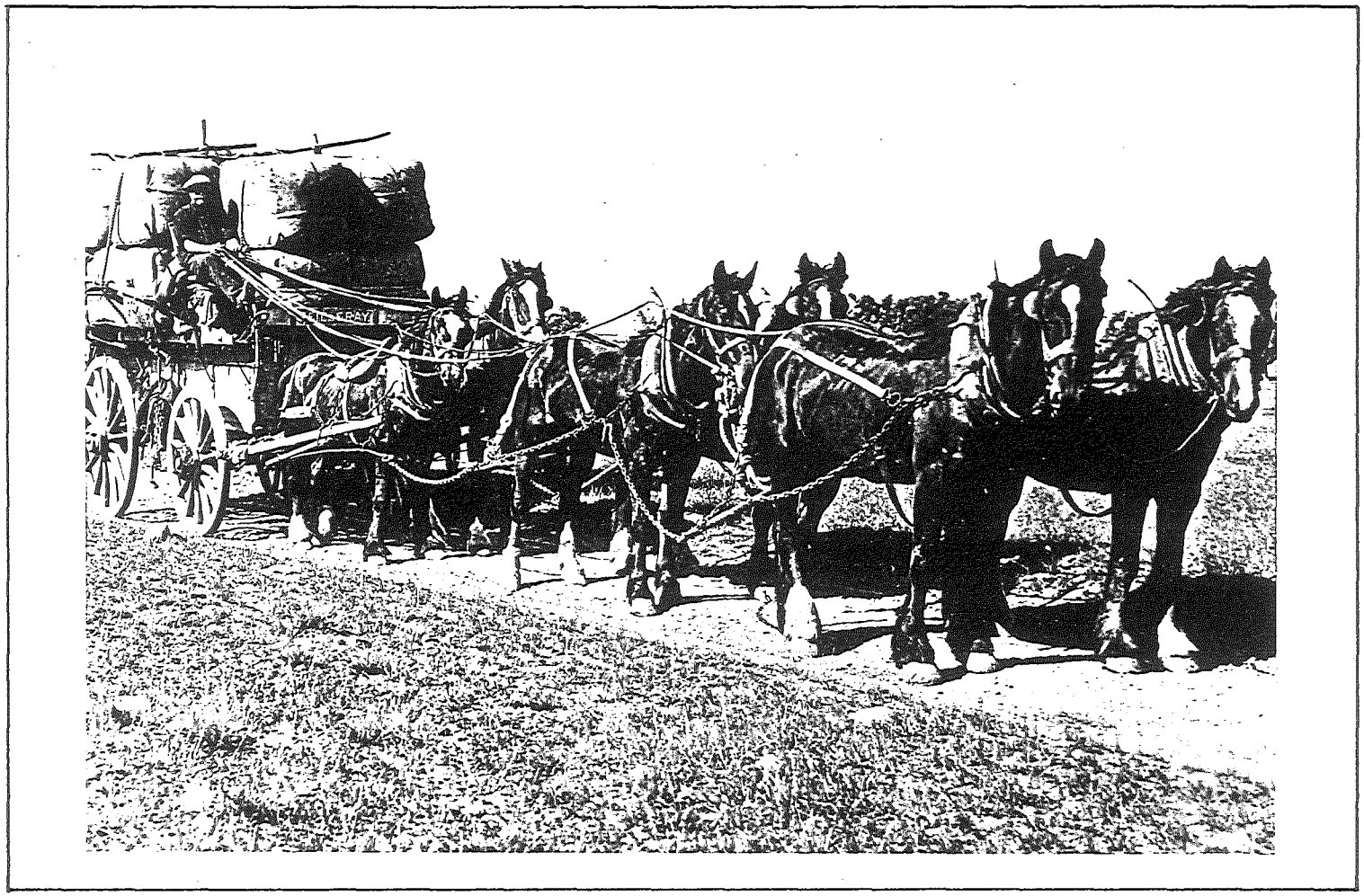
[Fred Chase]

Kurow Hotel Livery Stables, Circa 1898
From Left: J. Ward, T.A. Munro, H.J.B. Munro, W. Munro and Cameron brothers

Peace Celebrations Committee. He had been chairman of the Kurow Domain Board and President of the Kurow Jockey Club. He had also served on the Otago Land Board. He had been a member and chairman of the Waitaki County Council.[6] He had also been a member of the Waitaki Hospital Board, the Oamaru Harbour Board, the Waitaki Electric Power Board, the North Otago Soldiers Aid Association, the Oamaru Jockey Club and the Oamaru Trotting Club. He had also been a justice of the peace. In the 1920s he was instrumental in having a loan raised for the improvement of roads in the Kurow district and at the time of his death was engaged in a proposal to have a water supply provided for Kurow Township. Together with another locally prominent farmer, Archie McInnes of Otiake, he was also responsible for getting the maternity hospital established in Kurow in 1926.

In addition to his sheep farming and civic activities, Munro also had business interests in the district. In July of 1920 a public company - the Kurow Motor Garage and Service Company Limited - was formed to buy his livery stables business, and Munro was subsequently appointed chairman of the company.[7] He sold the business for 2,000 pounds and the deal included a Packard lorry, a Buick mail car, a wagon and six-horse team with fittings and the lease on the livery stable premises.[8] One of the first actions of the provisional board of directors was to purchase two additional four-ton Leyland lorries from the Mount Cook Motor Company.

The change in 1920 from livery stables to Motor Company denoted the formal transition in the district from horse transport to motorised transport,[9] but horses were still very



[Kurow Museum]

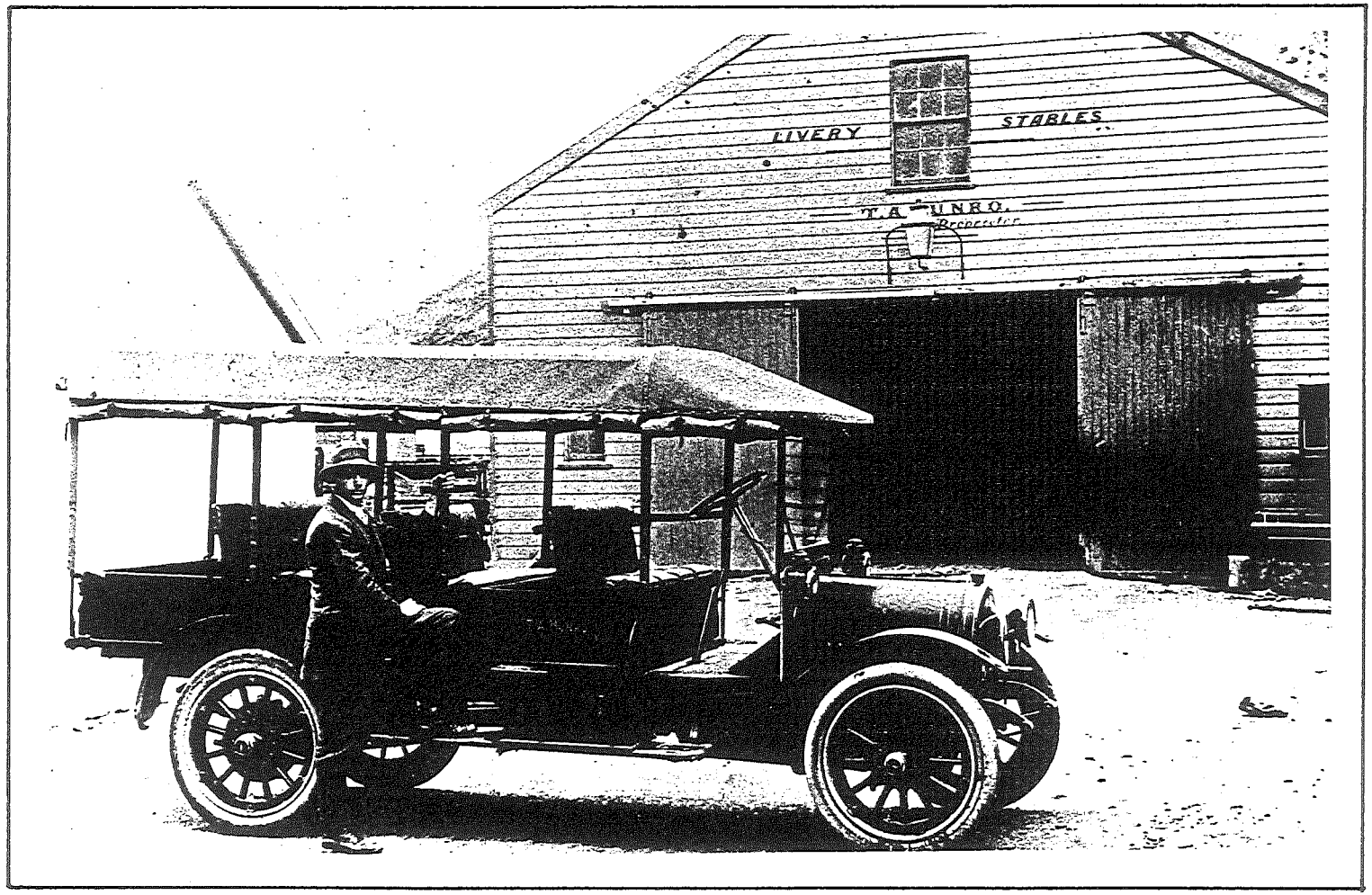
Horse Team in Kurow
Circa 1915

much in use on the farms. Indeed, the last horse team in the district was reputed to have continued working until 1948.[10] The thirty years, from 1920 to 1950, form the subject matter of these next two chapters.

POPULATION STRUCTURE

At the 1921 census, the population of the settled localities in the Kurow district totalled 1,193 people. This was just over a hundred more than at the 1906 census. By the 1936 census, the population had increased to 1,289 people, then fell slightly to 1,236 people in 1951. A difference of 43 people over thirty years indicates relative stability in population size but these census figures do not reveal the massive upheaval that took place in the district between 1928 and 1934, when the Waitaki Dam was being built upriver from Kurow. At its height, the dam project employed just over a thousand men and, with the addition of women and children, this represented a sizeable increase in the district's population. Work had not begun on the dam when the census was taken in 1926, there was no census in 1931 because of the depression, and by the 1936 census, construction work on the dam had been completed. The impact of the hydro project on the district will be discussed later in the chapter.

Table 10.1 provides information on the number of people living in the district's settled localities and in the hydro settlement of Lake Waitaki from 1921 to 1951.[11]



[Kurow Museum]

T.A. Munro's Buick Mail Bus
Arthur Munro (son) at Running Board, Circa 1914

Table 10.1 : Population of District Settled Localities and Lake Waitaki Hydro, 1921 to 1951

CENSUS YEAR	Settled Localities	Lake Waitaki
1921	1,193	0
1926	1,224	0
1936	1,289	351
1945	1,198	111
1951	1,236	329

Source : New Zealand Census

From the household reconstructions that were carried out as part of this study, the equivalent figures for the settled localities in 1920, 1935 and 1950 were 1,074, 1,160 and 1,174 people respectively.[12] The distribution of this population by localities is shown in Tables 10.2a and 10.2b overleaf. Hakataramea Township remained virtually unchanged during this period, but Kurow Township underwent significant growth.[13] The population of the township increased by 126 during the thirty years (+68%), and the number of households increased by 35 (+71%). The bulk of this increase took place between 1935 and 1950. Between 1905 and 1935 the number of households in the township had only risen from 46 to 58 but in the next fifteen years, this figure had almost doubled. Much of this increase resulted from the economic expansion brought about by hydro-electric developments further upriver.[14] After the Waitaki Dam had been completed in 1934, an operational crew was retained at Lake Waitaki to oversee the functioning of the project's two 15,000 kilowatt generators. A third generator was added in 1940,

Table 10.2a : Numbers of Households and Population by Locality, 1920, 1935 and 1950

	Adults			Children			Total Popn.			Households		
LOCALITIES	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
Kurow Township	126	159	179	60	69	133	186	228	312	49	58	84
Kurow Vicinity	35	12	31	9	6	17	44	18	48	11	9	13
Paddys Flat	76	74	57	50	35	29	126	109	86	31	26	25
Otiake	72	92	64	35	32	42	107	124	106	23	24	23
Otekaike	122	129	102	66	49	52	188	178	154	43	40	43
Wharekuri	54	31	25	33	8	6	87	39	31	16	11	10
NTH OTAGO	485	497	458	253	199	279	738	696	737	173	168	198
Haka Township	72	73	70	36	56	40	98	129	110	26	25	28
Mount Parker	29	43	31	14	13	21	43	56	52	10	12	12
Waitangi	7	8	9	0	2	2	7	10	11	2	3	3
Haka Valley	103	133	124	44	72	56	147	205	180	34	41	50
Cattle Creek	20	47	52	31	17	32	41	64	84	8	14	21
STH CANTERBURY	231	304	286	125	160	151	336	464	437	80	95	114
TOTAL	716	801	744	358	359	430	1074	1160	1174	253	263	312

Table 10.2b : Proportions of Households and Population by Locality, 1920, 1935 and 1950

	Adults			Children			Total Popn.			Households		
LOCALITIES	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
Kurow Township	18%	20%	24%	17%	19%	31%	17%	20%	27%	19%	22%	27%
Kurow Vicinity	5%	2%	4%	3%	2%	4%	4%	2%	4%	4%	3%	4%
Paddys Flat	11%	9%	8%	14%	10%	7%	12%	9%	7%	12%	10%	8%
Otiake	10%	12%	9%	10%	9%	10%	10%	11%	9%	9%	9%	7%
Otekaike	17%	16%	14%	18%	14%	12%	18%	15%	13%	17%	15%	14%
Wharekuri	8%	4%	3%	9%	2%	1%	8%	3%	3%	6%	4%	3%
NTH OTAGO	68%	62%	62%	65%	55%	65%	69%	60%	63%	68%	64%	64%
Haka Township	10%	9%	9%	10%	16%	9%	9%	11%	9%	11%	10%	9%
Mount Parker	4%	5%	4%	4%	4%	5%	4%	5%	4%	4%	5%	4%
Waitangi	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Haka Valley	14%	17%	17%	12%	20%	13%	14%	18%	15%	14%	16%	16%
Cattle Creek	3%	6%	7%	9%	5%	7%	4%	6%	7%	3%	5%	7%
STH CANTERBURY	32%	38%	38%	35%	45%	35%	31%	40%	37%	32%	36%	36%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

a fourth in 1941 and a fifth in 1949, bringing the station to a capacity of 76,000 kilowatts. Sixth and seventh turbines were added in 1954. Kurow was the railhead for this work, and this brought additional jobs, particularly in the transport sector.

Despite these increases in Kurow Township, there was a slight shift in population during the period in favour of the South Canterbury sector of the district. Between 1920 and 1950 the proportion of district population living in South Canterbury increased by 6% and the proportion of households increased by 4%. The aggregation of landholdings in some North Otago localities contributed to this - particularly Wharekuri and Paddy's Flat - and an expansion in settlement in some South Canterbury localities - particularly Hakataramea Valley and Cattle Creek. The populations of Paddy's Flat and Wharekuri dropped 30% and 64% respectively during this period, while the populations of Hakataramea Valley and Cattle Creek increased by 22% and 105% respectively.

While the number of households in the district increased from 253 to 312 between 1920 and 1950 (23%), there was a decrease in the average size of households from 4.2 people in 1920 to 3.8 people in 1950. As a result of this, the ratio of adults to children in the population dropped slightly from 1:2 in 1920 to 1:1.7 in 1950.[15] The average size of households was consistently higher in the rural localities than in the townships until 1935, but in 1950 the sizes were identical.[16] This would have been the result of younger families settling in an expanding Kurow Township and a decreasing number of rural households with domestics or farm workers attached.

The marital and age status of the males and females in these populations is shown in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3 : Marital and Age Status, 1920, 1935 and 1950

	Males			Females			TOTAL		
CATEGORIES	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
Married	208	221	269	207	221	264	415	442	533
Widowed	10	10	13	13	23	20	23	33	33
Separated	1	1	1	0	1	3	1	2	4
Single	165	198	108	112	126	66	277	324	174
ADULTS	384	430	391	332	371	353	716	801	744
School	125	136	145	122	126	127	247	262	272
Pre-school	61	55	75	50	42	83	111	97	158
CHILDREN	186	191	220	172	168	210	358	359	430
TOTAL	570	621	611	504	539	563	1074	1160	1174

The number of children in the district increased by 20% during the period. In line with the increase in the number of households between 1920 and 1950, the number of married people also increased - from 415 (37%) to 533 (45%). The numbers of married males and females did not match exactly at each date because some married people were living on their own. The number of single adults showed interesting variations between 1920 and 1950. In 1920 they numbered 277 and this increased to 324 by 1935. Much of this increase would have been due to a residue of workers remaining in the district after the hydro construction project finished. Between 1935 and 1950, however, there was a drastic decrease in the number of single adults - from 324 to 174

- and this decrease affected females as much as males. This decrease undoubtedly reflected declining employment opportunities in the rural sector after the second world war. Many single people had left the district for war service and had not returned and, with the turnover in farmers due to post-war rehabilitation settlement, many properties that had previously employed permanent labour ceased to. These factors led to a reduction in the number of single farm workers in the district and also made it less feasible for young people, females as well as males, to remain in the district.

It will be seen from Table 10.4 that the proportions of males and females in the population remained fairly constant during this period, thus confirming the fact that by 1920 the district had passed through its pioneering stage to a measure of population stability.

Table 10.4 : Proportions of Males and Females 1920, 1935 and 1950

	Adults			Children			TOTAL		
SEX	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
Male	54%	54%	53%	52%	53%	51%	53%	54%	52%
Female	46%	46%	47%	48%	47%	49%	47%	46%	48%
NUMBER	716	801	744	358	359	430	1074	1160	1174

Table 10.5 provides information on the types of households in the district in 1920, 1935 and 1950.

Table 10.5 : Types of Households 1920, 1935 and 1950

HOUSEHOLD CATEGORY	Number of Households '20	'35	'50	Proportion of Households '20	'35	'50
Nuclear Family	151	154	190	60%	59%	61%
Conjugal - Young	30	36	34	12%	14%	11%
Conjugal - Old	15	12	25	6%	5%	8%
Extended Family	2	7	6	1%	3%	2%
Single Parent	12	11	13	6%	4%	4%
Single Adult	22	14	18	9%	5%	6%
Related Adult	13	24	16	4%	9%	5%
Unrelated Adult	7	5	10	3%	2%	3%
TOTAL	253	263	312	100%	100%	100%

The number of households in most of the categories increased over these thirty years, but the proportions remained roughly the same. The main feature demonstrated in Table 10.5 is therefore relative stability across the period with the dominant household type being the nuclear family. Very few of these households were headed by females. In 1920 the number was thirteen, in 1935 it was twenty-three and in 1950 it was twenty-three. These women, predominantly widows, lived mainly in the townships, and few of them were or had been connected with farming.[17]

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Information on the occupations of heads of households is shown in Table 10.6.

Table 10.6 : Occupation of Heads of Households 1920, 1935 and 1950

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Households			Proportion of Households		
	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
Farmer	104	98	115	41%	37%	37%
Business	31	18	23	12%	7%	7%
Farm Manager	10	7	5	4%	3%	2%
White Collar	16	18	26	6%	7%	8%
Farm Manual	51	56	68	20%	21%	22%
Other Manual	25	36	36	10%	14%	12%
Non-occupational	16	30	39	6%	11%	13%
TOTAL	253	263	312	100%	100%	100%

Again, the impression is one of relative stability. There was a slight decrease in the proportion of farmer and business households over the period and an increase in the proportion of non-occupational households, but the largest categories were clearly farmer and farm manual households. By way of contrast, farmer households had accounted for only 28% of households in 1905, and farm manual households for 25%.

Information on the occupations of adults is provided in Tables 10.7 and 10.8.

Table 10.7 : Occupations of Adult Females 1920, 1935 and 1950

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Adult Females			Proportion of Adult Females		
	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
Farmer	0	3	0	0%	1%	0%
Business	0	1	1	0%	1%	1%
Farm Manager	0	0	0	0%	0%	0%
White Collar	6	16	13	2%	4%	4%
Farm Manual	29	31	4	9%	8%	1%
Other Manual	10	16	16	3%	4%	5%
Non-occupational	287	304	319	86%	82%	90%
TOTAL	332	371	353	100%	100%	100%

Table 10.8 : Occupations of Adult Males 1920, 1935 and 1950

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Adult Males			Proportion of Adult Males		
	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
Farmer	104	103	123	27%	24%	32%
Business	33	20	24	9%	5%	6%
Farm Manager	9	11	5	2%	3%	1%
White Collar	15	18	23	4%	4%	6%
Farm Manual	173	205	142	45%	48%	36%
Other Manual	37	58	47	10%	14%	12%
Non-occupational	13	15	27	3%	4%	7%
TOTAL	384	430	391	100%	100%	100%

The vast majority of women were not in paid employment; of those who were, most were employed in manual domestic work or in non-manual clerical work. The drastic reduction in the number of women doing manual work on farms between 1935 and 1950 is a reflection of the fact that very few farms were employing domestics in 1950. Changes also took place in non-farm manual work for women. Whereas in 1920 most of these women would have been engaged in domestic service in Kurow, with a few employed in stores, by 1950 almost all of them were employed as shop assistants in the township. The fact that only 10% of women were in paid employment in 1950 - as compared with 14% in 1920 and 18% in 1935 - indicates a contraction in employment opportunities for women during this period.

What the figures reveal about the occupational structure of the adult male population between 1920 and 1950 is that there was a slight increase in the proportion of farmers, a sizeable decrease in the proportion of farm manual workers and some minor variations in the other occupational groups. The change from extensive, large-scale farming to more intensive, family farming is discernible in the fact that in 1905 farmers comprised only 18% of adult males and farm workers comprised 50%, whereas in 1950, the equivalent figures were 32% and 36% respectively.

A more detailed breakdown of male occupations is provided in Table 10.9, where there is again confirmation of the trend away from large-scale, extensive farming and towards smaller-scale, family farming. The proportion of self-employed farmers increased over the thirty year period (in 1905 it had been only 10%), while the proportion of farm workers - other than sons

working for their farmer fathers - decreased (in 1905 they had accounted for 39% of all adult males).

Table 10.9 : Occupational Status of Adult Males 1920, 1935 and 1950

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Adult Males '20	'35	'50	Proportion of Adult Males '20	'35	'50
Farmer - Employer	29	43	27	7%	10%	7%
Family Farmer	61	48	88	16%	11%	23%
Small Farmer	14	12	8	4%	3%	2%
Farm Manager	9	11	4	2%	3%	1%
Farm worker - Son of Farmer	32	50	27	8%	12%	7%
Farm worker - Non-related	141	155	116	37%	36%	29%
Farm Related	286	319	270	74%	75%	69%
Professional	6	8	7	2%	2%	2%
Managerial	7	8	12	2%	2%	3%
Business Proprietor	6	2	2	2%	1%	1%
Skilled Manual Proprietor	22	11	16	6%	3%	4%
Petty Proprietor	5	7	6	1%	2%	2%
Clerical and Sales	2	2	4	1%	1%	1%
Skilled Manual Worker	6	9	6	2%	2%	2%
Semi-skilled Manual Worker	13	29	30	3%	7%	8%
Unskilled Manual Worker	18	20	11	5%	5%	3%
Non-Farm Related	85	96	94	23%	22%	24%
Non-Occupational	13	15	27	3%	3%	7%
TOTAL	384	430	391	100%	100%	100%

We find further evidence of this trend towards smaller scale family farming when we look at the changes that took place between 1920 and 1950 in the types of rural properties in the district.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

The total number of rural properties in the district changed very little in the thirty years between 1920 and 1950, but there were some important changes between property types. As the figures in Table 10.10 show, the main changes were a decline in the number of small farms and sheep stations and an increase in the number of large farms.[18] The number of smallholdings, middle farms and sheep runs remained relatively constant during the period.

Table 10.10 : Numbers of Rural Properties 1920, 1935 and 1950

PROPERTY CATEGORY	Number of Properties			Proportion of Properties		
	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
Smallholdings	39	46	45	24%	29%	27%
Orchards	2	3	3	1%	2%	2%
Small Farms	27	10	15	17%	6%	9%
Middle farms	44	41	47	27%	26%	28%
Large farms	13	20	20	8%	13%	12%
Sheep Runs	34	34	31	21%	22%	19%
Sheep Stations	6	4	7	4%	3%	4%
TOTAL	163	158	168	100%	100%	100%

There were no significant land settlements during this period (equivalent to Kurow Settlement or Otekaike Settlement, for example), so the changes that took place in the number of landholdings were simply the outcome of land being aggregated or split up. The aggregations took place mainly in the vicinities of Kurow and Hakataramea Townships and in Wharekuri, where

smallholdings were either amalgamated to form larger units or absorbed into neighbouring farms. The fact that the number of smallholdings still increased during this period is a reflection of the beginnings of the trend toward sub-dividing rural land for holiday homes or residences. The expansion in the number of properties took place mainly in Cattle Creek as a result of land being progressively settled out of the Land Company's Hakataramea Station. It is noticeable from this table that the changes occurred mainly between 1920 and 1935 since the figures for 1935, and 1950 are roughly comparable.

Table 10.11 extends the information on the number of properties in each category to incorporate information on their size and capital value. Between 1920 and 1950, each of the property types increased in average size, while the main changes in terms of area occupied were the increased total areas of large farms and sheep runs and the equivalent decreased area of sheep stations. Although the total land occupied by sheep stations was still significant (44% of the total rural area in the district), this shift in distribution during the period resulted in sheep runs occupying almost as much land as the stations. This was a shift of some significance. In 1890, sheep stations had occupied 82% of the rural land and sheep runs only 10%.[19]

The average size of properties dropped between 1920 and 1950, and so too did the average capital value. In 1920 the average size of rural properties was 3,434 acres and the average capital value was 6,779 pounds. By 1950 the average size had fallen to 3,279 acres and the average value to 6,141 pounds. Smallholdings, small farms and middle farms all increased

Table 10.11 : Characteristics of Landholding Categories 1920, 1935 and 1950

		SMALL-HOLD'S	SMALL FARMS	MIDDLE FARMS	LARGE FARMS	SHEEP RUNS	SHEEP STATIONS	TOTAL
NUMBER OF PROP-ERTIES	1920	39	27	44	13	34	6	163
	1935	46	10	41	20	34	4	158
	1950	45	15	47	20	31	7	168
% Total Number	1920	24%	17%	27%	8%	21%	4%	100%
	1935	29%	6%	26%	13%	22%	3%	100%
	1950	27%	9%	28%	12%	19%	4%	100%
AREA (Acres)	1920	774	2933	23328	26385	190719	315342	559820
	1935	805	1522	21159	48696	248153	238182	558880
	1950	645	2142	25029	47666	183978	291020	550798
Average Area (Acres)	1920	20	109	530	2030	5609	52557	3434
	1935	18	152	516	2435	7299	59546	3537
	1950	14	143	533	2383	6913	59987	3279
% Total Area	1920	0.1%	0.5%	4%	5%	34%	56%	100%
	1935	0.1%	0.3%	4%	9%	44%	43%	100%
	1950	0.1%	0.4%	4%	9%	33%	53%	100%
CAPITAL VALUE (Pounds)	1920	16643	27682	156264	160750	426090	324545	1118574
	1935	17930	14385	145065	212370	402801	238475	1038021
	1950	31115	20295	196935	190670	319215	265880	1031675
Average Cap Val (Pounds)	1920	427	1025	3551	12365	12532	54091	6779
	1935	390	1439	3538	10619	11847	59619	6570
	1950	691	1353	4190	9534	10297	37982	6141
% Total Cap Val	1920	2%	3%	14%	14%	38%	29%	100%
	1935	2%	1%	14%	21%	39%	23%	100%
	1950	3%	2%	19%	19%	31%	26%	100%
POUNDS PER ACRE	1920	21.5	9.4	6.7	6.1	2.2	1.0	2.0
	1935	22.3	9.5	6.9	4.4	1.6	1.0	1.9
	1950	48.2	9.5	7.9	4.0	1.7	0.9	1.9

slightly in value while large farms and sheep runs dropped in value. Sheep stations remained about the same. A key feature of the data in Table 10.11, though, is the value of middle and large farms relative to their size. Despite the fact that these farm types occcupied only 4% and 9% of the district's rural land respectively, they nevertheless represented 19% each of total capital value. By way of contrast, sheep runs accounted for 36% of the district's rural capital value and sheep stations accounted for only 21%. Again, the comparison with 1890 is instructive: in 1890, sheep stations accounted for 73% of the capital value of rural land in the district and sheep runs, large farms and middle farms accounted for only 8% to 9% each. A significant redistribution of landed wealth had therefore taken place during these sixty years. This had benefitted only a few within the district. Table 10.12 (overleaf) shows how land ownership was distributed among occupational groups within the adult male population.[20] Very few women held title to land.[21]

The titles to a few properties were held either by people who lived outside the district or by companies. Some were held as family trusts, some were held by women, and a few men held titles to smallholdings or town sections as well as farms.[22] This is why there is no direct comparability between the number of properties in Tables 10.10, 10.11 and 10.12.

The figures in Table 10.12 show that in 1935, 63% of the men in the district held title to no land whatsoever, while in 1950 this had fallen to 53%. Comparable figures for 1905 and 1920 were within this range with 59% of men in 1905 holding no

Table 10.12 : Land Ownership By Occupational Group
Adult Males, 1935 and 1950

	Farm(*)		Small Holding		Town Section		No Land		TOTAL	
OCCUPATION	1935	1950	1935	1950	1935	1950	1935	1950	1935	1950
Farmer	83	99	11	4	2	6	7	14	103	123
Business	0	0	5	2	11	16	4	6	20	24
Farm Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	5	11	5
White Collar	0	0	0	0	3	5	15	18	18	23
Farm Manual	2	1	9	10	8	16	186	115	205	142
Other Manual	0	0	6	4	7	6	45	37	58	47
Non-Occupat	0	3	5	5	8	8	2	11	15	27
TOTAL	83	103	36	25	39	57	270	206	430	391

* : Includes farms, runs and sheep stations.

title to land and 55% in 1920 (see Table 10.10).[23] The significant land was, of course, the farm land and in 1905 and 1920, title to such land was held by 17% and 25% of the adult males respectively. By 1935, the proportion had fallen back to 19% but then it rose to 26% in 1950.[24] In both of these data sets 1935 appears as the anomaly and this would have resulted to some extent from the relatively high proportion of single men in the district in 1935 relative to these other years.[25] If we ignore the 1935 figures then the trends in all cases do show a steady widening in the distribution of title-holding but this still benefited only relatively few.[26]

SOURCES OF LAND MORTGAGE FINANCE

In looking at the issue of land mortgage finance in chapter 10 we found that between 1880 and 1920 the main sources of mortgage finance for the purchase of land in the district were located outside the district and were private individuals rather than institutions. This applied to finance for land in the townships as well as in the rural sector.[27] In turning now to look at the situation during the period from 1921 to 1950, we find some changes in this pattern.

There were 400 rural mortgages taken out during these thirty years. Ninety-three were provided by private individuals within the district (23%), 124 by private individuals outside the district (31%), three by an institutional source within the district (1%) and the remaining 180 by institutional sources outside the district (45%). This meant that 54% of the rural mortgages were provided by private individuals (a decrease from the previous period) and 77% came from outside the district (a similar decrease). The main institutional sources outside the district were banks, stock agents, government departments and loan companies.[28] The only non-private source within the district was the New Zealand and Australian Land Company. Almost a third of the institutional mortgages came from sources in North Otago, and this was also a change over the earlier period. The differences between the two periods are summarised in Table 10.13 overleaf.[29]

Two main points emerge from this table. First, while there was an increase in the proportion of mortgages provided from institutional sources (38% to 46%), the proportions of land

Table 10.13 : Rural Land Mortgages, 1880 to 1950

	Period One 1880-1920	Period Two 1921-1950
Number of Rural Mortgages :	599	400
Total Area Mortgaged	338,526 ha's	297,182 ha's
Proportion of Mortgages Provided by :		
Private Sources	62%	54%
Institutional Sources	38%	46%
	100%	100%
District Sources	17%	23%
Ex-district Sources	83%	77%
	100%	100%
Private individuals within district	16%	23%
Private individuals outside district	46%	31%
Institutions within district	1%	1%
Institutions outside district	37%	45%
	100%	100%
Proportion of Total Rural Area Mortgaged from :		
Private Sources	36%	33%
Institutional Sources	64%	67%
	100%	100%
District Sources	4%	11%
Ex-district Sources	96%	89%
	100%	100%
Location of Institutional Sources :		
Kurow	1%	2%
North Otago	9%	27%
South Canterbury	1%	0%
Elsewhere	89%	71%
	100%	100%

serviced by private and institutional mortgages remained fairly steady across the periods. Second, there were significant increases in local and regional sources of mortgages during this second period. The proportion of mortgages that came from private individuals within the district increased from 16% to 23%, and the proportion of institutional mortgages that came from the North Otago region increased from 9% to 27%. This seems to point to an increased localism in the provision of mortgage finance during these times of economic stringency.

The depression also had the effect of curtailing mortgage activity in the district. From 1904 through to 1931, the number of mortgages registered on district land each year ranged from fifteen to thirty with the yearly average being twenty-two. From 1932 through to 1946, however, the range was much lower - generally from three to eight mortgages per year - and the annual average was seven.

During the first half of the 1930s the Government introduced mortgage relief provisions through a series of Acts of Parliament.[30] These were intended to forestall the possibility that large numbers of farmers would have to walk off their farms through insolvency. Mortgage Boards were set up to review individual cases and make recommendations. Some farmers had their mortgages reduced as a result of this, others had them wiped out completely.[31] Still others soldiered on to service their mortgages without assistance. It is difficult to assess the impact that this had on the district without more detailed research being done on mortgage documents, but there certainly was more activity to have the terms of mortgages varied during

this period than there had been previously. In the forty-year period from 1880 to 1920 variations in mortgage terms were recorded against 10% of district mortgages. From 1921 to 1950, this increased to 18% of mortgages, affecting seventy-three mortgages in all.[32] Since there were very few multiple variations involving the same property, and since most of the mortgage variations related to farm properties rather than smallholdings, this would seem to indicate that there was a high degree of economic difficulty experienced by district farmers during this time.[33]

THE IMPACT OF THE DEPRESSION

The depression thus had the effect of limiting people's abilities to service land mortgages. But farmers would also have had mortgages on their stock and chattels, and this was where the relationship with stock firms was of significance. Stock agents did not provide mortgage money for land, except in exceptional circumstances, but they did provide money to underwrite the purchase of stock and equipment as well as help with the ongoing financial operation of the farm. We have no district information on the level of indebtedness to stock agents during the depression years, but it must have been high. Farmers' reactions to this tended to be contradictory. On the one hand, they were critical of the level of financial control that stock firms insisted on asserting over farmers at this time, and yet on the other hand some informants insisted that it was the stock firms who carried the farming sector during these depression years.[34]

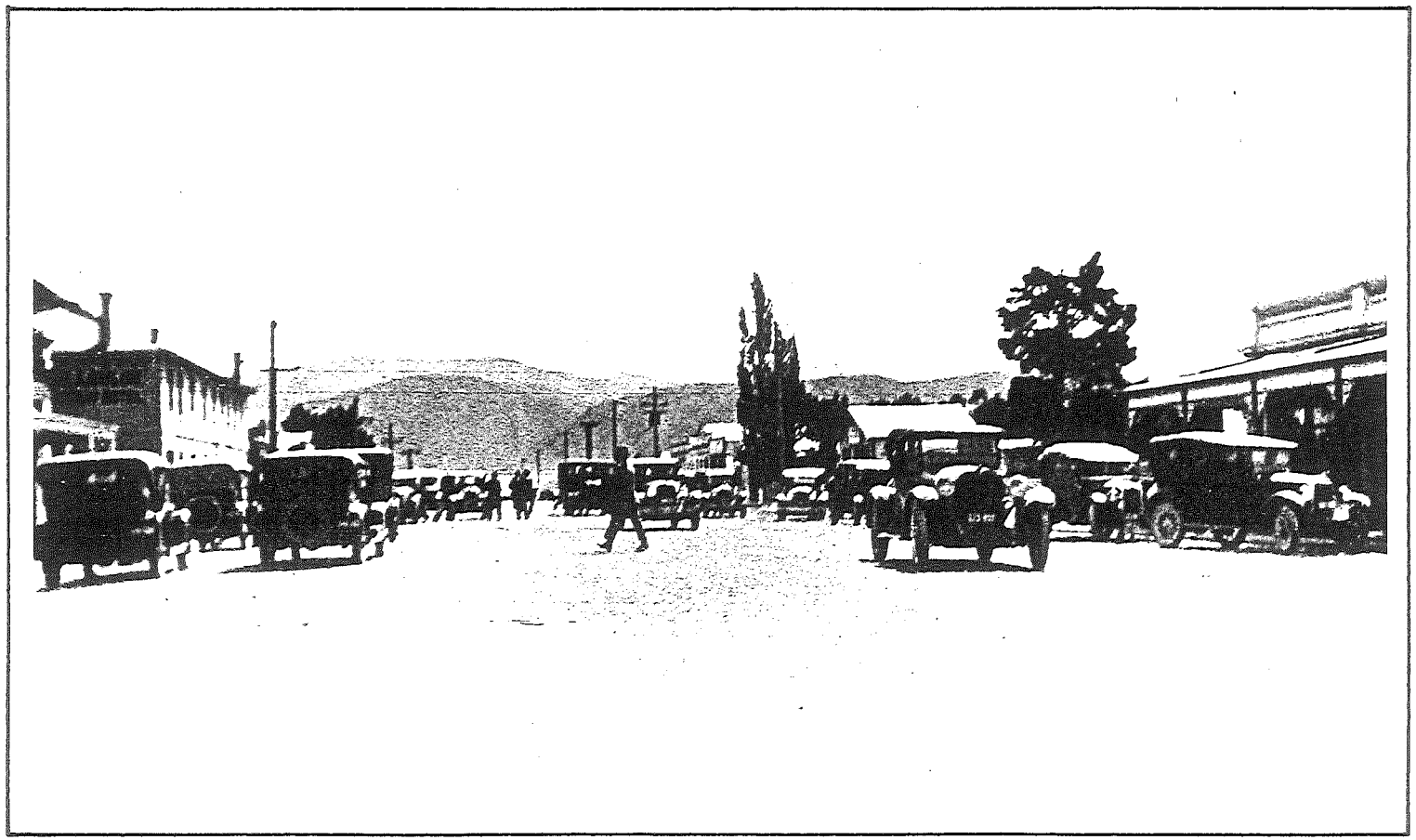
For many, then, the depression years meant tightening their belts as they struggled to survive. One woman who had been a farmer's wife during the depression commented that they did not have it too bad on the farm because they at least had meat, milk and vegetables. This was a common response. One farmer added, "It didn't take much to feed you then". One survival strategy developed on farms was to keep the cows and chickens in the wife's name. This kept the cream cheque and egg money out of the reach of creditors, particularly the stock firm.[35] It was not unusual during the depression for farmers to be put on a weekly allowance by their stock firm,[36] and since the firms were not renowned for their generosity during this period, the ready cash that came from the cream and eggs helped many farming families keep their heads above water during this period.

Many sheep farms diversified into cropping to try to generate extra income. The combined effects of prolonged drought, rabbits and the economic depression required that they try to make money any way they could.[37] A farmer commented, "At that time we were coming out of a depression, there were droughts and the farming community were grasping at whatever gave them the best returns." For a few farmers in the district, however, neither government assistance nor additional money-making schemes were sufficient to forestall the inevitable, and they had to sell up. In one case, a Cattle Creek property of 6,000 acres that had been bought for 44,000 pounds in 1928 had to be sold for 10,000 pounds ten years later.

One other way in which the depression affected farming families in particular was to curtail educational opportunities

for their children. In more than one family, secondary education was out of the question for some of the children because their help was required on the farm. One farmer's son who left school in 1934 had wanted to become an engineer, "but it was the depression" he said, "and I had to help out on the farm. I've been here ever since." For other farmers' children, the depression forced them to attend local schools, since there was no money for boarding fees. Kurow School benefitted from this. One woman reported how she had been attending Waitaki Girls' High in Oamaru at the time. Since she was showing some academic aptitude, her father had gone to the bank manager to ask for a loan to cover the fees but was met by the response "Oh, she's a pretty little thing, she'll only marry, what a waste." She came home to the farm and finished her secondary schooling at Kurow.[38]

Things were also difficult for non-farming families during these years, but, without the burden of farm mortgages, subsistence living was more of a possibility for them. Only a few men were reported to have gone on the unemployment benefit in Kurow during the depression and, fifty years later, the unusual nature of this was something that was still considered by locals to be worth commenting on. For those who were out of work, there was always the possibility of going rabbitting, even though the living conditions tended to be primitive.[39] In the winter of 1932, a few men also went prospecting for gold in Digger's Gully behind Kurow. They were supported by a Government subsidy of fifteen shillings a week, and periodically they had to furnish a work diary to the Labour Department in Oamaru. They kept what-



[Kurow Museum]

Kurow Main Street, 1930s
Kurow Hotel on Left and Barclay Brothers Store on Right

ever gold they dug up, but nobody made much out of it. As with the rabbiters, many of these "gold prospectors" were men laid off from the Waitaki hydro-dam project.[40] Some chose to go mustering rather than gold-digging or rabbitting. Sandy Cochrane's experience may not have been too exceptional here. Sandy was from a local labouring family and was was one of two men employed in one of the butcher's shops in Kurow in the early 1930s. When the owner announced that he would have to cut the wages by half since he could not afford to pay two men, Sandy voluntarily left, since the other man was married with three children and could not afford to live on half wages. Sandy got together a pack of dogs and went mustering.[41]

Labouring men were not the only ones to face the prospect of losing jobs during these years: the same possibility appears to have confronted Anglican vicars. At the annual meeting of the Anglican Church in April of 1930 the issue of the parish's inability to support a vicar's stipend was discussed - the vicar took a second job to make ends meet. The bishop proposed to have the parish serviced from Oamaru, but the vicar pointed out to the meeting that this would leave him homeless and penniless and would mean a sentence of death to his small son who had to live in Kurow because of his health. His plea was an emotive one: "Was it not to the honour of the parish to do something to help the vicar rather than to starve him and to condemn his son to a living death? A starving man would rather have half a loaf than no bread at all".[42] His pleas were heeded, and the meeting agreed by 42 votes to 8 to reduce his annual stipend to 150 pounds.

Even for those who could find work there was little guarantee that they would be paid. One man spoke of how, in 1937, he was employed as a ploughman on a farm in Otekaike "for the promise of a pound a week". A pound was a lot in those days, he said, and with unemployment being what it was, he was pleased to work for even the "promise" of a pound. For some, however, survival meant a variety of part-time jobs. Bill Condon was reported to have had more jobs than anyone else in Kurow during the depression. He raised turkeys on his smallholding on the outskirts of Kurow, he and his wife took in boarders, he sold milk, he was the caretaker of the Kurow race course, he worked at the "marine department" (the Hakataramea fish hatchery), he had a small hairdressing business, and he worked on farms. This was how he survived the depression.

Whatever difficulties farmers might have been experiencing during these times, the depression years certainly seemed to have highlighted the social and economic differences between those who owned land and those who did not. One domestic of the time described life in the home of one of the large farms in the district as having an "Upstairs Downstairs" feel to it.[43] If cake was ever eaten in the kitchen, it was only after it had served its time in the main dining room. The status system of having two tables, or even three tables, to separate the dining of family and guests from hired help and others, was still in force on some properties in the mid-1930s.[44] Another woman, who had been a farm worker's child in the Hakataramea Valley in the 1930s, remembered how farmers' children were looked up to at the school. There were two farmers' daughters in particular who

[McCaw Family]

Appleby's Republic Truck, 1930s
Transporting Wool Bales, Hakataramea Valley

had ponies, and everyone wanted to be their friends, she said. She also mentioned another family who she deduced were particularly poor because their children wanted to be friends with her. Her social life was circumscribed by the fact of her family's poverty: she was not allowed to bring friends home from school, and she rarely visited elsewhere. They had their own back yard, and that was where they stayed.

Insularity was not the norm for everyone, however. Among the family farmers, mutual help and cooperative effort appears to have been a feature of the depression years. One farmer talked of Otekaike in the 1930s in the following terms:

> They pulled together pretty well, especially in the slump. Everybody was hard up together. Womens' Division started then and that drew them all together a lot. Before that, mind you, we did a lot of visiting anyway. When I was a kid I visited nearly every farm in Otekaike at some stage or another. Womens' Division was a big thing, though. It got the district together. During the thirties she pulled together well. There were some feuds before that but people left and it thinned those out. The great thing in the country is that there's a strong culling effect. Anyone that doesn't fit in or doesn't suit, they're away to town or they're out of it anyway. You find you get a district that suits themselves.[45]

We noted earlier an increased localism during these years in the provision of mortgage finance and in the provision of further schooling. This localism would no doubt have been encour-aged by the fact that during the depression years people tended not to move around very much. This aspect to life was mentioned by quite a few local informants and we might reasonably expect, therefore, that it would also have affected the selection of marriage partners.

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

It will be remembered that in researching marriage records for this study, the criteria for selection was that either the groom or the bride was born in the Kurow district or gave a locality in the Kurow district as their usual place of residence on marriage. Applying these criteria to the marriage registers from Kurow, Duntroon, Lower Waitaki, Oamaru and Waimate produced 371 marriages that had taken place between January of 1921 and December of 1950.[46] Of these, 164 of the grooms (44%) and 193 of the brides (52%) gave a locality in the Kurow district as their usual place of residence. For the grooms, this represented a decrease from the 60% of district grooms in the previous period. For the brides, the proportion remained the same. The occupational distribution of these grooms and brides is shown in Table 10.14.

Table 10.14 : Occupations of District Grooms and Brides 1921 to 1950

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	1921 to 1950 Number of Grooms	Number of Brides	Proportion of Grooms 1880-1920	Proportion of Grooms 1921-1950	Proportion of Brides 1880-1920	Proportion of Brides 1921-1950
Farmer	38	0	36%	23%	0%	0%
Business	7	0	16%	4%	0%	0%
Farm Manager	1	0	4%	1%	0%	0%
White Collar	9	18	3%	6%	4%	9%
Farm Manual	43	0	20%	26%	1%	0%
Other Manual	66	100	21%	40%	25%	52%
Non-Occupational	0	75	0%	0%	70%	39%
TOTAL	164	193	100%	100%	100%	100%

The occupational profiles for both grooms and brides differ for the two periods. In the case of grooms, the increased proportion of manual workers was mainly the result of the number of hydro-construction workers in the district between 1928 and 1934. Twenty-three of these grooms were from the hydro.[47] The differing profile for the brides was the result of changing occupational opportunities for women, which saw more of them entering the paid workforce during the second period.

There were 112 marriages that involved a district groom marrying a district bride.[48] This represented 30% of the marriages selected and was thus a decrease of 10% over the previous period. The proportion of district grooms who found their brides within the district therefore remained constant between the two periods (68%), while the equivalent proportion of district brides who found their grooms within the district decreased from 79% to 58% - see Table 10.15.

Table 10.15 : Usual Residence of Marriage Partners District Grooms and Brides, 1880 to 1950

USUAL RESIDENCE OF MARRIAGE PARTNER	Proportion of District Grooms		Proportion of District Brides	
	1880-1920	1921-1950	1880-1920	1921-1950
Inside District	68%	68%	79%	58%
Elsewhere in North Otago	25%	16%	8%	15%
Outside North Otago	7%	16%	13%	27%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

With the proportion of district grooms who found their brides in the North Otago region decreasing from 25% to 16% and the proportion who found their brides outside the district and region increasing from 7% to 16%, there was evidence of a lessening of localism in men's selection of marriage partners. The same held for district women. While more brides married grooms from elsewhere in the North Otago region (8% to 15%), fewer married locally (79% to 58%).[49] This data therefore indicates that, not only were women more likely to be found in the workforce in this second period, but they were also more likely to look further afield for their marriage partners.

We look now in more detail at the class backgrounds to these 112 district marriages - see Table 10.16.

Table 10.16 : Groom's Occupation by Bride's Father's Occupation District Marriages, 1921 to 1950

	BRIDE'S FATHER'S OCCUPATION						
GROOM'S OCCUPATION	Farmer	Business	White Collar	Farm Manual	Other Manual	Non-Occup	Total
Farmer	14	0	1	0	2	2	19
Business	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Farm Manager	2	1	1	1	2	0	7
White Collar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Manual	12	3	0	7	9	2	33
Other Manual	15	4	4	5	22	1	51
TOTAL	45	8	6	13	35	5	112

In Chapter 8 we noted how, in comparing the groom's occupation with that of the bride's father for the period 1880 to 1920, a pattern of class endogamy was more noticeable at the

proprietorial end of the scale (farmer and business) than at the manual end (farm manual and other manual). During that period, just over one third of the district marriages took place within the proprietorial group as opposed to just over a tenth within the manual group. When we come to look at this second period, however, we find that the pattern is reversed, with only 14% of the district marriages taking place within the proprietorial group, as compared with 38% within the manual group.

It is obvious from this table, however, that quite high levels of intermarrying occurred during this period between the proprietorial and non-proprietorial groups. For example, while 76% of the district grooms who were farmers or other proprietors married daughters of farmers, only 30% of the daughters of farmers or other proprietors married farmers as compared with 64% who married manual workers. If we compare this with the manual group (farm as well as non-farm), we find that, while 51% of manual workers married daughters of other manual workers a further 40% married daughters of farmers or other proprietors. As with the proprietorial grooms, however, there was less exogamy among daughters of manual workers. Ninety percent of them married manual workers and only 4% married grooms who were farmers.

We can therefore summarise this intermarrying as follows: very few proprietorial grooms or manual brides married outside their class and such intermarrying as did occur took place principally between manual grooms and proprietorial daughters.[50] However, half of the grooms who were manual workers were, in fact, sons of farmers. This means, therefore,

that a high proportion of the farmer's daughters who married manual workers were, in actual fact, marrying within their class by marrying farmer's sons.

Table 10.17 takes account of this by comparing the occupations of the fathers of the grooms with those of the brides. A more rounded picture emerges from this: 56% of "proprietorial" sons (fathers in the farmer or business categories) and 65% of "proprietorial" daughters married within their own class as compared with 49% of "non-proprietorial" sons and 59% of "non-proprietorial" daughters. These proportions are fairly similar and hence reasonably significant levels of inter-marriage took place between all categories during this period.

Table 10.17 : Groom's Father's Occupation by Bride's Father's Occupation, District Marriages, 1921 to 1950

GROOM'S FATHER'S OCCUPATION	BRIDE'S FATHER'S OCCUPATION						
	Farmer	Business	White Collar	Farm Manual	Other Manual	Non-Occup	Total
Farmer	27	3	4	5	9	2	50
Business	3	1	1	2	6	0	13
Farm Manager	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
White Collar	1	1	0	0	2	0	4
Farm Manual	2	0	0	2	3	0	7
Other Manual	11	3	1	4	13	2	34
Non-Occupat	1	0	0	0	1	1	3
TOTAL	45	8	6	13	35	5	112

An indication of how this compared with the previous period (1880 to 1920) is provided in Table 10.18.

Table 10.18 : Patterns of Class Endogamy in District Marriages 1880 to 1950

CATEGORY	Spouse from Same Class 1880-1920	Spouse from Same Class 1921-1950	Spouse from Different Class 1880-1920	Spouse from Different Class 1921-1950
Proprietorial :				
Sons	79%	56%	21%	44%
Daughters	71%	65%	29%	35%
Non-Proprietorial:				
Sons	47%	59%	53%	41%
Daughters	57%	49%	43%	51%

These figures suggest a lessening of class endogamy within the proprietorial group between these periods that affected both sons and daughters. There was no similar shift of any consequence within the non-proprietorial group.

KINSHIP DENSITY

In chapter 8 we saw how in 1905 and 1920 there were 40% and 43% of district households respectively with kin living in other district households. Table 10.19 provides comparative data from 1935 and 1950.

The first thing to note from Table 10.19 is the gradual increase in the proportion of all households with kin living elsewhere in the district. The proportion increased to 43% in 1920, 51% in 1935 and 54% in 1950. This clearly indicates a steady strengthening of kinship networks within the district. The extent of this strengthening is quite significant. In Otiake and Hakataramea Valley, two of the longest established farming

Table 10.19 : Household Kinship Density
1920, 1935 and 1950

LOCALITY	Number with Kin '20	'35	'50	Proportion with Kin '20	'35	'50	TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS '20	'35	'50
Kurow	24	29	39	49%	50%	46%	49	58	84
Kurow Vicinity	20	19	18	48%	54%	47%	42	35	38
Otiake	13	16	15	56%	67%	65%	23	24	23
Otekaike	11	18	21	26%	45%	49%	43	40	43
Wharekuri	11	5	4	69%	45%	40%	16	11	10
NORTH OTAGO	79	87	97	46%	52%	49%	173	168	198
Haka Township	14	11	17	54%	44%	61%	26	25	28
Mount Parker	3	3	9	30%	25%	75%	10	12	12
Waitangi	0	0	1	0%	0%	33%	2	3	3
Haka Valley	11	25	32	32%	61%	64%	34	41	50
Cattle Creek	2	9	13	25%	64%	62%	8	14	21
SOUTH CANT	30	48	72	38%	51%	63%	80	95	114
TOTAL	109	135	169	43%	51%	54%	253	263	312

localities in the district, kinship density among their households had risen by 1950, to 64% and 65% respectively.[51] Even in the more recently settled farming localities, such as Otekaike and Cattle Creek, kinship density among the households had risen to 49% and 62% by 1950.

As we saw in a previous context, Kurow Township underwent significant growth between 1935 and 1950 and yet even here there was a high level of kinship density, with 46% of its households in 1950 having kin who lived elsewhere in the district. Indeed, the high proportions of households in Kurow, Kurow vicinity and

Haka Township who had kin living elsewhere in the district is noteworthy given the fact that one might reasonably expect to find a high proportion of transients living in these localities. The main point to emerge from Table 10.19 is therefore the fact that there were relatively high degrees of kinship density developing within the Kurow district during this period.

In Chapter 8 we noted that kinship density was highest in 1905 and 1920 among farmer, business and farm-manual households. This pattern is reinforced in 1935 and 1950 - see Table 10.20.

Table 10.20 : Proportions of Household Types and Occupational Categories with Kin, 1920, 1935 and 1950

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Households With Kin			Proportion of Households With Kin			Proportion of Category With Kin		
	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
Farmer	53	62	85	49%	46%	50%	51%	63%	74%
Business	14	8	9	13%	6%	5%	45%	44%	39%
Farm Manager	3	1	0	3%	1%	0%	30%	14%	0%
White Collar	1	3	5	1%	2%	3%	6%	17%	19%
Farm Manual	19	29	29	17%	21%	17%	37%	52%	43%
Other Manual	7	13	12	6%	10%	7%	28%	36%	33%
Non-Occupat	12	19	29	11%	14%	17%	75%	63%	74%
TOTAL	109	135	169	100%	100%	100%	43%	51%	54%

In 1935, and again in 1950, the majority of these "non-occupational" households were either retired or widowed variants of the farmer and farm-manual household, indicating a strong polarisation between farmer households and farm-worker households

in terms of kinship density. The proportion of all business households with kin in the district remained quite high across these years (45%, 44% and 39%).

The data in Table 10.20 on the proportions of occupational categories with kin show that kinship density was relatively high among households in virtually all of these occupational groups, with the greatest density occurring among farmer and non-occupational households. In 1950, 74% of all farmer households had kin living in other households in the district, and this had increased from 51% in 1920 and 63% in 1935. As already mentioned, most of the non-occupational households were variants of farmer or farm-manual households, thus adding to the overall significance of these two types.

Just as the proportion of households with kin in the district increased from 1905 to 1950, so too did the proportion of adults with kin. In 1905, 38% of the district's adults had kin living in other households in the district. By 1920 this had risen to 43%. It then increased to 49% in 1935 and 55% in 1950. The equivalent proportions for adult males and adult females also increased across these years - see Table 10.21.

Table 10.21 : Adult Kinship Density, 1905 to 1950

	ADULTS WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
	Adult Males		Adult Females		Total Adults	
YEAR	N	%	N	%	N	%
1905	111	35%	114	42%	225	38%
1920	157	41%	150	45%	307	43%
1935	209	49%	185	50%	394	49%
1950	209	54%	198	56%	407	55%

Table 10.22 presents a summary of some selected characteristics of adult males who had kin living elsewhere in the district.

Table 10.22 : Selected Characteristics of Adult Males with Kin in District, 1920, 1935 and 1950

	Number of Adult Males With Kin			Proportion of Adult Males With Kin			Proportion of Category With Kin		
CATEGORY	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
OCCUPATION :									
Farmer	53	68	93	34%	33%	45%	51%	66%	76%
Business	14	9	28	9%	4%	4%	42%	45%	%
Farm Manager	3	4	0	2%	2%	0%	30%	36%	0%
White Collar	1	5	6	1%	2%	3%	7%	27%	26%
Farm Manual	65	91	63	41%	44%	29%	38%	44%	44%
Other Manual	11	23	19	7%	11%	9%	30%	40%	40%
Non-occupat	10	9	20	6%	4%	10%	83%	60%	74%
Total	157	209	209	100%	100%	100%	41%	49%	54%
OWNERSHIP OF LAND :									
Farm Property	45	55	76	29%	26%	36%	50%	65%	74%
Smallholding	22	23	14	14%	11%	7%	48%	64%	56%
Town Section	27	25	37	17%	12%	18%	71%	64%	65%
No Land	63	106	82	40%	51%	39%	30%	39%	40%
Total	157	209	209	100%	100%	100%	41%	49%	54%

The figures for 1935 and 1950 substantiate comments made in chapter 8 about the relationship between occupation, land ownership and kinship density. Those males with kin in the district tended to be mainly farmers and farm workers. As Table 10.23 (overleaf) shows, these men also tended to be locals (i.e., more than first generation in the district). The picture was not

so clear-cut with the women, however, since the proportion of local and newcomer women with kin was reasonably similar.

Table 10.23 : Selected Characteristics of Adults with Kin in District, 1920, 1935 and 1950

	ADULTS WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
	Males			Females		
CATEGORY	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
SETTLER STATUS :						
Local	50%	61%	68%	48%	49%	57%
Newcomer	41%	32%	29%	47%	44%	41%
Transient	9%	7%	3%	5%	7%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
GENERATION :						
First Generation	50%	39%	32%	52%	51%	43%
Second Generation	38%	32%	26%	38%	25%	25%
Third Generation	6%	29%	35%	10%	23%	26%
Fourth Generation	0%	1%	7%	0%	2%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	157	209	209	150	185	198

CONTINUITY

In Chapter 8 we highlighted three indicators of continuity within the district: the proportions of households and individuals who were in the district at particular points in time, the "settler status" of the adult population, and intergenerational continuity within the district. Comparative data

on these indicators is presented here.

Table 10.24 gives an indication of the continuity of households and individuals within the district for 1920, 1935 and 1950.

Table 10.24 : Continuity of Households and Individuals 1920, 1935 and 1950

	Households			Individuals		
CONTINUITY	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
There in 1890	4%	1%	0%	8%	3%	2%
There in 1905	24%	9%	2%	22%	13%	7%
There in 1920	100%	33%	12%	100%	35%	18%
There in 1935	21%	100%	32%	18%	100%	37%
There in 1950	12%	40%	100%	9%	33%	100%
There in 1965	3%	17%	44%	4%	17%	37%
There in 1982	0%	6%	19%	1%	9%	18%
NUMBER	253	263	312	1074	1160	1174

Of the 253 households in the district in 1920, 24% had been there in 1905 and 4% had been in the district in 1890. Similarly, 21% were still there in 1935, 12% were still there in 1950 and so on. The patterning of persistence is fairly similar for households and individuals, with approximately a third of each continuing from the previous period and to the following period. We found in Chapter 8 that households with the greatest persistence in 1905 and 1920 tended to be those of farmers, farm workers and other manual workers. Likewise, continuity was greatest among males in these occupational groups and among

females who were daughters or wives to men in these occupational groups. A similar situation existed in 1935 and 1950.[52]

If anything, the data in Table 10.24 suggest that the level of continuity within the district was increasing with the passage of time. The proportions of households and individ-uals who had been in the district from the previous period and who continued in the district to the following period increased as we moved from 1920 through to 1950. This also applied to persistence across two periods from the designated dates. A further indicator of increasing levels of continuity is obtained when we look at the settler status and generation of the adults at these three periods - see Table 10.25.

Table 10.25 : Settler Status and Generation of Adults 1920, 1935 and 1950

	Proportion of Adult Males			Proportion of Adult Females			Proportion of Total Adults		
CATEGORY	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
SETTLER STATUS :									
Locals	28%	37%	43%	32%	31%	35%	30%	34%	39%
Newcomers	38%	30%	30%	42%	40%	40%	40%	35%	35%
Transients	34%	33%	27%	26%	29%	25%	30%	31%	26%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
GENERATION :									
First Gen	72%	63%	57%	68%	69%	65%	70%	66%	61%
Second Gen	23%	22%	19%	27%	18%	17%	25%	19%	18%
Third Gen	5%	14%	20%	5%	13%	15%	5%	14%	18%
Fourth Gen	0%	1%	4%	0%	1%	3%	0%	1%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	384	430	391	332	371	353	716	801	744

The main points of interest in this table are the increasing proportion of locals between 1920 to 1950 (i.e., people who were second generation or more in the district); and the decreasing proportions of newcomers and transients (people who are only first generation).[53] Increasing levels of continuity within the district is indicated by the increasing proportion of the population who were more than first generation in the district. An indication of some of the main characteristics of adult male "locals" in 1920, 1935 and 1950 is provided in Table 10.26 (overleaf).

By 1950, the pattern had been clearly set. The majority of "local" males were farmers (45%), farm workers (32%) or other manual workers (11%). Farmers and farm workers also featured prominently among "newcomers" (42% and 25%), but so too did men who were in business (11%). "Transients" were, by and large, farm workers (54%), other manual workers (20%) and various white collar workers (16%). Farmers and farm manual workers appeared across more than one category, but clear trends were discernible across the period. There was an increasing tendency for more locals to be farmers or non-farm manual workers between 1920 and 1950 and a decreasing tendency for them to be farm workers. Likewise there was a decreasing tendency for newcomers to be farmers and an increasing tendency for newcomers to be farm workers. All of this is suggestive, not only of greater continuity within the district, but also of a greater stability. The proportion of locals who held title to land in the district and who had kin living elsewhere in the district increased across these thirty years and while the proportion of newcomers who held land decreased during these years, the proportion of them who had

Table 10.26 : Selected Characteristics of Adult Males 1920, 1935 and 1950

	Locals			Newcomers			Transients		
ADULT MALES	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
OCCUPATION :									
Farmer	26%	28%	45%	49%	46%	42%	0%	0%	0%
Business	3%	4%	4%	21%	11%	11%	0%	0%	4%
Farm Manager	1%	2%	0%	2%	1%	0%	5%	5%	5%
White Collar	0%	3%	2%	1%	1%	2%	12%	9%	16%
Farm Manual	62%	47%	32%	16%	27%	25%	71%	67%	54%
Other Manual	6%	14%	11%	7%	7%	6%	12%	19%	20%
Non-Occupat	3%	3%	5%	4%	8%	14%	1%	0%	2%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
LAND OWNERSHIP :									
Farm Property	22%	22%	35%	41%	39%	39%	0%	0%	0%
Smallholding	8%	9%	7%	23%	16%	11%	0%	0%	0%
Town Section	7%	8%	16%	18%	21%	27%	0%	0%	0%
No Land	63%	61%	42%	18%	24%	23%	100%	100%	100%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
KINSHIP DENSITY :									
Kin in District	73%	80%	85%	44%	52%	52%	11%	10%	5%
No Kin	27%	20%	15%	56%	48%	48%	89%	90%	95%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	106	159	166	164	129	115	114	142	109

kin in the district increased. In terms of land ownership and kinship density, transients were marginal people in the district. They did not own land and very few of them had any kin living in the district.[54]

The stability that developed between 1920 and 1950 was achieved despite the fact that major changes took place in the district during this time. Significant changes in farming practice took place in the district subsequent to the Second World War and these will be commented on in detail in the next chapter. The other major source of change during this period was the building of the Waitaki hydro dam a few miles upriver from Kurow. Construction began in 1928 and was completed by 1934 and the impact that "the works" had on the life of the district needs to be examined. As one farmer's son commented: "We were a satisfied community, intermarried and fairly narrow-minded, but the works, as it was known, altered all that. The school burst at the seams, the doctor was run off his feet and the new hospital enjoyed what is popularly known as a heyday".[55]

THE WAITAKI HYDRO PROJECT

The advent of the motor car may have played a major role in transforming lifestyles between 1910 and 1920, but so too did the increasing availability of electric power. Electricity was available in Oamaru by September 1918 and thoughts then turned to extending the facility to country districts.[56] At the end of January, 1920, a meeting was held in Kurow to discuss: "the benefits obtainable from electricity and also the means of getting it in sufficient quantity and cheap enough for universal

use".[57] The meeting was called by the North Otago Hydro Electric Committee, and it was addressed by the committee's secretary, Robert Milligan, and also by the electrical engineer of the Oamaru Borough, Mr. Dalmer.[58]

In discussing the benefits of electric lighting, Dalmer stressed "... the ease and convenience of an electrically-lighted homestead - a light in every room, cupboard and shed, in the dairy and the cow byre, in the stable and motor garage, all lit by the pressure of a switch. There would be no more searching for matches, no more dear kerosene, no more evil-smelling oil lamps. The main point was its cheapness and convenience".[59]

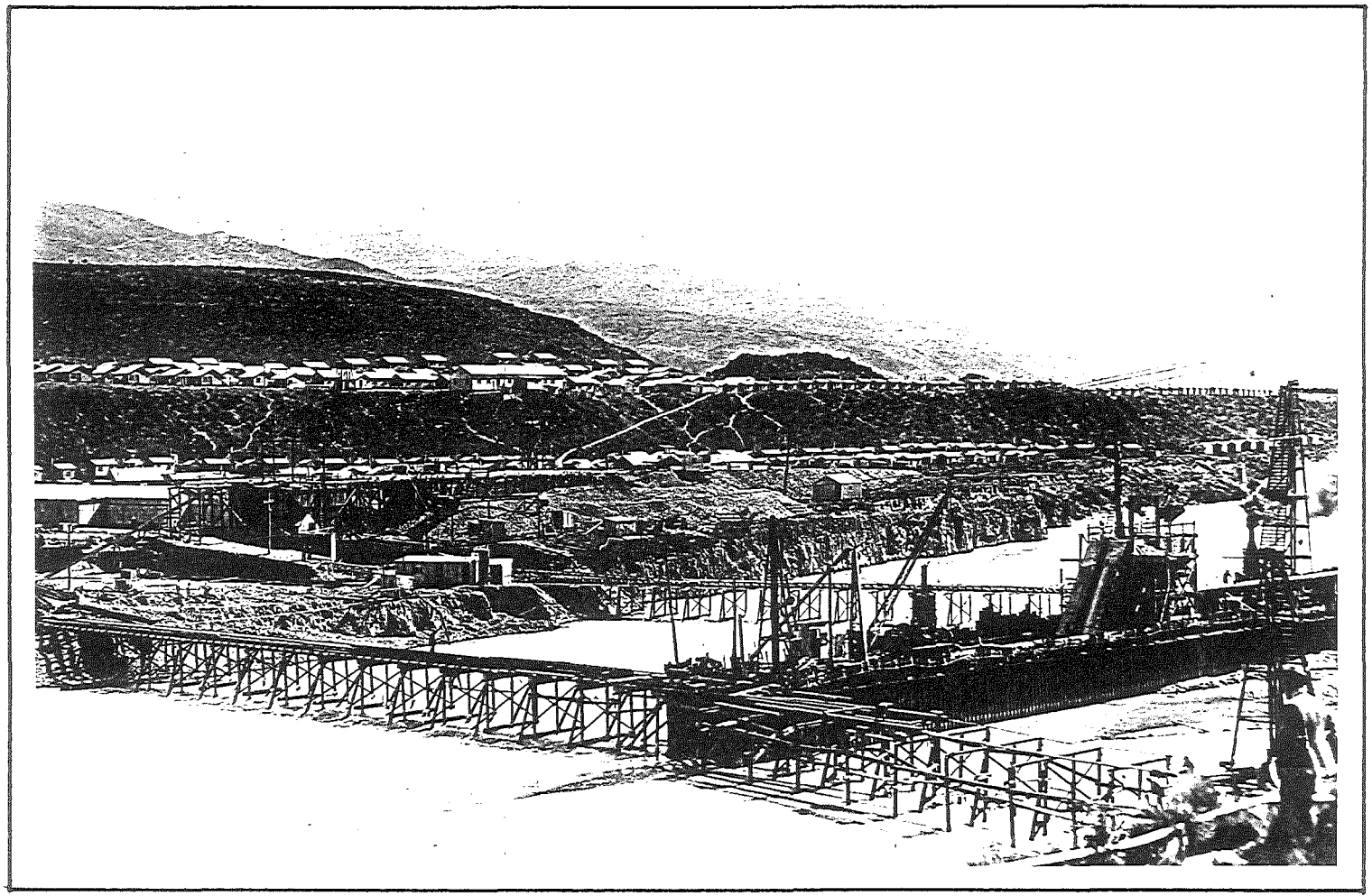
Milligan, for his part, stressed the supposed social benefits that would come with electricity: "The trend of population to the cities would be altered on the advent of electricity, for the drudgery of farming would be considerably reduced. Country life would be more attractive, closer settlement would come and there would be closer touch between town and country".[60]

The outcome of the meeting was that a local committee was formed to canvass the district for support and report back to the North Otago Hydro Electric Committee.[61] In the early 1920s, however, the Government decided that the generation of electric power should be a national concern, with local bodies being established to control reticulation and to charge for power. In August, 1923, the Waitaki Electric Power Board was established, and Robert Milligan was elected its first chairman.[62] The Board took over power generation from Oamaru Borough and began to plan the extension of the power supply into the country districts. By April 1928 it had reached Kurow.[63]

In December 1926, power from the hydro facility at Lake Coleridge became available, and shortly after this, government engineers turned their attention to the hydro-electric potential of the Waitaki River. After preliminary surveys, a spot about two miles above Kurow was chosen for damming. Below Kurow Gorge, the Waitaki was quite braided, but above the gorge, it flowed close to the hills on the Canterbury side. With the steep hills on one side, terraces on the other to provide working space and a natural basin immediately upriver, it was an ideal location.

Work began in August of 1928, with the first tasks being the extension of the railway from Kurow, the building of a camp to house the workers and the diversion of the main road past the site. A year later, the task of damming the river began. The job was a massive one: altogether nearly one million cubic yards was excavated and four hundred thousand cubic yards of rock and shingle removed. All of this, with the exception of a period of a fortnight towards the end of the five-year period, was done by men with picks and shovels.[64]

At its height, the project employed 1,045 men.[65] They lived in huts on the terraces above the dam site, some with wives and children. Local informants who lived in the district at the time talked also of people living in tents up every gully in the vicinity. It was the largest aggregation of people in North Otago outside of Oamaru and, as such, it offered obvious commercial opportunities. In a short time there was a wide range of shops and stores in the settlement, set up by businessmen from Waimate, Oamaru and Kurow. There were four general stores, a butcher shop, a boot shop, two tailors, a gents' outfitter, two



[Kurow Museum]

Dam Construction Site, Waitaki Hydro, Early 1930s
Wharekuri in Background

hairdressers, a bookshop, a newsagents, an ice-cream and soft drink shop, a chemist and a jeweller-cum-pawn shop. Milk was supplied from dairy farms in the Kurow district. There were unofficial bookmakers and regular gambling activities at the hydro - despite the presence of a resident policeman - but there does not appear to have been a liquor outlet.

The Otago Daily Times commented on the development of the hydro settlement as follows:

> The establishment of the settlement was carried on along the most advanced lines, with the result that it grew rapidly, and before long it was found impossible to carry on without the opening up of all manner of trading depots. At first only the necessaries of life were provided by stores hastily opened up by North Otago tradespeople. Later the increasing population attracted other lines of business, and within a few months there was everything in the way of trading facilities at Waitaki hydro which could be found in the average provincial township. Dentists began to make regular visits, adequate medical facilities were made available, and tailors, mercers, hardware establishments, and shops of all kinds sprang up to form a flourishing trading centre. The motion picture was not long after them, and the Church found its way into the community to look after the spiritual welfare of the population.[66]

A wide range of social activity took place at the hydro including rugby, tennis, basketball and golf. There was also a Highland pipe band. A workers' social committee organised regular film screenings, social activities, concerts and dances. Some of these dances appear to have been quite formal affairs:

> The Waitaki Hydro branch of the R.S.A. held a very enjoyable and successful dance in the Y.M.C.A. last Thursday evening. The gaily-decorated hall, fast floor and excellent supper left nothing to be desired by patrons....Amongst those present were:- Mrs Lusher, tartan taffeta; Mrs Shaw, red satin; Mrs Sidwell, green and black silk; Mrs Blythe, pale pink gorgette; Mrs Marriner, blue silk crepe...[67]

A hydro project of such scale and immensity obviously brought changes to the district. It benefitted the township commercially and some local people obtained employment at the dam site but socially there appears to have been little intermingling.[68] By and large, the people at the dam site seemed to have little to do with Kurow and vice versa.

One area where the hydro did have a major impact on Kurow, however, was the school - see Figure 10.1. There were about 200 children of school age at the hydro. The younger ones were taught in the Y.M.C.A. hall at the hydro,[69] but the older ones were transported by train to Kurow.

In 1928 the Kurow School had a roll of 63 children and a complement of two teachers. A year later the roll had risen to 119, and a secondary department had to be added in 1930. The school was upgraded to a District High School in 1931. In 1930 the school roll stood at 197 children, and it rose to a peak of 339 in 1932. The number of teachers was increased to seven, but the provision of facilities and equipment could not keep pace with the rate of expansion.[70] Children were taught in every available space in Kurow township, including the Presbyterian hall, the Masonic hall and the totalisator building at the race course.[71] Some hydro children even attended the Hakataramea Township School. In 1931 the site of the Kurow School was shifted from the foot of Kurow Hill to a sunnier position behind the race course, where expansion would be easier.[72]

Between 1927 and 1934 the headmaster of the Kurow School was Andrew McRae Davidson. Together with the doctor, D.G. McMillan, the Presbyterian minister, Arnold Nordmeyer and a

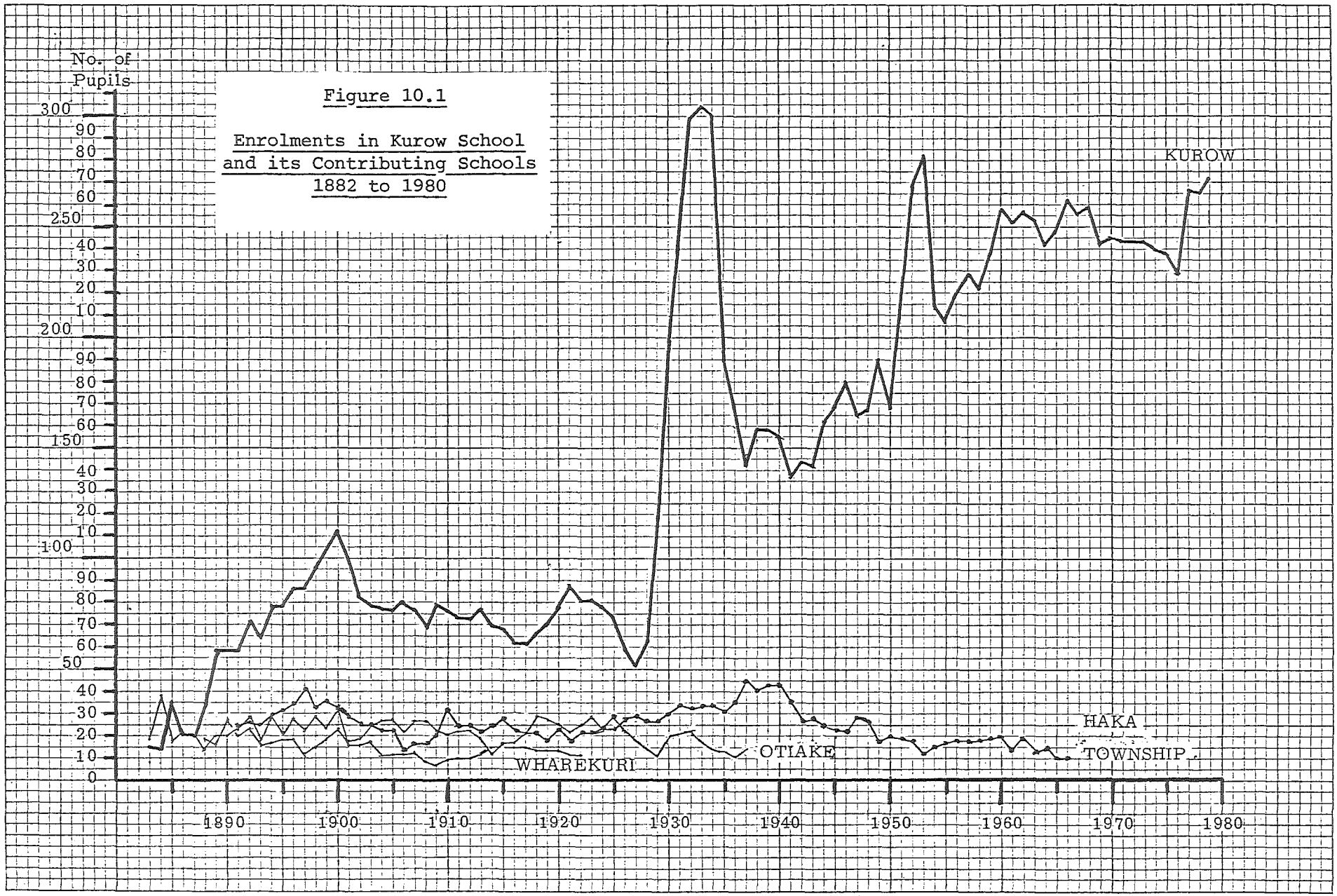


Figure 10.1

Enrolments in Kurow School and its Contributing Schools 1882 to 1980

foreman at Lake Waitaki, Gerry Skinner they formed what was known within the Labour Party as "The Kurow Group".[73] McMillan had come to Kurow in 1924 and Nordmeyer in 1925, but both were elected to Parliament in 1935.[74] Before working at Lake Waitaki, Skinner had been a farm worker in the Kurow district, and he later joined Nordmeyer and McMillan in Parliament in 1937.[75]

The working conditions at the hydro were hard and, in a significant foreshadowing of subsequent Labour Government welfare policy, McMillan implemented a local medical insurance scheme for the benefit of the workers.[76] One ex-hydro worker remembered it as follows:

> Wages were four pounds and sixpence a week and you had to pay your doctor out of that too. Everybody who worked on the hydro had to contribute. It was taken out of your wages as you got it. When you got your wages you had to pass a bloke on a table and pay the medical. It covered you for anything that had to be done. They had a fixed rate for compo if I remember rightly. I think it may have been six bob a day or something.[77]

A welfare scheme was one thing, but it appears that political activity was another matter. The ex-hydro worker continued:

> The unions didn't have a leg to stand on with the authorities. In those days they just said "Alright, if you don't like the job, get down the road". Nobody was in a position to combat that, a job was a job. They'd go to a bloke and say "You're a tradesman and you're getting fourteen bob a day, well, you're all on eight bob a day now, take it or leave it". They had the option of going on eight bob a day or going down the road. Well, with the married men, what the hell was the use of going down the road. They stayed on with the old pick and shovel. They killed a lot of good men that way, killed them in spirit, you know.[78]

It was not only in spirit that men were killed in the building of the Waitaki dam. During the time of construction there were 1,864 accidents on the project and eleven deaths. In Parliament in 1939, Gerry Skinner reflected back on the situation at the dam site:

> There were eleven deaths on that one job, and five of those deaths were due to the fact that absolutely no safety measures of any kind were adopted. The Public Works Department at that time had no policy in that direction. The accidents were caused directly by the fact that those in charge of the job drove men and expected them to do more than they were able to do, not being concerned one iota for safety measures....The men were forced to work in the cold early mornings, when they were half asleep, and they were driven far beyond their endurance. Most of the accidents occurred in the early morning or on night-shift when the vitality of the men was low, the light poor, and conditions bad.[79]

Skinner cited instances of men having to work with water running over the top of their thigh-boots and the temperature at sixteen degrees below zero. Within half an hour of starting work, he said, they were wet to the skin yet still had to work out a shift. He talked of men being compelled to work under crumbling shingle without safety precautions. He remembered "Ted" Solomon and Jack Woodgate, both killed at the bottom of ramps by run-away trucks.[80] Other men were drowned.[81] Skinner's memories were a mixture of pride and regret:

> It is a magnificent sight to look from the hills and watch the waters of the lake move like a sheet of glass over the spillway till it strikes the disrupters and breaks into a mighty, billowy foam. I take pride in having helped to build that structure, but my pride is overshadowed by the fact that I know hundreds of men lost fingers, legs, arms, and hands in the process of its construction. My pride is overshadowed when I remember that eleven men were killed.[82]

The Waitaki Dam was opened by the Governor-General, Lord Bledisloe, on 27th October, 1934. The retaining wall was 1,800 feet long and 120 feet high with its thickness varying from 10 feet at the top to 144 feet at the base. The whole project required half a million tons of concrete and cost just over two million pounds.[83] It created a lake that was five and a half miles long, one and a half miles wide and eighty feet deep at the dam face. Some grazing land was lost as a result of this, and one homestead was submerged.[84] The access road to the Canterbury runs of Te Akatarawa and Waitangi was cut as a result of the building of the dam, so a bridge had to be built. This was opened in 1933. After the dam was completed, operational staff were retained at Lake Waitaki to oversee the functionning of the project's two 15,000 kilowatt generators. As was mentioned earlier, a third generator was added in 1940, a fourth in 1941 and a fifth in 1949, bringing the station to a capacity of 76,000 kilowatts. Sixth and seventh turbines were added in 1954.[85]

There is no doubt that the building of the Waitaki Dam and the development of its generating capacity gave an important stimulus to the development of the Kurow district. The timing was significant because in other North Otago rural districts during these inter-war years the trend was one of decline rather than progress. McDonald commented on this trend as follows:

> Motor transport reduced the country township to a minimum, where business was represented only by a general store, with perhaps a butcher's shop and a garage. The smithy disappeared and so presently did the bakery; the rural mail delivery, established in 1916 closed many local post offices; with the elimination of railway passenger services or the removal of the railway itself the

> local siding was added to the list of derelict institutions; when schools were closed through consolidation, some districts ceased to have much significance as social groupings. In others, community life was maintained by church and hall, tennis court and football field. (1962:241)

However, McDonald went on to point out that one exception to this general trend was Kurow:

> The building of the great hydro-electric works at Awakino a few miles away gave it a stimulus in the early thirties which it never wholly lost. It was also perhaps sufficiently far from Oamaru to escape to some degree the domination of the town. The township became, and remains, the largest permanent centre of population outside Oamaru. A maternity hospital was opened in 1926; in 1928 it became the first North Otago township to have electric lights in its streets; the school became a District High School in 1931; a fine Memorial Hall was built in 1934; in the late thirties an active vigilance committee kept a watchful eye and a ready tongue in the township's interests; and in 1939 it gained its own water-supply system. Kurow built up an unusual set of social organisations. (1962:241)

An impression of the range of social and cultural activities in Kurow at this time can be obtained by looking at what was happening in the district in the mid-1930s.[86]

LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

In the mid-1930s a wide range of sport was being played in the district. There were two local rugby teams, Kurow and Haka Pirates, and another rugby team at the hydro. A further team was formed later in Otekaike. A Kurow ladies hockey team played in competition against other teams from North Otago. In July 1935 a nine-hole golf course was opened on John Tripp's "Glencary" property in the Hakataramea Valley. The golf club in Kurow did not eventuate until 1937, when a Ladies Golf Club was

formed. The following year, this was reconstituted as the Kurow Golf Club. There was also a tennis club in Kurow and a miniature rifle club. A tennis club was also formed in Otiake in 1935.[87] Nineteen thirty-five also saw the formation of a swimming club and a life-saving club in Kurow, both no doubt formed in anticipation of swimming baths being opened at the high school.[88] The Jockey Club and the Collie Dog Club also continued to be active during this period.

Sports clubs provided an opportunity for recreation, but they also served to forge a sense of local identity, especially where the competing teams came from other districts. During the winter months of 1935, for example, the Kurow and Hakataramea rugby teams played games against a variety of other North Otago teams such as Omarama, Duntroon, Georgetown, Tokarahi and Ngapara. Sport also served to heighten interlocality rivalries within the district. The Hakataramea Pirates narrowly defeated Kurow by twelve points to nine when they played in July of 1935.[89]

Sport also provided the context for reinforcing other kinds of rivalries. Sunday sport was a contentious issue between Protestants and Catholics in the district in the early 1930s, and the matter came to a head over the playing of tennis. The controversy was recalled by an informant:

> Up in the domain were the tennis courts and the McKinnon boys were very keen tennis players. They wanted to play on a sunday. Mr Nordmeyer was the Presbyterian minister and it was right against his principles to play any sport on a sunday. There was a public meeting called to vote on it and there was going to be an overwhelming victory for Mr Nordmeyer's following. Then somebody had the bright idea that there had to be fourteen days notice for the public meeting, so the meeting was

> declared invalid. Another meeting was set for the next fortnight. Unpaid subs had to be paid to the tennis club before people were eligible to vote. It was the best thing that ever happened to the tennis club. They had cars arranged, bringing in old ladies who didn't know a golf club from a tennis racquet. They paid their subs and voted. It had nothing to do with tennis. It was a war in the district between those who wanted to play and those with very strict Presbyterian upbringings who felt it was the work of the devil to be playing tennis on a sunday. Old Mick Butler was an old man then and probably wouldn't have known where the tennis court was but I can remember somebody paying his sub. He went along and voted for sunday tennis.[90]

The final vote is not recorded but if the Catholic lobby won, then it would have been an unusual show of strength on their part, since there was not a great sense of local identity among them. A Catholic informant commented:

> The Catholics had little sense of identity as a group. There was no driving force there to bring them together, whereas the Presbyterians had their minister and there was an Anglican vicar. That made a difference for them. But the priest played only a pretty minor role. He only came into the district on a fleeting visit very second sunday or so. He came from Oamaru and stayed overnight. He had very little chance to do any parish visitation at all, he just simply came, stayed overnight on the saturday, had a service on sunday morning, said Mass and went back to Oamaru. He didn't really have a lot of contact with the parishioners.[91]

In a strange way this lack of a strong identity among the Catholics may have inadvertently contributed to undermining the potential for religious bigotry in the district. Individual instances of religious prejudice were cited by informants, but one Catholic farmer summed the matter up as follows: "I can't honestly say that I thought there was any bigotry in this area, to any extent. I think for the simple reason that we were so

out-numbered. They didn't have to be bigoted!" This farmer's father had been prominent in local affairs during the 1930s, and he was willing to concede that his father being a Catholic may have been a hindrance: "Once or twice Dad may have been in line for the top job in local politics, but I think he missed out because he was a Catholic. The Masons were a fairly dominant crowd at that stage. When it came to the crunch in a district like this, if you had aspirations to be anybody, you had to be a Mason".

Another Catholic informant recalled the Masons of the 1930s as men of some prominence and substance:

> The one night of the month when they came for their Masonic meetings they came dressed to the nines in dinner jackets, dress jackets and bow ties. It was quite a gathering. They came all the way from the top of the Waitaki Valley. I was very small then, and used to be impressed by these men, all dressed up, coming to their Masonic meetings.

While a Protestant sense of identity benefitted from having resident ministers within the district, this was also reinforced by the prominence of the Masonic Lodge and the links it shared with the Presbyterian Church in particular. Between 1920 and 1950 in Kurow, forty-six men served on the Presbyterian Committee of Management, forty-five men served on the Anglican Vestry and ninety-nine men joined the Masonic Lodge. An indication of the occupational backgrounds of these men is provided in Table 10.27.[92] Twenty four members of the Presbyterian Committee of Management and six members of the Anglican Vestry were also members of the Masonic Lodge.

Table 10.27 : Occupational Distribution of Members of the Presbyterian Committee of Management, Anglican Vestry and Masonic Lodge, 1920 to 1950

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Presbyterian Management		Anglican Vestry		Masonic Lodge	
Farmer	25	55%	15	33%	37	37%
Farm Manager	2	4%	2	4%	5	5%
Business	4	8%	8	18%	8	8%
Professional	12	27%	8	18%	23	24%
White Collar	1	2%	3	7%	2	2%
Manual	2	4%	9	20%	24	24%
TOTAL	46	100%	45	100%	99	100%

The importance of farmers within these organisations is significant.[93] Comparing these figures with equivalent figures from the pre-1920 period, however, (see Table 8.28), the increasing significance of professionals within the district is also noteworthy. Among them were doctors, headmasters, bank managers, ministers and teachers. These organisations also included postmasters, station-masters, policemen, storekeepers, hotel proprietors, business managers and engineers from Lake Waitaki among their members.[94]

Farmers and professionals were also prominent members of a variety of other district organisations during these thirty years. Table 10.28 provides information on the men who served as office-bearers on the Kurow school committee, the Kurow branch of the Returned Servicemen's Association, the Kurow Hall committee and the Kurow and Hakataramea Public Library committee during this period.[95] The R.S.A. and the Hall Committee were both formed in 1934.

Table 10.28 : Office Bearers, Selected District Organisation 1920 to 1950

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Kurow School Committee (1920-50)		Kurow R.S.A. (1934-50)		Kurow Hall Committee (1934-50)		Kurow Library Committee (1920-50)	
Farmer	4	45%	5	26%	1	9%	2	12%
Business	1	11%	3	16%	1	9%	1	6%
Professional	2	22%	4	21%	4	36%	11	65%
White Collar	0	0%	2	11%	2	18%	0	0%
Manual	2	22%	5	26%	3	27%	3	18%
TOTAL	9	100%	19	100%	11	100%	17	100%

With the exception of the R.S.A., these committees were based in Kurow Township rather than the rural localities, yet farmers nevertheless played a prominent role on them. However, in the organisations that were specifically rural-based, such as the local branch of the Farmer's Union, the Waitaki Collie Dog Club and the Kurow Jockey Club, farmers were pre-eminent among the officers.[96]

Cultural activities also featured during the 1930s. In addition to the community library, a strong debating club ran a programme in Kurow during the winter months. At times it attracted as many as eighty people.[97]. The Reverend Nordmeyer played a prominent role in the debating club. The Kurow branch of the Worker's Educational Association held a meeting at the school in June of 1935 when a lecture was given by the W.E.A. tutor on "The World Situation". A fairly wide array of topics were also addressed in other lectures during the year from "The Mind" and "The Italian-Abyssinian Conflict" to "Mortality among

Hoggets".[98] There was a Beautifying Society active in Kurow Township, which spent 1,500 pounds in 1934 improving the appearance of the township.[99] There was also a Kurow Domain Board and a Dental Clinic Association.[100]

Euchre was played weekly during the winter months and doubled as a fund-raising activity for local organisations. At the hydro, the funds were primarily for the local branch of the Labour Party. These functions attracted over sixty people at times. In June 1935, a bridge club was formed under the auspices of the Anglican Church and met fortnightly at the vicarage. The Anglican vicar, the Reverend Newton, was very much involved in community affairs. He was club captain of the Hakataramea Golf Club, president of the miniature rifle club and helped form the bridge club.[101]

A wide range of women's groups met in Kurow in the 1930s, too, groups such as the Womens' Division of the Farmers' Union (formed in 1929), the Anglican Mothers' Union, the Anglican Ladies Auxiliary, Plunket (formed in 1914), the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union (formed in 1923), the Presbyterian Mother's Union (formed in 1934), the Presbyterian Ladies Guild (formed in 1936) and the Presbyterian Girls' Auxiliary (formed in 1939).

The Kurow branch of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union (P.W.M.U.) was formed on June 28th, 1923. The concluding comment from the first annual report, presented in 1924, set the tone for much of the activity in the years to come:

> We would urge upon all the importance of holding up before God in prayer the needs of our missionaries and our own activities on their behalf, for without Him all human effort is unavailing.[102]

Through regular meetings, the ladies kept in touch with missionary activities, particularly in India, China, Latin America and the Maori field. This was done through a variety of media - letters, extracts from books, personal visits by missionaries, lantern lectures and later, films.[103] In commenting on a series of missionary lantern lectures given by the Reverend Nordmeyer in May of 1933, the minute book records:

> The lecture was well attended by members and children, but there was an almost entire dearth of the men of our congregation.[104]

The early 1930s saw concern being expressed at the low level of interest among members. The Annual Report for 1932 contained the following comment:

> We thank all those who in however humble a way have helped to keep our branch from falling into oblivion but we must also remind members that unless a greater attendance at meetings is brought about then our branch will fail for lack of enthusiasm on the part of members. A membership of sixty and an average attendance of eight speaks for itself.[105]

In 1934, as a fund-raising effort for missions, the women decided to run a spring flower show. The first of these was held in October of 1935, and they continued until 1960. As a source of funds, they were most successful, and the annual flower show took its place alongside the sale of stamps, oriental work, Maori Mission Birthday League, Girls' Auxiliary and Busy Bees in raising money for missions.

During the war years and immediately afterwards, the annual flower show faced problems through shortages, and sometimes Kiwi ingenuity was necessary. In 1942, when no white paper was available for covering the tables, the problem was resolved by asking the church managers to whitewash the tables. In 1949, when there was a shortage of sugar for making cakes and sweets, the suggestion was made that meat and articles suitable for a delicatessen stall should be provided as alternatives. Since the judges for the show were brought in from other districts, there were always problems finding petrol during these years.

While the P.W.M.U. was noted for its flower shows, the hallmark of the Presbyterian Ladies Guild was its annual drama festival.[106] These annual drama festivals continued until the early 1950s and, in addition to being a useful source of funds for the Guild, they also contributed to the cultural life of the district. As with the flower shows, judges for the drama festivals were brought in from outside the district, and, in 1945, one of these judges "expressed surprise and pleasure at the numerous entries in the Festival and the advances made in drama in Kurow."[107]

The festivals were not without their problems, however, owing to interruptions caused by snow storms and sickness (1938), petrol restrictions (1939), war conditions (1941), school holidays (1943), peace celebrations (1945) and the absence of a judge because of illness (1945).

If farmers and professionals dominated the male office bearers, their wives, and to some extent their daughters,

dominated the female office bearers. Table 10.29 provides information on office bearers in two of the Presbyterian women's groups, the Women's Missionary Union and the Ladies Guild, and on the Library Committee. Women from farming or professional families were well represented on all three.[108]

Table 10.29 : Female Office Bearers, Selected Organisation 1920 to 1950

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF FAMILY	Presbyterian Womens' Missionary Union (1923-1950)		Presbyterian Ladies' Guild (1936-1950)		Kurow Library Committee (1920-1950)	
Farmer	13	50%	14	61%	1	11%
Business	2	8%	1	4%	3	33%
Professional	9	34%	5	22%	2	22%
White Collar	2	8%	3	13%	0	0%
Manual	0	0%	0	0%	3	33%
TOTAL	26	100%	23	100%	9	100%

The local Plunket committee was dominated from the early 1920s to 1950 by one family. Its first president and secretary were sisters - Mrs Walter Cameron and Mrs T.A. Munro. Both their husbands were prominent local farmers, and their father was Frederick Thiele, a Kurow storekeeper and runholder.[109] When Mrs Cameron died in 1932, Mrs Munro took over as president and her daughter, Mrs Neave, replaced her as secretary. Mrs Neave's husband was manager of the Kurow Motor Company.[110] Mrs Neave continued as secretary to the end of this period, and when Mrs Munro relinquished the presidency in 1948, she was replaced by Mrs Charles Hay, wife of a Hakataramea Valley farmer.[111]

At times, the concerns of some of these womens' groups were practical. For instance, a report on a meeting of the W.D.F.U. in August, 1935, commented: "After the reading of the creed a discussion on relieving distress in the district took place and it was decided to make an appeal for children's discarded clothing and clothing suitable for making down".[112]

Other social activity in the district during the 1930s included picnics, film shows, plays, concerts, community sing-songs and farewell socials for people leaving the district.[113] Hare drives were also treated as social occasions, and a number of these were held in the district between June and August.[114] Mainstays of the social life of the district, however, were the weekly dances and annual balls,[115] but by 1935 the tenor of the Saturday night dances had changed as a result of the hydro. A farmer's son commented:

> The dances lost all dignity. I would say that the Otiake Hall would never recover from the onslaught of about 200 men who crammed into it when the "hop" was held on a Saturday night. Booze ran like water, fights were common and Constable Devine, or his successor, were hard put to it to keep order. Finally I think hall committees were fed up and refused use of their halls, but the dam was nearing completion and a quiet exodus had begun. Kurow was about to slip back to its former dreaming.[116]

FOOTNOTES :

1. William Munro was originally from Invernesshire in Scotland and his wife had been born in Tasmania. They met when Munro was working in the Victoria gold fields in Australia. They would have taken up the Otematata accommodation house sometime in the mid-1860s. All of their eleven children, and many of their subsequent grandchildren and great grandchildren remained in the Upper Waitaki so, numerically, the family has been an important one in the district. So much so, that the Upper Waitaki is referred to by some as the land of "Munros, Merinos and Matagouri". In 1982, T.A. Munro's daughter, Mabel, along with her husband Erskine Neave, published a local history of the Kurow district, and this was the title that they gave to their book (Neave, 1980).

2. William Goddard left the district on selling the hotel but Delargy took up land across the river from Kurow and got into sheep farming. At that stage in the district's development, he was one of the few Catholics to do so. Some of the Delargy descendants still farm in the district.

3. The Sunny Peaks run was originally in two parts - run 3 of 23 and run 4 of 23 - the original run 23 was Kurow Station. The lease to run 3 (4,528 acres) was first taken up by Ernest Hille on May 10th, 1888, while the lease to run 4 (3,982 acres) was taken up by his brother Edric on the same date. Their father was Christian Hille, original settler and farmer of Otiake. Edric took over both leases in 1897 and then transferred them to the Munros in 1904. The annual rental was seventy-eight pounds. Herbert Munro subsequently took over the lease of the Rugged Ridges pastoral run, upriver from Kurow, and so on July 24th, 1911, he transferred his share in the Sunny Peaks lease to Thomas. Kurow Hill was run 9 of 23. It was originally leased to John Wilson, a carrier of Kurow on May 10th 1888 and then passed through a number of hands before being taken up by the Munros. In 1892, Wilson transferred the lease to George Sutherland who transferred it in turn in 1895 to Walter Sutherland, a storekeeper of Omarama. In 1906, Sutherland transferred it to Robert Gillies, a stock agent of Kurow who then transferred it to Janet Munro in 1908. The annual rental for the Kurow Hill run was 102 pounds. Both of these runs are still retained by the Munro family.

4. See Sheep Returns, Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, Vol H.23, 1911.

5. These obituaries were kept in a scrapbook by a member of the Munro family but were not dated, thus no referencing can be provided. One obituary commented: "His name will go down in the annals of North Otago as one who has given his whole life in the cause of the welfare of this district". Another said that in the twenty-five years prior to his death he had been "one of the most active men in the public affairs of North Otago".

6. Being a County Councillor was of some significance within the district. One informant commented that the councillor was the nearest thing to a politician in Kurow. There were two councillors in the district - one for Waitaki County and one for Waimate County. Councillors were invariably farmers.

7. The provisional directors of the new company were Thomas Munro, and his brothers Tertius and Roualeyn Munro; Thomas Munro's brother-in-law Walter Preston Cameron of Otematata Station and his brother Joseph Farrar Cameron of Aviemore Station; Andrew Shanks, a Kurow coal merchant; John Moody, a wool merchant of Timaru; H.T. Wigley and R.L. Wigley of the Mount Cook Motor Company; and R.G. Hudson, a businessman of Dunedin. The first board of directors, appointed in December 1920, included Thomas Munro, Walter Cameron, R.G. Hudson, John Moody and James Barclay, a Kurow storekeeper. Eight thousand one-pound shares were issued in November of 1920 and out of the forty original shareholders only four - Hudson, Moody and the two Wigleys - were not from the Kurow or Omarama districts (Kurow Motor Company Minutes, 1920).

8. There was another transport business in Kurow at the time, Appleby and Co. Between July and September of 1920 the Kurow Motor Company entered into negotiations to purchase Richard Appleby's buildings, sections, stock and plant "at valuation" but Appleby's terms were not acceptable and so the negotiations were discontinued (Kurow Motor Company minutes, 1920). The Motor Company eventually took over Appleby and Co. in 1937.

9. T.A. Munro had, in fact, purchased a Buick motor bus in 1914 to service the mail run to Omarama, so the advent of motorised transport in the district had pre-dated 1920. By 1920, many of the larger farmers in the district had cars and so too did some of the professionals and businessmen but, as one informant insisted, no "working men" had cars then.

10. There was a dispute between two retired farmers as to which of them had been the last one using a horse team in the district. One had been a farmer in the lower end of the Haka Valley and the other had farmed up Kurow Creek. Both had finished using horse teams around 1948, however.

11. Equivalent figures for Otekaike Special School are not available directly in the census until 1951. We can deduce the figures, however, from reports in the Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives (see Vol E-4). Numbers for Otekaike Special School would seem to be approximately 100 in 1921, 254 in 1926, 325 in 1936 and 186 in 1945. In the 1951 census report the figure for the school is given as 131.

12. Comparing the reconstruction and census figures, the discrepancies are -119, -129 and -62 respectively. The shortfall for 1920 has already been discussed in chapter 8 where it was suggested that rabbiters and other transient

single adult male workers would have made up the bulk of this untraced population. It is reasonable to suppose that a similar situation would have obtained in 1935. By 1950, Rabbit Boards had begun to be established in the district and so there would have been less freelance rabbiters in the district, hence the smaller discrepancy for that year.

13. Whatever potential Haka Township may have had for growth was severely undermined in 1932 when the rail link with Kurow was closed. From then on, Kurow became became the railhead for the district.

14. There are a number of sources which provide useful information on the Waitaki hydro developments. New Zealand Electricity Department pamphlets provide a useful base source and so too do newspaper accounts and Hansard records of the time (see, for example The Otago Daily Times of October 2nd, 1934 and The Oamaru Mail of May 14th, 1865 and Hansard, 1939, page 307). The two main books on Waitaki hydro development are Arnold Nordmeyer, The Waitaki, Waitaki Lakes Committee, 1981, and Gil Natusch, Waitaki Dammed and the Origins of Social Security, Otago Heritage Books, 1985. Some information is also available in McDonald (1962). W.J. Campbell, Hydro Town, (1957) provides comparable information on the Roxburgh hydro development of the early 1950s.

15. In 1935 the equivalent figure was 1 adult to 2.2 children.

16. The average size of households in the townships was 3.8 (1920), 4.3 (1935) and 3.8 (1950). Equivalent figures for the rural localities were 4.4 (1920), 4.5 (1935) and 3.8 (1950).

17. Of the thirteen households in 1920 with female heads, eleven were headed by widows and two by single women (a teacher and a nurse). Only four of the women had been connected with farming and only seven of them lived in the townships. In 1935, twenty of the households were headed by widows, two by single women (a tailoress and a matron) and one by a married woman whose husband lived elsewhere in the district. Again, only four of these women had been connected with farming and sixteen lived in Kurow or Haka. In 1950, all of the women were widows, seven of them had been connected with farming and nineteen lived in the townships.

18. It will be remembered that the property categorisation that is being used is as follows: Smallholdings (1-50 acres); Small Farms (51-200 acres); Middle Farms (201-1,000 acres); and Large Farms (1,000 acres plus). The other two property types in the categorisation are Sheep Runs and Sheep Stations.

19. In 1935, 33% of the district land was freehold and the other 67% was leasehold. In 1950, the equivalent proportions were 28% freehold and 72% leasehold. There were significant differences, though, between the two provincial segments of

the district. The proportion of leasehold land in the Canterbury segment was 49% and 57% respectively in 1935 and 1950 whereas in the North Otago segment, the proportion of leasehold land was 91% in both years.

20. Some comments should be offered in relation to farms and farmers in this table. The farms that were held by farm manual workers were small farms. The three "non-occupational" males who held title to farms were retired farmers. Farmers who held no land were mainly sons who were working in partnership with fathers or else family members who were managing farms for a family trust.

21. In 1935, wives of runholders or farmers held title to three sheep runs, three farms and a smallholding. One farm worker's wife held title to a smallholding and five other women held title to another five smallholdings. This made a total in all of thirteen women who held title to land in 1935. In 1950, this had risen to nineteen. Wives of runholders or farmers held title to two sheep runs, three farms and one smallholding. Titles to thirteen smallholdings were held by six farm worker wives and seven other wives. There were other women who held title to land in partnership with their husbands but again, this number was very small.

22. By 1935, the only company that still held title to land in the district was the New Zealand and Australian Land Company. Three properties were being managed as family trusts in 1935 and 8 in 1950. In 1935, 131 of these properties (83%) were held in single title. By 1950, this had risen to 145 properties (86%). Joint titles numbered 23 (14%) in 1935 and 15 (9%) 1950.

23. If we include women here then the proportions of adults who held no title to land was as follows : 1905 76%; 1920 74%; 1935 79%; and 1950 73%.

24. We do not have space here to look in detail at property ownership in the townships but a noticeable trend was that in 1920, the main property owners in Kurow Township were local businessman whereas by 1950 this had changed with companies taking prominence - Waitaki Supply Store, Bremner Milne and the Kurow Motor Company. Prominent among these businessmen were the publicans but, as one informant commented, publicans may have had wealth but they did not have status.

25. The proportion of single men within the district was as follows : 48% of adult males in 1905; 43% in 1920; 46% in 1935 and 28% in 1950.

26. By 1950 land holding still only encompassed 47% of adult males and 27% of all adults.

27. However, this was qualified by the fact that while private individuals were the source for 62% of the rural mortgages, these related to only 36% of the land that was mortgaged.

28. Banks provided 61 mortgages, stock agents provided 40, government departments provided 39 and loan companies provided 21. The other institutional sources were building societies (5), insurance companies (7), businesses (6), lodges (3) and a pastoral company (3).

29. There were 103 mortgages on township land, 93 of these in Kurow and ten in Haka Township. Twenty one percent of these mortgages came from private sources within the district, 31% came from private sources outside the district and the remaining 48% came from institutional sources. The major source of institutional funding were banks, all of which were outside the district. The major change here from the 1880-1920 period was an increase in the proportion of institutional sources and a corresponding decrease in the proportion of private sources from outside the district. For the township mortgages, the equivalent proportions in the 1880-1920 period were : private source within the district 21%; private source outside the district 46%; and institutional source outside the district 33%.

30. The main mortgage relief legislation during the 1930s were: The Mortgagor's Relief Act of 1931, and the Mortgagor's and Tenant's Relief Act of 1932. Both of these Acts were subject to a number of subsequent amendments. For an informative discussion of this period in New Zealand's economic history, see R.M. Burdon, The New Dominion, A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1965 (especially chapter 11).

31. One farmer commented on how his father had had one of the mortgages on the family property reduced as a result of one of these reviews. While they were grateful for the relief that this offered at the time, his father was nevertheless insistent on eventually repaying the mortgage in full to the individual concerned and adding a bonus as an extra. According to this farmer, where mortgages were to be wiped by the Boards it was invariably the second mortgage that was affected. One unfortunate consequence of this, he said, was that it was often widows who provided funds for second mortgages and they lost out as a result.

32. No information is provided on the certificate on titles as to when variations were made in the terms of a particular mortgage but just under three quarters of these mortgages had been taken out between 1921 and 1931.

33. These figures would tend to suggest that about half of the farm properties in the district had variations made to the terms of their mortgages during this period.

34. One informant who owned a small farm reported getting into an argument over stock firms. He stuck up for one particular stock agent and thought he was going to get his faced punched for his troubles. He concluded that maybe he did not owe the firm as much as the other men did.

35. Sometimes this was not easy with some creditors. In Otiake, the post office was run by the blacksmith and it was reported that he would hold back cream cheques from defaulting debtors in an attempt to pressure them into paying their outstanding bills with him.

36. One district farmer who was put on an allowance of one pound a week by his stock agent resolved the financial problem by giving the allowance to his wife while he went rabbiting.

37. 1928 and 1929 had been good years for rain but there were droughts in the district in 1932 and 1933, and a severe winter in 1934.

38. She commented: "When I came back there was nothing to do on the farm. My mother and two sisters were already there. I looked after animals but there was nothing else to do except walk around the sheep. There was no purpose. When I finished high school I simply had to get away. To a teenager, the valley was so confining. If a boyfriend took us anywhere he had to go with the family. It was a very confining atmosphere".

39. One woman recalled living in the Hakataramea Valley in the 1930s when her father was a rabbiter. They lived in a make-shift hut with wooden sides and chaff sacks for a roof. The floor was dirt and there was a lean-to built on the end that was her mother's kitchen. A copper under a nearby tree was for heating the water from the creek. Her recollections of their living conditions were summed up in the phrase "abject poverty".

40. An informant, Bill Cochrane, had worked in Digger's Gully during 1932. He provided this information. He was a local and had worked there for the winter with one of his brothers. Of the five other men who were working there at the same time, four had previously worked at the hydro. Working conditions were difficult since they had to dig rather than pan. The frosts were severe, 1932 had been a drought year so there was very little water and such water as there was, was constantly squabbled over.

41. By 1946, Sandy Cochrane was farming in Cattle Creek with one of his brothers and he subsequently held a lease to a small grazing run in his own right.

42. Quoted from Anglican Vestry minutes, April 6th, 1930. In July of 1932, the Presbyterian minister's salary was also reduced from 325 pounds to 300 pounds (Session minutes).

43. The informant amplified on this: "I was the waitress. The bell used to go and when each course was finished you'd have to take in the next one. It was always done properly in those days. I always think of that serial that was on television, "Upstairs Downstairs". That was rather interesting. It brought back quite a few memories watching that".

44. One informant commented that things changed considerably after the Second World War - "it brought people down to earth".

45. The "Women's Division" referred to here was the Women's Division of the Farmer's Union. This farmer talked of four categories of property in Otekaike at this time : the two sheep runs, the mixed cropping farms, the marginal farms and the smallholders. He indicated that staff from the Special School "pulled in" to some extent with the farming people of the locality during this time but that by and large they were somewhat marginal. The school people thought they were the centre of the district, he said, because there were so many of them. This was a perception that was not accepted by the farmers and so there was some tension as a result.

46. Of these 371 marriages, 235 were Presbyterian (63%), 65 were Anglican (18%) and 71 were Roman Catholic (19%). Seventy one percent of these marriage ceremonies took place in a church or chapel, 12% in a manse and 15% in a private residence. Equivalent figures for the period 1880 to 1920 were 26% in a church or chapel, 7% in a manse and 62% in a private residence. There was therefore quite a change in the patterning between these periods.

47. Fifteen of the brides were also from the hydro. Of the twenty-seven marriages that involved hydro people, eleven were between a hydro groom and a hydro bride, twelve were between a hydro groom and a non-hydro bride (five of these brides were from the Kurow district) and four involved hydro brides and non-hydro grooms (three of whom came from the Kurow district). Eighteen of these marriages were Presbyterian, five were Roman Catholic and four were Anglican.

48. Of these 112 district marriages, 72% were Presbyterian, 14% were Roman Catholic and 14% were Anglican.

49. Brides who came from outside North Otago were resident elsewhere in Otago or in Canterbury (forty-two), Westland (one), Southland (two) and Wellington (two). Grooms who came from outside North Otago were resident elsewhere in Otago or in Marlborough (two), Canterbury (forty-eight), Southland (five) and the North Island (seven).

50. The significance of the inheritance of property can perhaps be seen in the fact that males tended to marry either laterally or upwards in mobility while females tended to marry laterally or downwards. The incidence of manual workers who married farmer's daughters is probably related to the fact that the nature of the employment situation on farms would bring them into contact. If not all single farm workers married the farmer's daughter, this at least was a possibility that a lot of them would have entertained.

51. Among the longer established farming localities, Wharekuri would have been an aberrant case here because of the extensive land aggregation that had taken place in the locality and the impact of hydro development on its farming and families.

52. Without labouring this point too much, an illustrative example may suffice. Of the 430 adult males who were in the district in 1935, 214 had been there in 1920, 84 had been there in 1905 and 21 had been there in 1890. Of the 214 who were there in 1920, 76 were farmers in 1935, 83 were farm workers and 23 were non-farm manual workers. Of the 84 who had been there in 1905, 44 were farmers in 1935, 11 were farm workers and 10 were non-farm manual workers. Of the 21 who had been in the district in 1890, 12 were farmers in 1935 and 2 were farm workers. It should be noted that these men were farmers or farm workers in 1935 and that when they were in the district at these previous points in time they would probably have been children. A similar pattern of continuity being linked to particular occupations is apparent when we look at future continuity in the district. Of the 430 adult males who were in the district in 1935, 148 were still there in 1950, 72 in 1965 and 30 in 1982. Of the 148 who were still there in 1950, 60 were farmers in 1935, 63 were farm workers and 13 were non-farm manual workers. Of the 72 who were still there in 1965, 20 had been farmers in 1935, 43 had been farm workers and 6 had been non-farm manual workers. Of the 30 who were still in the district in 1982, 2 had been farmers in 1935, 22 had been farm workers and 4 had been non-farm manual workers. Farmers were more likely than manual workers to leave the district on retirement, hence the lower number of farmers still there in later periods.

53. The lower proportion of females who could be considered to be locals and the higher proportion who could be considered to be newcomers is a reflection of patrilocality among the local population. This has been commented on in a previous chapter.

54. This did not mean to say, however, that they were necessarily marginal to the district's social activities. As we shall see shortly, many transients, especially those in professional occupations, occupied prominent positions on district committees of various sorts.

55. An article entitled "Memories of Kurow in Days When Horse, Buggy Reigned" appeared in the Oamaru Mail on Saturday, March 20th, 1976 under the name M.E. Delaney. This quote is taken from there. The number of live births registered at Kurow Post Office increased from five in 1928 to a high of eighty-six in 1934. By 1935 they had dropped back to just under thirty. There were similar increases in 1952 (78 live births) and 1959 (113 live births) during the installation of the 6th and 7th turbines at Waitaki and the construction of the Benmore dam upriver from Waitaki respectively. This information comes from the records of the Registrar of

Births, Deaths and Marriages, Kurow. In 1935, the Otago Daily Times reported that over recent months the numbers of births, marriages and deaths in Kurow had shown "a very marked decrease, due mainly to the thinning population at the Waitaki Hydro works" (4th July, 1935).

56. See McDonald (1962:244-246).

57. North Otago Times, January 24th, 1920.

58. On the motion of Archie McInnes of Otiake, Norman Hayes of Hakataramea Valley was elected to chair the meeting.

59. North Otago Times, January 24th, 1920. It was still the case, though, that getting the electricity connected was only the first step. In July of 1928 it cost fifty pounds to have electricity brought on to an Otiake farm, but it then took another eight years before the farmer's wife got an electric range and nine before she got a washing machine.

60. Ibid.

61. The committee comprised six farmers and one non-farmer. The farmers on the committee were Archie McInnes of Otiake, Len Kelcher of Hakataramea Valley, James Sutherland of Benmore, Len Pavletich of Station Peak, Robert Trotter of Garguston, Wharekuri, and Norman Hayes of Normanvale, Hakataramea Valley. The non-farmer was publican Joseph Spiers of the Kurow Hotel. T.A. Munro also joined the committee later.

62. Details of this can be found in McDonald (1962:244-245).

63. This only serviced the bottom end of the township, however. For some reason, electricity did not reach the top of the township until 1949.

64. Information obtained from Hansard, 1939, vol 254, page 307.

65. Information available from Monthly Abstract of Statistics, Census and Statistics Department, Wellington, vols 15-21, 1928-1934. The peak was between June and October 1931 when just over 1000 men were employed. A third of these were designated as "artisans" and the rest were "labourers".

66. Otago Daily Times, October 2nd, 1934.

67. Otago Daily Times, July 6th, 1935.

68. Those local people who did work at the hydro tended to be from labouring families. Delaney comments: "Nowadays the farming folk would have not been too proud to have taken a job at a public works as close as Waitaki was, but in my day most farmers, poised as they were on the edge of a slump, would have lost face by working anywhere else but on their farms. Land is land they would say. They aren't making any more of it. The land will see us through." (Oamaru Mail, March 20th, 1976.

69. The Y.M.C.A. hall was opened by the Minister of Public Works on January 29th, 1929 and it contained a library, a reading room, a billiards room and facilities for "fine kinema entertainment" (Otago Daily Times, October 2nd, 1934). Initially, a woman teacher travelled up from Kurow to the hydro each day and took sixty infants on her own. The children ranged in age from primer 1 to primer 4. After nine months, however, she was joined by another female teacher and the two of them were provided with living accommodation at the dam site. The woman who originally taught at the hydro was still living in Oamaru in 1982. Before leaving Lake Waitaki in 1934 she had married a hydro worker and I interviewed her and her husband on August 13th.

70. Nor could it keep pace with the type of children who were being added to the school. While there were many among the hydro children who were educationally quite adept, this was far from the norm as the following written comments on the Education Department reports for the school reveal: "The percentage of retarded pupils in these classes is unusually high and is due to circumstances over which the staff of this school has had no control" (1929). "Many of these children are the progeny of shiftless parents who appear to be apathetic regarding education and progress of children" (1930).

71. An informant commented: "People were flooding in in their thousands. The school was so large - it grew so rapidly - that they used every hall in the area. My first two years were in the totalisator." Despite the less than satisfactory circumstances, however, a few of the pupils did manage to compete successfully in national scholarship examinations during this period.

72. The new school building did not last long. In 1939 it was burned down in mysterious circumstances and most of the school records were burned with it.

73. See New Zealand Heritage, vol 6, 1976.

74. McMillan was the member for the Dunedin West electorate while Nordmeyer represented Oamaru.

75. Skinner was elected to parliament in 1938 to represent the Motueka electorate. Speaking in Parliament in 1939 on this transition from farm worker to hydro worker, Skinner said: "I was a farm worker up to 1931, when I was driven on to public works because I could not get work on farms. After I had been pushed on to public works, the farmer for whom I was working employed two workers who were subsidized out of the Unemployment Fund." (Hansard, 1939, page 527).

76. McMillan has been acknowledged in a number of sources as having been influential in provided shape to the Labour Government's health and welfare policies after 1935 (see "A Health Service for New Zealand", Government Printer, 1975:43;

and Fraser, 1984:61). McMillan's scheme was, in fact, adapted from the English National Health Insurance Scheme of 1911 (see Campbell, 1964:37-38).

77. Interview August 13th, 1982. The workers' social committee also served a welfare function: "We had a fund that was utilised for distressed people. For instance, some bloke would get the sack and he might have four or five kids. Well, there'd be no hope in hell of him shifting and so he'd just dig in. So the Department would get the copper to shift him. That's when our committee would go into operation. We had a certain amount of liaison in Dunedin and they'd fix up accommodation. It didn't matter what sort of house it was as long as it was a roof over his head. We'd also pay his transport fees from the hydro, perhaps a lorry to take his furniture and so on. In a lot of cases too, we supplied food to families that were hard done by."

78. Ibid.

79. Hansard, 1939, pages 531-532.

80. My hydro informant provided a description of Solomon's death. "There were stacks of iron rails and between them there was a set of rails laid down. We filled a truck with pick and shovel, put the wire rope on with a pin and gave the signal. They pulled it away up on the ramp from the top and emptied it into the shakers where the rock was sieved. When they brought the empty truck back to the edge of the precipice the bloke held it with one hand and wired it up again. But he must have missed with the pin. When he pushed the truck over the edge it careered down the incline flat out. It was well on its way before anybody realised there was nothing holding it. There were yells and screams. Solomon was in between these two rows of iron rails and he woke up to the fact that there was something wrong. But he had nowhere to go except the way the truck was going. He couldn't get up over the iron rails, so he took off. But of course he lost the race" (interview, August 13th, 1982). Skinner commented that Solomon's life was wasted "just as surely as if he had been placed against a wall and shot" (Hansard, 1939, page 531).

81. Three men were drowned during the construction process of the dam - messrs Hoffman, Falls and McLeod. McLeod's body was not found until May 1935 (Otago Daily Times, May 3rd and 6th, 1935).

82. Hansard, 1939, page 532.

83. Otago Daily Times, October 2nd, 1934.

84. The homestead belonged to John Tripp of Glencary. Tripp had bought the run just prior to this but had not been aware of the impending hydro development. He moved to live at the bottom end of the Hakataramea Valley.

85. This material has been taken from an N.Z.E.D. pamphlet. Similar information can be found in Nordmeyer (1981:9) but it is quoted there inaccurately.

86. During the mid-1930s the local bootmaker in Kurow, George Cogger, acted as local correspondent for the Otago Daily Times. I am grateful to George for allowing me access to his newspaper clippings.

87. Unfortunately, the Otiake court was built with the side fencing too close to the playing area. This obviously made play difficult.

88. The baths were opened on November 17th, 1937.

89. According to one informant, however, it still was not unusual for players to move between teams, depending on where they could get a game.

90. McKinnons were office-bearers of the tennis club in the mid-1930s.

91. This did not mean to say that the priest exerted little control over the Catholic community. The story is told locally of a Kurow butcher who married a Catholic and then had a run-in with the priest to the extent that the priest was forcefully ejected from the house. Next sunday, the priest announced from the pulpit that no Catholics were to buy meat from the butcher concerned. It was not too long before the priest received an apology from the butcher.

92. This information has been drawn from minute books, membership registers and interviews with informants.

93. Between 1920 and 1950, six men served as session clerk in the Kurow Presbyterian church. All of these men except for one were prominent farmers in the district. The non-farmer was a local butcher. The Anglican church was less dominated by farmers. Between 1920 and 1950 there were two Vicar's wardens and seven People's wardens. Only two of these men were farmers, the rest being a blacksmith, a saddler, two engine drivers and three clerks.

94. The Masonic Lodge was reputed to be quite strong at Lake Waitaki. Nineteen of these Masons who joined the Kurow Lodge were working at Lake Waitaki and nine of these were engineers. The rest were tradesmen or manual workers.

95. By "office-bearer" is implied President or Chairman; Vice-president (if there was one); Treasurer and Secretary. This information has been drawn from minute books and interviews with informants.

96. Of the fourteen men who were president or vice-president of the Collie Dog Club between 1920 and 1950, thirteen were farmers. The other was manager of Hakataramea Station. Nine

men held prominent office in the Jockey Club during this time (president, vice-president or treasurer). Seven were farmers, one was a local storekeeper and the other was manager of the Hakataramea Fish Hatchery. The Hatchery manager also owned a local farm, incidentally. The local Farmers' Union started off as the Otekaike Branch of the Farmers' Union in 1920 but included among its members, farmers from Wharekuri, Hakataramea Valley, Kurow Vicinity and Otiake. It officially became part of Federated Farmers in 1947 and, not surprisingly, all of its office-bearers during this time were farmers.

97. The club president for 1935 was Len Pavletich, farmer of Station Peak and the topics for debate during 1935 were as follows: That the girl of the present day is a more attractive creature than the girl of the Victorian era (June); That the introduction of machinery has done more harm than good (June); That the kinema does more harm than good (July); and That the League of Nations has failed (August). They also held a mock election in July when Mr O'Reilly was elected the unofficial mayor of Kurow.

98. The Reverend Nordmeyer addressed the Women's Division of the Farmers' Union on "The Mind" in October, the members of the Waitaki hydro R.S.A. were lectured on "Defence" in June, a lecture on "Empire Trade" was offered during the king's silver jubilee celebrations in May, the bank manager John McPhail gave a lecture on "Arbor Day" at the school, local farmers gathered at Normanvale in June to hear a lecture on "Mortality among Hoggets" and W.T. Alley of Canterbury College gave the lecture on "The Italian-Abyssinian Conflict" in the Y.M.C.A. hall at the hydro. There was also a lecture on "Uncle Tom's Cabin" given at the Y.M.C.A. hall by the Georgetown Salvation Army in July.

99. Its president was the bank manager, John McPhail, and its vice president was a local runholder, William Menzies. The secretary and treasurer was Mr C.A. Maude, a bank officer.

100 On June 20th, 1928, a meeting of representatives from schools in the Upper Waitaki basin met in Kurow for the purpose of petitioning the Government to have a dental clinic opened at Kurow school. A prime motivating factor in their action was declared to be the disadvantage that rural people faced in getting adequate dental treatment. The dental clinic was opened in 1929 and the Upper Waitaki Dental Clinic Association was formed shortly thereafter to oversee the operation of the clinic. It continued in existence until around 1954. Information extracted from minute books of the Association.

101 The Reverend Newton was also busy with spiritual matters. At the Anglican annual meeting in May of 1935, he reported that in the previous twelve months, 103 services had been held in the chapel, 2,530 people had attended services and 629 persons had received communion. He intimated that there were

49 Anglican homes in Kurow. By July, Hakataramea was included in the parochial district of Waitaki and two services a month were to be held there in addition to the services in Kurow.

102 Branch meetings of the Kurow P.W.M.U. were to continue until July 7th, 1965, when the it merged with other Presbyterian women's groups to form the Association of Presbyterian Women.

103 Sometimes this meant that they were also kept up to date with world developments as the following comment from 1937 suggests: "Mrs Chapman read a very interesting letter from a friend in China giving first hand impressions of life there and of the outbreak of war" (October 21st, 1937). This interest in China had been a continuing one from the early days of the branch's activities as the following extract from the minutes shows: "Mr Nordmeyer gave a most inspiring address on the missionary situation in China, touching on the political, industrial and scientific aspects of the situation (3rd Annual Report, 1926).

104 Minutes of P.W.M.U., May 31st, 1933. Thirty years later, the interim moderator of the Kurow church commented on this unfortunate "division" when he said "men worked for church session and women for missions". This was a "division" that had to be overcome (June 11th, 1963).

105 Minutes of P.W.M.U., April 30th, 1930. This concern with apathy was not one that was limited only to Kurow, however. The following "encouragement" was received from the Oamaru President on April 29th, 1931: "The times demand true women workers whose faith will stand the test, for it is no time for half measures." A year earlier, the branch had received letters from the national P.W.M.U. executive asking that members try to obtain greater interest among those not attending meetings: "Every branch should cooperate in gaining greater attendance at all P.W.M.U. meetings".[97]

106 At a meeting of the Ladies Guild on March 18th, 1936, the president had proposed "a series of plays to be acted by different groups of players and judged at a special performance at which a charge would be made for admission". This was the beginning of an extremely successful venture.

107 Minutes of Ladies Guild, August 28th, 1945.

108 Information drawn from minute books and membership registers.

109 While Janet Thiele married Thomas Munro and Frances May Thiele married Walter Cameron, their sister Edith married Dr Stevens, one of the first doctors in Kurow, and their other sister Marie married David Middleton, son of the manager of Benmore Station.

110 Erskine Neave was a grandson of Kurow's first Presbyterian minister.

111 Mrs Munro also served for a number of years on the Dominion Council of the New Zealand Plunket Society. The Plunket Rooms in Kurow were donated to the town by Mr and Mrs Walter Cameron and were opened in March of 1929.

112 Otago Daily Times, August 5th, 1935.

113 One significant farewell during 1935 was that given to the Reverend Nordmeyer and his wife in October. Speaking at one of these farewells, Nordmeyer indicated that "...it had required considerable thought before he decided to leave the calm security of the church to enter the bustle of politics, but he believed he was taking the right step" (Otago Daily Times, October 23rd, 1935). Reports from local informants on Nordmeyer's presence in the district are conflicting. Some remembered him with great affection. Others had disliked him either as a person or because of his politics. Informants remembered fathers issuing instructions that no one in the family was to attend the church while the "red preacher" occupied the pulpit. Others reported that prominent Presbyterian runholders were threatening to withdraw their financial support from the church unless he was moved. Whatever the circumstances, Nordmeyer's move into politics was timely.

114 Seven hare drives were held on properties in Otiake, Hakataramea Valley, Cattle Creek, and Mount Parker with between 19 and 49 shooters taking part in each. These seven drives resulted in a tally of 2,166 hares shot.

115 The main weekly dances were held on Saturday nights in Hakataramea and Kurow Townships. The music was provided by a local "orchestra", Miss Nye's. However, the music for annual balls was provided by orchestras from Waimate or Oamaru.

116 Oamaru Mail, March 20th, 1976. It is interesting to reflect on the fact that in the Kurow museum's photographic collection I was able to find very few photographs dealing with the hydro and no photographs whatsoever of Davidson, Nordmeyer, McMillan or Skinner. It was almost as if these men of note came and went but left little trace of substance on the life of the community.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE WATERSHED YEARS OF THE LATE 1940s

INTRODUCTION

Ross Maxwell came to the Kurow district with his dog in November of 1947. As a junior soil conservator with the Ministry of Works in Dunedin, he was sent to prepare a report on soil conservation work required in the district.[1] His introduction to working conditions in Kurow was not the most encouraging:

> I came up from Dunedin to find a headquarters place, and the only building available was the police station. It had been condemned but, owing to the war, replacement of it had been deferred and in the meantime the policeman had his office in his house, which was next door. The old police station was sitting there vacant, so the Government Accommodation Board decided that that would be my headquarters. So I had that one room there. I didn't have any furniture for several months, so I made do with a packing case that I obtained from the Waitaki Supply Stores. I nailed some lengths of four by two to it for legs and I had an old apple box for a chair. It was really primitive.[2]

Primitive working conditions were not the only problem Maxwell faced in those early days. He also had to contend with an antagonistic neighbour:

> The policeman at the time resented my being there. He believed that me occupying the building was the thin end of the wedge since building a new station would be scrubbed and he'd have to move back into the old building. He resented my being there to the extent that he cut off the electric power. The whole time he was in Kurow he was hostile. Nothing would induce him to reconnect the power.[3]

Maxwell's original brief was to spend a summer in the district, but he ended up staying for thirty years. As a soil conservator with the Waitaki Soil Conservation District Committee, and then as the chief soil conservator of the Waitaki Catchment Commission, he was to make a valuable contribution to the task of solving problems of soil erosion and conservation in

the Waitaki Valley and, in the process, to reshaping the nature of farming in the Kurow district. When Ross Maxwell arrived in Kurow, however, soil erosion was a problem that was more widespread than the Waitaki Valley.

SOIL EROSION

The late 1930s in New Zealand was a time of growing realisation that soil erosion was a problem of some national significance that needed to be confronted. A number of articles and written reports had drawn attention to the extent of the problem,[4] but a series of severe floods in the East Coast of the North Island brought the matter to a head. In 1932, flooding occurred in the Wairarapa, and in February and April of 1938, there was severe flooding in Poverty Bay and in Hawke's Bay. In each case, the flooding resulted in widespread land slippage and damage to farm properties.[5] While the effects of such flooding were localised, they served to highlight the potential for similar disasters in other parts of the country, since the deterioration of soil resources was considered to be a contributing factor. Infestation by rabbits and other pests, over-grazing and indiscriminate burning-off had led to declining soil fertility, which in turn had resulted in the decreased capability of the soil to retain moisture.[6] Soil erosion was an inevitable outcome of this.

A committee of enquiry was set up following the North Island floods to investigate means of dealing with land erosion. It commented:

> Reviewing the whole body of evidence before it, this committee is convinced that soil erosion in many areas has reached a serious stage, and if uncontrolled will accelerate rapidly.[7]

Pressure on government led eventually to the passing of The Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Bill on September 17th, 1941.[8] This bill established the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council to promote soil conservation, prevent and mitigate erosion, prevent damage by floods, and use lands in such a manner as would tend towards the attainment of these objects.[9] One important function of the Council was to establish regional Catchment Boards which would oversee the implementation of the provisions of the Act. The Otago Board was gazetted on March 17th, 1948 and, prior to that, the controlling body in the province was the Otago Soil Conservation and River Control Committee.

At a meeting of the Committee in Dunedin on February 3rd, 1944, preliminary consideration was given to the establishment of catchment districts in Otago. Given the widespread nature of soil erosion and rabbit infestation in the province, this was seen as a "question of urgency".[10] The following comment was recorded in the minutes of the meeting:

> The committee is gravely perturbed at the excessive damage occurring in the district, due to the excessive burning off and over-stocking position in some of the districts being acute. This committee views with some concern the damage caused by the rabbit pest in the Otago district and recommends to the Council that, immediately the manpower position improves, the necessary labour be diverted to this work in an endeavour to exterminate the pest.[11]

At a subsequent meeting on September 7th, 1944, the committee decided to proceed with the formation of a catchment district in the Southland area at the earliest possible date, but the establishment of Catchment districts elsewhere in Otago was

deferred in the meantime.[12] On April 12th, 1945, members of the committee paid a visit to Te Akatarawa, in the Kurow district, to view an experimental plot of five acres established by the D.S.I.R. to display restoration work possible on land that had been damaged by excessive burning-off. The visit drew attention to the harmful effects of such practices, but it was agreed that a programme of educational lectures should be undertaken in order to persuade runholders to adopt conservation measures. The committee met in Kurow prior to visiting Te Akatarawa, and the opposition of local runholders to the gazetting of a catchment district had been noted.[13] We can only presume that such opposition was based on a suspicion of government involvement in the management of runs and on a reluctance to see rates being levied.

THE WAITAKI SOIL CONSERVATION DISTRICT COMMITTEE

When the committee next met in Kurow, on May 22nd, 1947, its main item of business was to make provision for soil conservation in the Waitaki basin. A decision was taken to declare the basin a Soil Conservation District rather than a Catchment District, because the committee was of the opinion that the Waitaki Basin was not suited to the latter.[14] Since no justification for this decision appeared in the minutes of the meeting, we can only speculate as to their reasoning.[15] Two main factors may have influenced them. The first was the poor financial position of landowners in the district resulting from the combined effects of altitude, severe climate, low soil fertility, ill-considered pasture management practices, pest

infestation and low produce prices because of the depression and the war. In such circumstances, it would have been uneconomical to establish a Catchment Board, since, with the land being so run down and with valuations reflecting this, the cost of collecting rates would probably have outweighed what was collected. A Soil Conservation District Committee was supported by Government grants and did not require rates to be levied locally.

The second probable factor was the nature of the conservation work that needed to be carried out in the district. The main problems in the area related to soil conservation, which was the concern of a Soil Conservation District Committee rather than a Catchment Board.[16] River control was not a major problem in the district.[17] The river flats were not producing much because of severe rabbit infestation, so the economic benefits of flood control were not great. Whatever the reasons, the Waitaki Soil Conservation District was gazetted in 1947,[18] and was the first (and only) district to be so established. It comprised three government representatives and three local farmers, nominated by the County Councils concerned.[19] Its first meeting was held in the ante-room of the Kurow picture theatre on March 17th 1948,[20] and this meeting was also attended by three members of the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council. Mr W.L. Newnham, chairman of the Council, reported on the erosion problems in the Waitaki Basin and indicated that approximately half of the three million acres in the Waitaki catchment were suffering from erosion of some kind - 256,500 acres were slightly eroded, 744,400 acres were moderately eroded, 425,500 acres were severely eroded and 160,000 acres were

suffering from extreme erosion. The total acreage in the catchment affected by erosion was therefore 1,586,400 acres.[21] Newnham indicated that the committee required a report on climate, topography, rainfall, soils, vegetation and history of land-use in the catchment, together with an accurate assessment of the extent and degree of erosion. This could then form the basis of a soil-conservation programme. He said the committee should develop demonstration programmes to encourage water conservation, irrigation, re-seeding, subdivision and spelling of grazing country and the use of trees for shelter and erosion control. The controlling of burning-off was also an important issue to be addressed early, but he was certain that rabbit control was the first necessity. The committee were encouraged to consider the setting up of Rabbit Boards in the district. The committee needed no persuading in this regard. The rabbit problem was one that had been recognised in the district for some time, and there were steps already underway to tackle it.

THE RABBIT PROBLEM

Rabbits were introduced into Southland in the 1850s, for sport and fur, and by the 1870s they had spread through Otago and into the Waitaki Valley. The first mention of rabbits in the Waitaki Valley was in 1870 in the Haldon diaries.[22] Despite desperate attempts to contain the problem, by 1875 Southland, Central and North Otago were being overrun by the pest. There were reports of sheep stations having to cut back their carrying capacity by more than half during this period, reducing their lambing percentages and wool clip similarly.[23] By 1887, over

one and a half million acres in Otago and Southland were abandoned because of rabbit infestation, and the annual national loss as a result of rabbits was estimated to be almost two million pounds.[24]

The first legislation dealing with the rabbit nuisance was passed in 1876,[25] and between then and the end of the century, a further five pieces of legislation with a number of amendments and continuances were passed as the severity of the problem became recognised.[26] In order to forestall the encroachment of the pest into Canterbury, a rabbit fence was erected that ran from the Waitaki River to Mount Cook. Because of the difficulties of effectively policing such a long boundary, however, it was not effective. In October 1890, the Oamaru Mail commented on this as follows:

> It must not be forgotten that Canterbury is only preserved from the full force of the rabbit scourge by a wire fence. It cannot be denied that this barrier has done good service, but it had better never have been erected than that it should lull the government and the landowners into a feeling of security that is not warranted by the facts. The fence has kept back the multitude of rabbits, but stragglers, it is well known, get to the other side of it by one means or another and if the rabbits once get a substantial hold in the country in the vicinity of the fence it will take a supreme effort and a mint of money to prevent them from becoming as great a curse in Canterbury as they were in Southland. It is well not to underestimate the aggressiveness and potency of the rabbit.[27]

Unfortunately, even as legislation was being passed in an attempt to control the nuisance, commercial interests were forming to exploit rabbit meat and skins. By 1882, over nine million rabbit skins a year were being exported from New Zealand, and rabbit factories were set up to process the meat. There was

a rabbit factory in Kurow in the 1890s.[28] The sale of rabbit meat brought pressures for change in rabbit legislation. The government's preferred method of rabbit extermination was poisoning, but since this made the meat unusable, the preferred method of extermination at the local level was trapping. A report in the Lyttelton Times of February 25th, 1898 indicated that Kurow farmers were doing all they could to stop the poisoning of rabbits and that a "largely signed petition" was to be presented to the government, seeking the cessation of poisoning. The report indicated that in 1897, 72,000 rabbits were trapped in the Kurow district and sent for freezing.[29] A deputation from Kurow subsequently visited the Minister of Lands and urged him to defer insistence on the poisoning of rabbits, but this request was declined on the grounds that it would assist the farming of rabbits rather than their extermination. The Minister indicated that rabbit inspectors who did not carry out the provisions of the Act would be dismissed.[30] Newspaper reports in March of 1898 indicated that Mr Hassell, the rabbit inspector in Kurow, and both his agents had been suspended from duties for alleged neglect of enforcing poisoning operations.[31] In July of 1898, the Lyttelton Times carried the terse announcement that "all rabbits in the Kurow area have been destroyed".[32] Presumably this report was part of the manoeuvering to get Hassell reinstated, since it certainly could have had no basis in fact.

A letter written in the 1890s by the Kurow rabbit inspector to a local farmer illustrates the problem faced:

> Dear Sir, I was down your road last week and I seen a helluva lot of rabbits on the mine tailings behind your house and no work going on to keep them down. The neighbours tell me that you was down in the pub and that you was drunk for four days last Christmas and you haven't done a damn thing about them rabbits since last time I was round. They tell me you are saving them up so as to have a few bob to go to the show when you will probably get drunk again for another four days. Now, therefore, take notice that me, being an inspector under the said Act hereto, require you to forthwith commence rabbiting destruction work immediately, in default of which you will do gaol, which will probably be a b***** good thing as far as you're concerned. This is the last b***** warning you're getting. Yours etc.[33]

All of this indicates that there was a strong tendency among rabbiters - and some farmers, too - to have rabbits selectively culled rather than completely exterminated. Furthermore, since the winter skins were more valuable, it was in professional rabbiters' interests to leave the rabbits alone during the spring and summer months. The rabbiter was thus free to take up seasonal work such as shearing. More importantly, since the spring and summer were the rabbits' main breeding months, this meant that a continued supply of the animals was guaranteed for the next winter. Rabbiters increasingly refused to work in areas where there was only light infestation, and this served to exacerbate the overall problem. For farmers who were serious about controlling rabbits on their own properties, the only feasible option was to rabbit-fence their land and hope there was no infiltration from neighbouring properties. A number of farmers in the Haka Valley managed to do this quite successfully, and the contrast in vegetation between their properties and those of neighbours was reported to have been quite striking.[34]

The fact that rabbit infestation was having a negative effect on the environment and on sheep production was well recognised by the 1930s, but as long as rabbiting could be sustained as a commercial proposition there were those who were prepared to overlook the damage being done by it. For quite a number of farmers, the rabbit provided a "financial crutch" that allowed them to survive the depression years of the 1930s. The shortage of manpower during World War II meant, however, that the problem increased in intensity,[35] and this strengthened the resolve on the part of some that the issue should no longer be approached on a piece-meal basis but that it should be confronted as part of a comprehensive extermination exercise. The vehicle for such an exercise was to be the Rabbit Board.

THE FORMATION OF RABBIT BOARDS

In 1942, the lease to Te Akatarawa station was taken over by Bill Whalan.[36] A 30,000-acre property on the Canterbury side of the Waitaki River, Te Akatarawa, had been owned by a succession of company partnerships since the early 1900s,[37] and both it and the neighbouring Waitangi Station had had problems with rabbits since the late 1880s.[38] When Whalan took it over, the problem was particularly severe. The property had been rabbit-fenced, but the boundary was too long to be adequately policed. Work was started on Te Akatarawa to deal with the rabbit problem and to combat the soil erosion that had occurred,[39] but when the Rabbit Destruction Council was set up in 1947 and provision was made for rabbit boards to receive government grants,[40] it became obvious that a more widespread solution to the problem might be possible.[41]

In 1947, Whalan visited Wellington with two other farmers to discuss the new provisions with Gerry Skinner, the Minister of Agriculture.[42] Skinner was unavailable when they called, so they went to see the Minister of Internal Affairs, Arnold Nordmeyer. Nordmeyer was personally known to Whalan from his days as the Presbyterian minister in Kurow.[43] Whalan recalled that Nordmeyer's response was: "If you gentlemen go home and organise yourselves, we'll pay for the rabbits if it costs a pound apiece because they've got to go". Whalan commented:

> This encouraged me. I knew that he was a man of his word, and I thought that he must have the backing of the Cabinet to be able to make a statement like that. So we went home and I did my very best to organise a set of rabbit boards. We were met with a barrage of questions and so forth, but it got down to the stage where I realised, very clearly, that something had to be done" .[44]

However, there was fairly strong local opposition to the formation of rabbit boards. Meetings were called to discuss the issue, and it was not unusual to find rabbit-skin buyers and others with a commercial interest in rabbits arguing at these meetings for the maintenance of the status quo. Many farmers shared their point of view. A chairman at one meeting attended by Whalan summed up feeling on the matter by saying: "We're not going to form rabbit boards. It'll be the ruin of us". When he asked if anyone present was going to "rat" on that idea, Whalan responded: "Mr Chairman, if you call it that, then that's exactly what I'm going to do. After what I've heard today, you people might call it ratting, but I call it common sense. I'm going home to form a rabbit board."[45]

Whalan's task was not an easy one, but he finally managed to persuade four neighbours to join with him.[46] Together, their properties encompassed 106,980 acres, approximately half of this area estimated to be rabbit-infested.[47] A preliminary meeting to discuss the issue was held in the Kurow library on September 27th, 1948, and it was unanimously agreed to proceed with the formation of a rabbit board. The Buscot Rabbit Board was gazetted in December of 1948 and held its first meeting on December 9th. Bill Whalan was appointed chairman. The Buscot Board was the first rabbit board in the country to be set up under the provisions of the 1947 amendment.

The possibilities of forming rabbit boards in the district had been discussed at a meeting in Kurow on August 10th, 1948. Convened by the Waitaki Soil Conservation District Committee, the meeting attracted an audience of about forty. Mr G. Miller, Principal Stock Inspector for Otago, addressed the meeting on the Rabbit Nuisance Act and the 1947 amendments designed to force the establishment of rabbit boards in districts where they were needed. Following Miller's address, there was general discussion on the problems of rabbit control in the Upper Waitaki. The minutes of the meeting identified the key issues:

> Burning and over-stocking are the factors in the deterioration of the country in the Upper Waitaki Valley, besides the rabbit, and were being controlled by the Waitaki Soil Conservation District Committee but, before much could be done regarding re-grassing much of the country, rabbits would first have to be controlled.

Many of the farmers present at the meeting were opposed to the formation of rabbit boards and wanted the matter dealt with on a voluntary basis. The outcome of the meeting, however, was the establishment of a committee to consider how the matter

should be resolved. This committee subsequently decided that, given the high level of infestation by rabbits in the Waitaki Valley, they would have to recommend the formation of rabbit boards and the adoption of a "killer policy".

Following the example of the Buscot Rabbit Board, a number of other boards were formed in the district in 1949.[48] The Upper Waihao Board held its inaugural meeting in January of 1949, the Otekaike Board in March, the Haka Valley Board in June and the Waitaki Board in July.[49] Public meetings were held prior to the establishment of most of these boards, and opposition had to be overcome in each case because so many local farmers had an economic stake in retaining things the way they were.[50] Other farmers opposed the formation of boards because their farms were relatively clean of rabbits and they objected to paying rates to have the rabbit problem dealt with on other farms. This was particularly the case in the western corner of the lower Haka Valley. The men who provided the impetus for the formation of the Otekaike Board were branded as a "dangerous band of missionaries", and a number of public meetings had to be held before public support was obtained.[51] In almost every case, however, it was reported that those who had been the strongest opponents prior to the boards being established became their staunchest supporters once the benefits became obvious.

The estimated expenditure for these Boards in their first year of operation ranged from 3,145 pounds for the Buscot Board to 9,900 pounds for the Upper Waihao Board.[52] No accurate figures are available on the government grants that these Boards received in their early years but these seem to have varied from

1,500 pounds (Buscot in 1949) to 15,000 pounds (Upper Waihao in 1951). In the initial years of operation, rabbit boards could expect to offset some of their expenses from income derived from the sale of rabbits.[53] The going rate offered by commercial firms in 1949 was between 15d and 21d a pair.[54] A fair proportion of the financial support for rabbit board activities was obtained, however, from rates levied on landowners.[55]

The number of men employed by these boards varied. In 1949 the Hakataramea Valley Board had eighteen men working for it. The Otekaike and Upper Waihao Boards both budgeted for forty men each in 1949, but Waihao employed only twelve men. In 1951 the Waitaki Board had fifteen men working for it, while the Otekaike Board had eighteen. By 1953, the Haka Valley figure was down to three men and the Buscot Board was employing only nine men. However, the number of men employed varied during the year. In 1953, for example, the number of men working for the Upper Waihao Board varied from twenty-eight in February to eighteen in September. Some boards suffered from manpower shortages at various times,[56] and for all the boards, a persistent problem was trying to retain foremen.[57]

Obtaining accurate information on how many rabbits were destroyed during the first years of operation is extremely difficult, since few of the boards kept systematic records in their minutes.[58] The Otekaike Board did include figures in their minutes, for the first year of operation at least. Between March of 1949 and March of 1950, their rabbiters accounted for just over a quarter of a million rabbits,[59] but, as the board chairman of the time commented later: "unfortunately when we had

destroyed those, we had almost as many left".[60] One of the foremen who worked for the Hakataramea Valley Rabbit Board estimated that they killed just over 100,000 rabbits in their first year of operation.[61] By the end of 1953, the Upper Waihao rabbiters were still killing about 4,000 rabbits a month but this was half what it had been a year previously.

The success achieved in these early years is evident from a statement released by the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council in December of 1951. Referring specifically to the South Island high country, the statement said:

> Today, one can count on the fingers of one hand the rabbits seen on land hitherto swarming with rabbits - the most damaging vermin plague this country has suffered - but, at last, the end of their ravages is in sight. The successful rabbit destruction campaign waged over the past three years has been the most important and far-reaching conservation project ever tackled on problem land in this country. It ranks along with the sheep scab elimination campaign in the 1880s as an epic in our agricultural history and a tribute to the success of coordinated attack by the Rabbit Destruction Council. Now that the back of the huge job is broken, we cannot afford to relax at this critical stage but should, rather, redouble our combined efforts to plan and execute a permanent follow-up, both with rabbit control and constructive land use.[62]

Rabbits were destroyed by a variety of means. They were trapped or poisoned, they were hunted by dogs and ferrets and they were also fumigated in their burrows. From 1950 onwards, poison was distributed from the air, particularly onto hill country, and this was found to be most effective.[63] There was a change of government in 1951 and it appeared that the new National government was likely to disband rabbit boards, but this threat was forestalled.[64] The main threat to the effectiveness

of the rabbit boards' "killer policy", however, was the fact that rabbit carcasses and skins still retained their commercial value through the early 1950s. Writing in 1951, Stanley and McCaskill had the following to say:

> So long as money is to be made out of catching rabbits and trading in them, a stable breeding population is liable to be left to assure the future incomes of all those concerned. And if carcasses have a good market value, trapping - the slowest method of rabbit destruction - is the only means that can be used on a large scale.[65]

Despite lobbying by individual Boards and by their representative bodies, however, the complete decommercialisation of rabbits was not achieved until the late 1950s.[66] By then, rabbit board concerns had shifted to maintaining a "mopping-up" role and trying to ensure that complacency at either local or government level would not undermine gains already made.

OVERSTOCKING

Overstocking had also contributed to the depletion of pasture and to soil erosion by the 1940s. Some of this resulted from the insecurity of tenure that came with Crown pastoral leases. Small grazing runs were leased for twenty-one years with a right of renewal but, prior to 1948, no such rights were attached to Crown pastoral leases. In some cases, this resulted in leaseholders attempting to get as much out of the land as they could while they still held the lease. At times they would have been forced into an attitude such as this by the fact that they had to pay too much to gain or retain the lease in the face of competition at auction. This situation was remedied under

provisions of the Land Act 1948 whereby pastoral leases were granted for a term of thirty-three years with a perpetual right of renewal and, in some cases, with stock limitations attached to the lease.[67] While this was not a major problem in the Kurow district, it was still of some significance.[68] In 1950, 31% of the rural land in the district was being held under seven Crown pastoral leases.[69]

Of greater significance for overstocking prior to the 1940s, however, was the impact of the depression. Given low produce prices, many sheep farmers were unwilling to sell stock until prices improved. This meant that there was a sizeable increase in the number of sheep being carried in the district. Figure 1 in Appendix 3 provides a graphic illustration of this. There was a gradual decline in the number of sheep being run in the district between 1890 and 1924, no doubt the combined result of rabbit infestation, vegetation depletion and general soil erosion. Sheep numbers then rose to a peak in 1930 before declining again to 1948. The years between 1924 and 1948 therefore represent the period during which excessive sheep were being carried on district properties.[70] It will be seen from Figure 2 in Appendix 3, however, that the extra sheep were on the sheep stations and runs rather than on the smaller farms.

The significance of the larger flocks on sheep stations, runs and larger farms can be seen from Table 11.1. While the number of district flocks remained fairly constant between 1920 and 1950, the total number of sheep increased from 243,913 in 1920 to 266,096 in 1935 and then decreased to 220,285 in 1950. In terms of flock size, there was a firming of a bimodal trend

Table 11.1 : Number of Flocks and Sheep, 1920-1950

	Number of Flocks			Proportion of Flocks			Proportion of Total Sheep		
FLOCK SIZE	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50	'20	'35	'50
0 to 49	3	5	6	3%	4%	5%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
50 to 99	7	6	7	6%	5%	6%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%
100 to 249	16	12	7	14%	11%	6%	1%	1%	1%
250 to 499	19	13	21	16%	11%	18%	3%	2%	2%
500 to 749	14	16	9	12%	14%	8%	3%	4%	4%
750 to 999	4	3	7	3%	3%	6%	1%	1%	1%
1000 to 2499	32	32	33	28%	28%	29%	22%	22%	20%
2500 to 4999	11	14	16	10%	12%	14%	17%	18%	19%
5000 to 9999	6	8	5	5%	7%	4%	18%	19%	19%
10000 plus	4	5	3	3%	4%	3%	35%	34%	34%
TOTAL	116	114	114	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

during these years towards flocks of between 250 to 500 sheep or between 1,000 to 5,000 sheep but flocks of 1,000 sheep or above dominated sheep farming in the district. In 1920 they accounted for 46% of the flocks and 92% of the sheep in the district, and this pattern continued through to 1950, when they accounted for 50% of the flocks and 92% of the sheep.

Any increases in flock sizes that may have been expected to follow the eradication of rabbits were relatively slow in coming, however, since the soil conservators were most insistent that pasture needed to be given a chance to recover before being brought back into productive use. A large part of that recovery process involved controlling the third major factor in pasture depletion, indiscriminate burning.

CONTROLLING BURNING-OFF

Burning the tussock during June and July had been an integral part of pasture management since the early days of occupation by Europeans.[71] Writing of his experiences in Canterbury in the 1860s, Samuel Butler commented:

> I have seen no grander sight than the fire upon a country which has never before been burnt, and on which there is still a large quantity of Irishman. The sun soon loses all brightness, and looks as though seen through smoked glass. The volumes of smoke are something that must be seen to be appreciated.[72]

The negative effects of such practices were recognised early, but unfortunately warnings were largely ignored. Commenting on the grass country of Otago in 1865, J. Buchanan wrote:

> Nothing can show greater ignorance of grass conservation than the repeated burning of the pasture in arid districts which is so frequently practised. ... Much of the grassland of Otago has been thus deteriorated since its occupation, by fire, and it is no wonder that many of the runs require eight acres to feed a sheep according to the official estimate.[73]

The presumption was that such repeated burning was necessary to clear rank undergrowth, but Buchanan described this as "a fallacy", since, in his opinion, the old grass afforded protection from the elements for young shoots.

It is significant that in 1910, the first issue of The Journal of the New Zealand Department of Agriculture contained a leading article entitled 'The Effect of Burning on Tussock Country'.[74] The article was by a department biologist, A.H. Cockayne. After outlining burning procedures, types of pasture, the reasons for burning, the effects of burning and the

possibility of legal restrictions on burning, Cockayne ended his article with a warning:

> More important than any legal restrictions is to impress on the minds of the runholders and their employees the grave danger that one of our most valuable natural resources is subjected to through ruthless burning. ... I am fully aware that even at the present time many runholders will scout the idea that burning will, if persisted in, cause an almost entire depletion of most of the natural grazing-areas in the drier portions of the South Island. One has only to point to the deplorable condition of many of our southern runs, however, to appreciate the significance of this pernicious practice.[75]

Despite warnings such as these, the practice continued unabated into the 1940s and a heavy price was to be paid in the depletion of vegetation and in soil erosion. It was sometimes necessary to burn tussock country to remove rank and dead tussock and to keep scrubby growth in check, but what was being condemned was indiscriminate and repeated burning that showed little concern for the continued viability of the pasture.[76]

The matter came to a head in North Otago when a meeting of about 100 runholders was held in Kurow in April of 1956 to discuss the issue.[77] In addition to farmers from the Waitaki basin, there were also representatives from the Mackenzie Country and from Central Otago. The two main concerns of the farmers, as expressed at that meeting, were that they were being wrongly portrayed as vandals and that they were not adequately represented on bodies such as Soil Conservation Committees.

The meeting expressed little confidence in the activities of the Soil Conservation Committee. The farmers were generally dissatisfied with the "petty" control of burning by the committee, and it was suggested that the issue was whether the

high country was to be kept in production or whether it was to be sacrificed to the scientists and "theoretical people" who wanted to take land out of production to prevent erosion. A key dissatisfaction was that runholders with many years of experience were being told what they could and could not do by people with little or no experience in the matter. It was claimed that runholders had a responsibility to future generations to better their properties, and it was time they had direct representation on boards to which they had to go for permission to burn.[78] A motion was passed unanimously that farmers should have direct and greater representation on Soil Conservation Committees.

The opinion was expressed that, rather than being vandals in their use of the land, farmers had acted responsibly. According to one speaker, all farmers had one object: "to lead a good life, do our best to be good neighbours and leave what we have to our dependants even better than we received it". Another claimed that farmers were not out to rob the land but to work it and leave it "in better heart". Much was made of the fact that most runholders were second, third and fourth-generation farmers and therefore should be expected to know as much as anyone else about the issue.[79] Many spoke of the benefits that had resulted from burning-off on their individual properties. The outcome of the meeting was that an action committee was set up to take the decisions of the meeting further.[80] The farmers subsequently received greater representation on the Soil Conservation Committee, but the policies of the conservationists with regard to burning-off continued to hold sway.[81] A better understanding was gradually achieved between the conservationists

and farmers and although one or two farmers continued to cause difficulties, most seemed happy to comply, especially when the benefits became more obvious.[82]

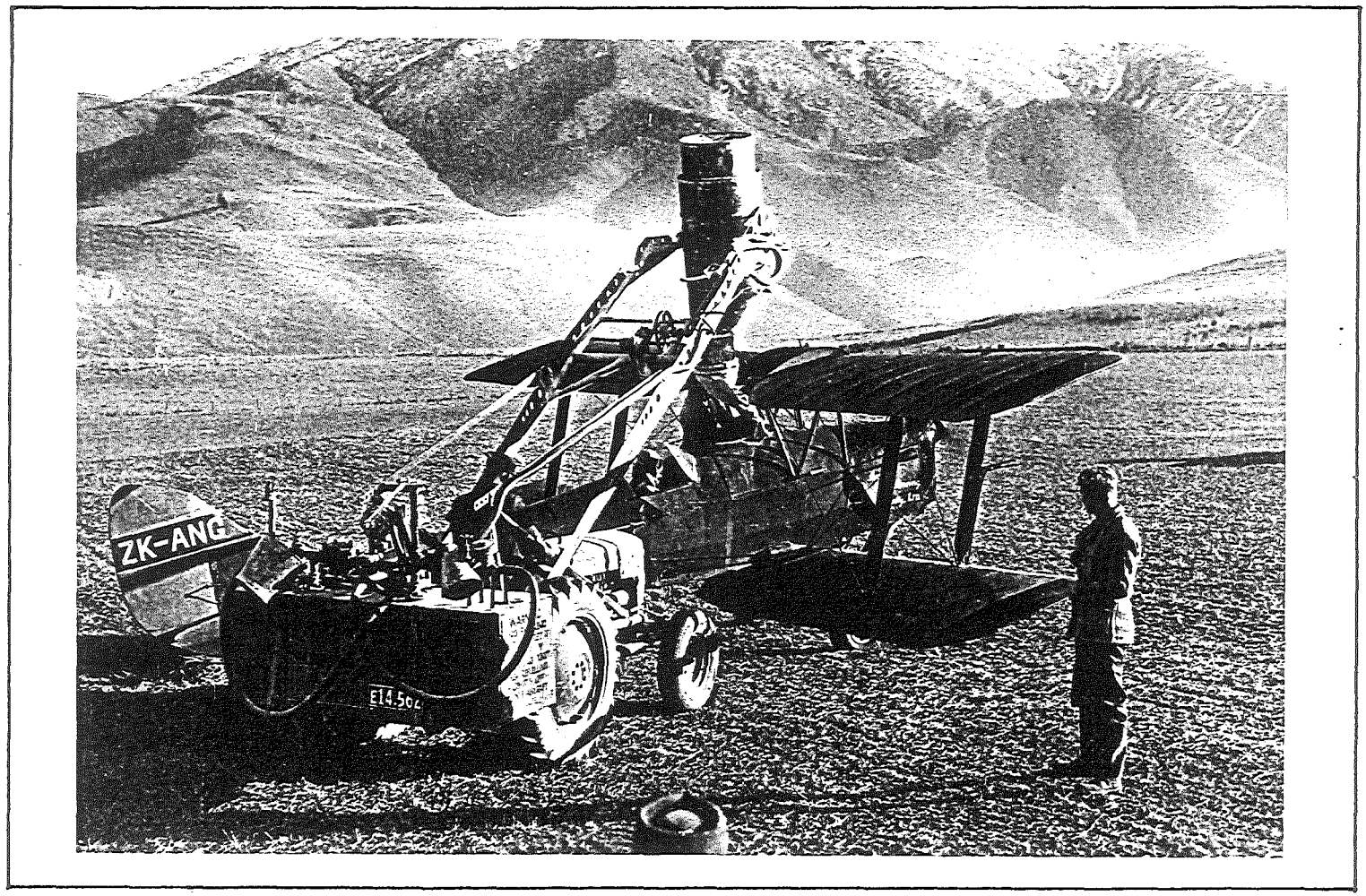
IMPROVEMENTS IN PRODUCTIVITY

In gaining the support of farmers the soil conservators had to provide an alternative farming strategy that would obviate the need for burning. The essence of this alternative strategy was a programme of grazing control made possible by subdivisional fencing,[83] the introduction of cattle,[84] and the oversowing and topdressing of pastures with seed and fertilisers.[85]

It had been an early part of the policy of the Waitaki Soil Conservation Committee to recommend to farmers that immediately after burning, surface sowing with grasses and fertilisers should be done. This possibility had been raised by Bill Whalan at a meeting of the committee on June 29th, 1948, and in September of that year, experimental aerial sowings were carried out at Tara Hills, a Soil Council reserve near Omarama, and at Te Akatarawa, Bill Whalan's property. These were among the earliest such experiments in New Zealand.[86]

The results of these experiments were encouraging, but what made such a strategy feasible was the fact that the rabbits were being brought under control. Commenting on this phase in the development of Te Akatarawa, Bill Whalan said:

> I went on to put out superphosphate from the old Tiger Moth planes in 1951 and it was just like a dream come true to me. It was just like spreading out a magic carpet. But understand this, that it was the fact that you were getting on top of the rabbits that gave the encouragement to do this.[87]



[McCaw Family]

Aerial Top-dressing in the Hakataramea Valley
Early 1950s

What was being implemented here was a change from a traditional pattern of sheep farming based on low-capital, extensive grazing on undeveloped land, to a newer pattern that was highly capitalised and involved a tightly planned system of rotational grazing and spelling.[88] The difficulties that were experienced in introducing such changes resulted from the fact that the traditional methods of extensive sheep farming had been in place for a long time.[89] Referring to run management in Otekaike, for example, Scoular commented:

> In a hundred years, neither the traditional means of government encouragement, nor private organisation, nor individual initiative, nor the shock of war, had caused run management patterns to change. ...Robert Campbell's great runs had splintered and vanished, but Campbell's methods, in essence, remained. (Scoular, 1977:15-16)

While the impetus for such changes came from the soil conservators the catalyst for development was a new generation of farmers who had taken over farms that were in poor shape, who were not so wedded to the old ways and who were aided in their development plans by the high wool prices of the early 1950s.[90] Of the 113 farmers in the district in 1950, approximately fifty had taken over their properties since 1945, and about fifteen of these were rehabilitation farmers.[91]

Doug McIlraith was one such "new generation" farmer. He took over Glen Mac from his father in 1946. It was a 3,558 acre property in the Mount Parker locality, five miles down river from Kurow on the Canterbury side of the Waitaki River.[92] The front area consisted of 640 acres of easy hill country, subdivided into nine paddocks. The rest of the property consisted of two tussock blocks, rising to an altitude of 3,000 feet. The average annual

rainfall was 22 inches. In 1946 the property was carrying 1,400 Corriedale ewes and 400 hoggets and had a wool clip of 46 bales, but the vegetation on the property was severely depleted because of heavy rabbit infestation.[93]

Development of the property began on the front area in 1946 with the erection of rabbit-proof fences and further subdivision into seventeen paddocks. This land was also oversown and topdressed, starting in 1949. In 1952, the Upper Waihao Rabbit Board began aerial poisoning of the two tussock blocks. As these were cleared of rabbits, they were oversown and topdressed by plane. Topdressing was then alternated between the blocks each year.

By 1965, the carrying capacity of the property had improved to 4,700 sheep and 150 cattle while the wool clip had risen to 150 bales, or approximately ten pounds of wool per sheep shorn. The New Zealand Fertiliser Journal commented that this represented "a three-fold increase in carrying capacity, but a much bigger increase in productivity".[94] The article went on to comment: "None of this would have been possible without rabbit control, but Mr McIlraith attributes most of the actual increase to aerial topdressing".[95]

Similar improvements took place on other properties in the district. In 1947 Duncan McKenzie took over the family property, Table Top, as a rehabilitation farmer. Table Top was a 3,000-acre run in the south-eastern corner of the Haka Valley. Duncan's grandfather Donald McKenzie had drawn it in a ballot in 1890.[96] When Duncan took the run over, it was carrying 1,036 sheep and, like other properties, was badly affected by

rabbits.[97] Through economic necessity, Duncan McKenzie shore his sheep himself that year and got 14 bales of wool for his troubles. By the time he died in 1970, the sheep numbers had risen to 4,000 sheep producing 100 bales of wool. By 1982, Duncan's sons were running 6,430 sheep on Table Top, as well as 120 cattle.[98]

Not only sheep runs saw the benefit of rabbit control, over-sowing and top-dressing. Smaller properties benefitted, too. We could cite an 800-acre property in Otekaike that Phil Sargent took over in 1948 as a rehabilitation farmer. He was running 475 sheep at that time.[99] There had been quite a bit of cropping prior to this, so the soil fertility was low. The immediate problem, however, was rabbits. Without waiting for rabbit boards to be established, Phil Sargent attacked the rabbit problem on his own. Using the conventional methods of trapping, shooting and dogging, he accounted for 22,000 rabbits in his first year on the farm and 16,000 in the second year. Fumigation improved his effectiveness, and in eighteen months he increased the carrying capacity of the property from 280 ewes to about 900 ewes. He sowed the farm in pasture and lucerne, and this helped to increase productivity further. With the advent of irrigation in Otekaike around 1967, farming improved even further such that in 1982, Phil's son was running 2,891 sheep on the farm.

The cutting edge of development may have been provided by new farmers, but the impact of increased productivity was felt on other properties, too. Comparing carrying capacities between 1950 and 1982, we could cite: a Haka Valley intensive sheep farm which increased its stock numbers from 1,014 to 1,960 sheep; a

Haka Valley mixed sheep and crop farm where the increase was from 1,073 to 2,100 sheep; an Otiake mixed sheep and crop farm where the sheep numbers increased from 710 to 1,500; an Otiake sheep run that increased from 3,142 sheep to 4,679; a Wharekuri run where the increase was from 3,704 sheep to 7,620; a Cattle Creek run where the increase was from 2,190 sheep to 3,000; and a sheep station where the increase was from 15,270 sheep to 19,200.

The overall impact on the district as a whole is difficult to estimate. The publishing of individual sheep numbers ceased in 1952, when they began to be treated on a more confidential basis, so it is not possible to determine sheep numbers for the whole district after this.[100] There were 220,285 sheep in the district in 1950 and by comparing 1950 and 1982 sheep numbers for a sample of twenty district properties, it is possible to estimate that by 1982, sheep numbers in the district would have increased by 50% to 70% over 1950.[101]

CHANGES IN FARMING PRACTICE

Not only were farmers running more sheep than before, they had also changed their orientation to farming. With the establishment of Rabbit Boards and the advent of aerial topdressing and oversowing came the increased possibility that district land could be made to realise its productive potential. The new generation who settled on many of the district's farms after World War II had the motivation to see that potential realised. The economic resources for development were provided initially by the high wool prices of the early 1950s but this was subsequently consolidated by the stabilisation of wool prices.

While the establishment of the Waitaki Soil Conservation District Committee may not have been initially welcomed by many district farmers, it too played a crucial role in changing the pattern of farming in the district by monitoring such run management practices as burning-off and by introducing new ideas such as subdivisional fencing, contour cultivation and the use of cattle to control pasture growth. It also played a significant part in channeling government subsidies for farm development work.

The cumulative effect of all of this was not only to increase productivity on district farms but also to alter the nature of farming. The basic change here was one that saw extensive pastoral properties being farmed more intensively. In an earlier chapter the distinction was made between mixed sheep and crop farms, intensive fattening-breeding sheep farms and extensive pastoral farms.[102] Applying this distinction to 1950 and 1982 properties reveals the changes shown in Table 11.2.[103]

Table 11.2 : Types of Farming by Number of Properties and Acres 1950 and 1982

CATEGORIES	Year	Mixed Sheep & Crops	Intensive Breeding Sheep	Extensive Pastoral Sheep	TOTAL
Number of Properties	1950	22	39	51	112
	1982	17	53	28	98
Number of Acres	1950	21,068	28,073	49,9359	54,8500
	1982	20,663	84,758	45,1669	55,7090
Proportion of Properties	1950	20%	35%	45%	100%
	1982	17%	54%	29%	100%
Proportion of Acres	1950	4%	5%	91%	100%
	1982	4%	15%	81%	100%

While the number of farm properties did not vary too much between the two years, the number of mixed farms and extensive pastoral farms dropped while the number of intensive sheep farms increased.[104] By looking at the proportions of properties in each farming category the shift from extensive to intensive sheep farming is obvious. The proportion of intensive sheep farms increased by just under 20%, while the proportion of extensive sheep farms decreased by 16%. This was accompanied by a shift in the proportions of district land being used for different types of farming. The proportion of land given over to mixed farming remained the same, while the other two types of farming increased and decreased by 10% respectively in favour of intensive sheep farming. Despite these changes, however, in 1982 the vast majority of district land (81%) was still given over to extensive pastoral farming.

As will be seen from Table 11.3, these changes affected the two provincial segments of the district differently. The movement from extensive sheep farming to intensive sheep farming was greater in the South Canterbury segment of the district, with the emphasis in the North Otago segment moving from intensive farming (of either a mixed or sheep type) to extensive pastoral farming. In the North Otago localities, the number of extensive pastoral properties remained the same between the two years (sixteen) while the number of mixed farms decreased from ten to five and intensive sheep farms from thirty to twenty-one. The proportion of land taken up by intensive sheep farming in the South Canterbury localities increased quite substantially between 1950 and 1982 and was accompanied by a corresponding decrease in

Table 11.3 : Types of Farming by Provincial Segment 1950 and 1982

FARMING CATEGORY	SOUTH CANTERBURY SEGMENT '50	SOUTH CANTERBURY SEGMENT '82	NORTH OTAGO SEGMENT '50	NORTH OTAGO SEGMENT '82	TOTAL '50	TOTAL '82
Proportion of Properties :						
Mixed Sheep & Crop	21%	23%	18%	12%	20%	18%
Intensive Sheep	16%	54%	54%	50%	35%	52%
Extensive Sheep	63%	23%	28%	38%	45%	30%
Total :	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number :	56	52	56	42	112	94
Proportion of Area :						
Mixed Sheep & Crop	5%	5%	3%	2%	4%	4%
Intensive Sheep	4%	21%	7%	8%	5%	15%
Extensive Sheep	91%	74%	90%	90%	91%	81%
Total :	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Acres (000's) :	309	309	240	240	549	549

the amount of land given over to extensive pastoral farming. The proportions of land in the North Otago localities remained virtually the same between these two years, however, and the difference can be accounted for by the fact that there was not the same potential or flexibility in the Otago sector because of the predominance of high country land. By contrast, there was much hill country in the Haka Valley and in Cattle Creek that could be turned to more intensive use once the rabbits were controlled, the pasture was over-sown and top-dressed regularly, and subdivisional fences were in place.

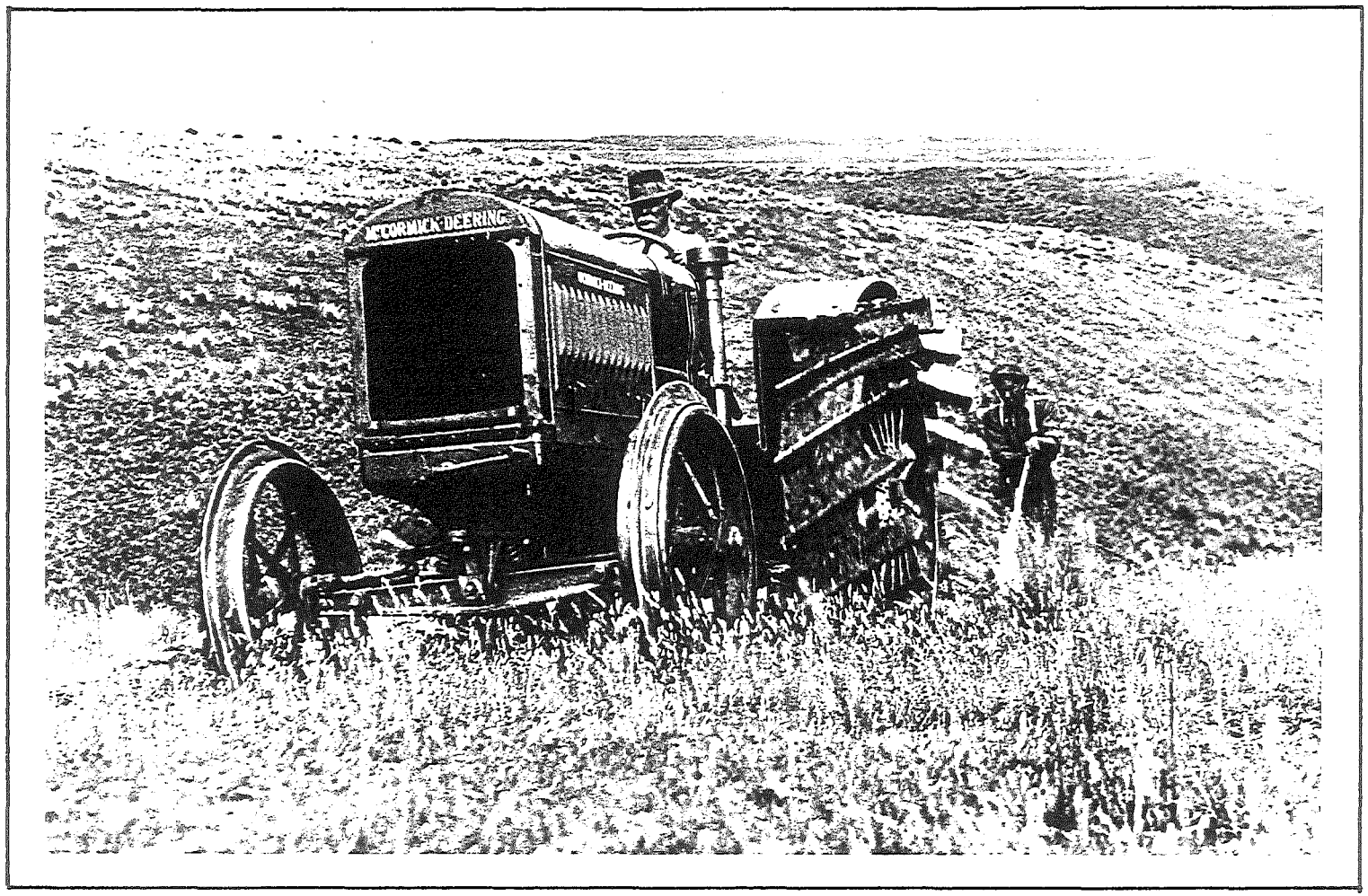
A number of other changes in farming practice at this time need to be mentioned. There were changes to shearing procedures. Prior to World War II shearing in the district was done by gangs of freelance shearers, but after the war this was gradually replaced by a system of contract shearing. Shearers were in short supply immediately after the war, especially trained shearers, and the contract system emerged to resolve that problem. Under the old system, the farmer or runholder had the responsibility of organising for a shearing gang to come on to his property and often faced the possibility that the shearers would not turn up exactly when he wanted them to. Prior to the Second World War, shearers had something of a reputation locally for being unreliable. Under the new system, the shearing contractor took full responsibility for organising the gang and thus took an administrative load off the farmer. Under the freelance system, the shearing gang was responsible for negotiating any extras over award rates. Since many of the shearers were local residents, this proved problematic for some of them because of ties of kinship, associational membership or friendship that they had with particular farmers.[105] The contract system therefore had benefits for the shearers as well as for the farmers.

One of the immediate effects of this new system was more shearing gangs working in the district, and so the shearing season became much shorter. Instead of the previous situation, where a local gang would gradually work their way round a number of properties, now more than one gang worked the sheds and the total operation could be done much more quickly. The greater

dependability that came into the system as a result of this may also have contributed to changes in the timing of shearing. Prior to the Second World War, all of the shearing in the district was done after lambing, but in the early 1950s, large numbers of the district's farmers changed to pre-lamb shearing.[106] Not everyone changed, and some who did, faced criticism from their neighbours for ill-treating their stock, so the balance of advantages and disadvantages were not seen in the same way by everyone. But, among those who did change, there was a fair degree of consensus on the benefits that came from it. Pre-lamb shearing meant that there was less likelihood of getting a break in the wool. With post-lamb shearing, ewes would put a lot of their energy into feeding their lambs, and so the quality of their wool was likely to suffer as a consequence. The fact that a premium was paid for pre-lamb wool encouraged the practice. Advocates of pre-lamb shearing also maintained that it made for better lambing since the ewe was more likely to look for shelter, and the lambs had an easier job finding their mothers' teats.[107] Under the old system, ewes had to be drafted from their lambs before they could be shorn, and this made for problems of mismatching afterwards. Pre-lamb shearing removed the need for this extra drafting. It was also the case that under the old system the farmer might be shearing and lambing at the same time, and this was extra work. On some mixed sheep and cropping farms, shearing and harvesting were done early in the new year. Pre-lamb shearing removed all of this pressure and once it was tried by a few farmers it seemed to be taken up quite quickly by others such that by the mid-1950s, most district farms had changed.[108]

There were also changes on the agricultural farms in the late 1940s. Although the first tractors had been introduced into the district in the early 1930s, the effect of the depression and then the impact of the war meant that the change-over to tractors was not completed until the late 1940s. Farm workers returning from the war often refused to go back to the old ways of working with horses. Paradoxically, the change often meant that the services of the farm worker were no longer required. To many farmers, having a tractor was a big improvement over working with horses. They could work from dawn to dark, seven days a week if they wanted to. They did not need to groom and prepare a tractor before and after work and give it ninety minutes for a dinner break. They did not have to grow oats, and when the tractor was not working, it was not costing money. For one farm worker's wife, the main advantage of the tractor was that she no longer had to milk the cows first thing in the morning. Her husband now had time to do that, since he did not have to prepare his horses. His comment on the situation, however, was "you can't talk to a tractor".[109]

In Otekaike in particular, the transition to tractors was something that took place almost overnight around 1948. There had been a few tractors in the locality before this, but what made the difference was the availability of pneumatic tires. Prior to that, solid-wheeled tractors were of little use on the steeper ground in Otekaike. Cropping prior to this had used horse teams. As one Otekaike farmer commented, when you had horses you needed to grow oats to feed them, and if you were growing oats then you might as well grow some wheat and other



[Hayes Family]

Norman Hayes on the first Tractor in the Kurow District
Normanvale, Hakataramea Valley, 1930

crops, too. When the horses went, there was no need to grow oats, so there was less incentive to grow other crops. An additional reason why there was less cropping done in Otekaike around this time was the fact that modern headers could not be used on the steeper land.

These changes were not just in farming practice, however. They also involved changes in lifestyle. One retired farm worker talked of how special aptitudes, skills and training acquired over the years had become redundant almost overnight. He was referring to skills such as driving and taking care of a horse team, shoeing a horse, breaking in a team, sheaf-stacking, rabbiting and blade shearing. In the old days, he said, if you had the top beat on a high country muster, then you had to leave the homestead at half past midnight to be in place before dawn. Now they went out in a helicopter and still got to the sheep before they scattered. His general point was that it became increasingly difficult to take pride in skills that were no longer required or were little appreciated.[110]

THE WAITAKI CATCHMENT COMMISSION

Ross Maxwell spent his first five years in Kurow in the condemned police station. The policeman who had given him so much trouble was finally transferred out of Kurow, and his replacement was much more understanding. The power was reconnected, which was a relief for Ross:

> I was relying on kerosene for light and heat, but the Public Works Department didn't trust anyone to go and buy a gallon of kerosene so it was sent up by rail from Dunedin in a jerry can. Quite often the cans would have had oil or diesel in them

[Charles Martin]

Stooking Wheat in Otiake
William McGimpsey, 1920

> previously and so the kerosene wouldn't burn very well in the heater. The smoke was terrible. At one stage, in a very cold part of the winter, I'd made up my mind that I had a choice between freezing or suffocating. Getting the electricity back on was the turning of the tide.[111]

After five years, a section was purchased in Kurow, a building was put on it, and Ross was given an assistant to help with the clerical work. Their working relationship had its lighter moments:

> I interviewed a number of local school girls and decided to appoint one particular girl. When I interviewed her I asked if she could type. Oh yes, she said, she learnt typing at school. But when she eventually started work her typing was absolutely hopeless. I couldn't understand this so I asked her, 'How much typing did you do?'. 'Oh', she said, 'we didn't actually have typewriters at school, all we had was the chart of a keyboard'.[112]

Apart from clerical staff, Ross worked mainly on his own until the early 1960s.

In 1959, an amendment to the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Act 1941 made provision for the establishment of commissions to control catchment districts. In accordance with this, the Local Body Commission approved the formation of the Waitaki Catchment Commission out of the Waitaki Soil Conservation District Committee. The Catchment Commission was constituted on January 8th, 1960 and held its first meeting on February 9th, 1960. On April 1st, 1962, Ross Maxwell was appointed as a soil conservator to the new Commission and became the Commission's first salaried staff member. By 1982 there twenty people on the Commission's staff.

In its first ten years of operation, conservation work carried out by the Commission in the Waitaki Valley included the planting of 172,600 trees on 66 miles of windbreaks, 238 miles of conservation fencing, 153 miles of cattle-proof fencing, 18,200 acres of over-sowing and top-dressing, 16 stock ponds, 138 miles of firebreak access tracks, the implementation of 41 farm conservation plans covering 920,687 acres and the surveying and drafting of a further 33 plans covering 494,577 acres (McCaskill, 1971:123).[113]

An important part of the Commission's work was the classification of land in the Waitaki Valley according to its land-use capabilities.[114] At first this was carried out on a piecemeal basis as maps were prepared to accompany early run conservation plans but a more systematic approach in the 1970s allowed the whole catchment to be classified. This then provided the basis for implementing a policy of retiring all class VIII land and severely eroded class VII land from grazing. Such a policy would not have been practicable, however, without the conservation work done earlier on lower pasture to restore the vegetation.

In its 1982 "Waitaki Water and Soil Resource Management Plan", the Catchment Commission described this work of the last twenty years as constituting: "the most active period since the subdivision of the large estates about the turn of the century".[115] The overall effect that this conservation work has had on one portion of the district is described by Scoular in the following terms:

> Thus, after a century without change, the pastures of Otekaike in twenty years underwent a near transformation. In 1950, the sunny faces were overgrazed and depleted by the depredations of fire and rabbits and the summer heat. Only stray sheep would be found among the overgrown tussocks on the unfenced dark faces. By 1975, this had changed to a scene of even grazing on slope after slope of perfect tussock pastures. (Scoular, 1977:33)

Clearly, the late 1940s and early 1950s were a time of great change in the Kurow district, but as we have seen, some of the key forces for that change came from outside the district.

FOOTNOTES :

1. Ross Maxwell was a rehabilitation soldier who had attended the first training course for soil conservators held at Lincoln College in 1946. He and the six other students on the course were subsequently appointed as junior soil conservators with the Ministry of Works (see McCaskill, 1973:54-55).

2. Interview, August 25th, 1982.

3. Ibid.

4. J.P. Grossman, The Evils of Deforestation, Brett Printing and Publishing Co., New Zealand, 1909; J. Henderson and M.J. Ongley, Geological Survey Bulletin 21, Government Printer, Wellington, 1920; F.W. Furkert, The Control of Rivers, New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology, Vol 9, 1928; E. Kidson, Wairarapa Floods, New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology, Vol 14, 1933; Malabar, The Menace of Soil Erosion, New Zealand Farmer Weekly, October 13th, 1937. For a summary of the content of these articles and reports, see McCaskill, 1973:9-15.

5. In the case of the Hawke's Bay floods, there was also loss of life when a works camp was flooded and 21 lives were lost. McCaskill commented: "The damage to the country was almost indescribable, with trees torn from hillsides, slips and gullies producing silt-charged water, and whole farms buried under six feet of silt, sand and gravel" (1973:15).

6. This was discussed in a review article written by a scientist from the Botany Division - see V.D. Zotov, Survey of the Tussock-grasslands of the South Island, New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology, Vol 20, 1938. Other articles from this period which dealt with means of combatting the problem were: G.H. Holford, Soil Conservation and Soil Exploitation, Royal Agricultural Society of New Zealand Gazette, No. 28, 1938; Keeping Our Soil where it Belongs, New Zealand Farmer Weekly, June 22nd, 1939; N. Lamont, Arresting Deterioration of Hill Country, New Zealand Journal of Agriculture, Vol 59, No. 1, 1939.

7. Report of Committee of Enquiry, Maintenance of Vegetative Cover in New Zealand, With Special Reference to Land Erosion, D.S.I.R. Bulletin No. 77, 1939 (quoted in McCaskill, 1973:20).

8. McCaskill referred to this as "the most important date in the history of land use in New Zealand" (1973:27). The formulation of the Bill was not without some controversy, however, since government only saw the need for legislation to cover river control administration and seemed set to ignore soil conservation as an issue. Lance McCaskill himself played a vital role in persuading government to broaden its vision to include soil conservation. Details of

how this came about can be obtained from McCaskill (1973:17-27).

9. These were the general objectives that were stressed by the Minister of Public Works, the Hon T. Armstrong, during the second reading of the Bill - see Parliamentary Debates, 1941.

10. Minutes of Meeting of Otago Soil Conservation and River Control Committee, Dunedin, February 3rd, 1944.

11. Ibid. Contained in this statement were the three main conservation problems being faced at the time - rabbit infestation, over-stocking and burning-off. The Council referred to here was, of course, the Soil Conservation and River Control Council.

12. Minutes of Meeting of Otago Soil Conservation and River Control Committee, Dunedin, September 7th, 1944.

13. Minutes of Meeting of Otago Soil Conservation and River Control Committee, Kurow, April 25th, 1945.

14. Minutes of Meeting of Otago Soil Conservation and River Control Committee, Kurow, May 22nd, 1947. The relevant motion read: "That this committee is of the opinion that the Waitaki Basin is not suitable as a Catchment District and should be declared a Soil Conservation District". The boundaries to the District were to include: "the whole of the catchment district bounded on the north-east by the South Canterbury Catchment District, on the north-west by the main divide, on the south-west by the watershed between the Clutha and Taieri Rivers on the one hand, and the Waitaki on the other, as far as the Dansey Pass and a fence along the summit of the Kakanui and Horse Ranges to the Coast at Shag Point".

15. I discussed the matter in an interview with Ross Maxwell, chief soil conservator of the Waitaki Catchment Commission on August 25th, 1982. In response to my question as to the committee's reasoning, Ross replied: "I've asked that question myself and never received a satisfactory answer".

16. It is perhaps significant in this regard that at their meeting on May 22nd, 1947, the Otago Committee passed an additional motion which read: "That this committee again draws the attention of the Council [the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council] to the desperate need for combatting the depredation of the rabbit menace, which is the most potent agency in the depletion of our national heritage, and urges the council to do all in its power to eradicate the nuisance".

17. In a letter from the chairman of the Soil Council to Catchment Boards, dated June 14th, 1944, it was stated: "The Council believes that most Catchment Boards in their initial years of office would be more actively engaged on works of river control and drainage than on works for the prevention of soil erosion" (quoted in McCaskill, 1973:36).

18. Gazette, 1947, page 1911.

19. The three government representatives were C.G. Calder, District Soil Conservator, W.E. Shaw, Commissioner of Crown Lands and T.A. Selwood of the Department of Agriculture. Donald Burnett was the MacKenzie County nominee, Bill McKenzie was the Waimate County nominee and Bill Whalan was the Waitaki County nominee. Bill Whalan's property, Te Akatarawa, wasn't actually in Waitaki County, but there was local support to have him serve on the committee because of his involvement in conservation issues. Ross Maxwell was secretary to the committee. Burnett resigned within a few months because of health reasons.

20. This building has been mentioned in previous chapters under a variety of names - Goddard's Hall, Delargy's Hall and Munro's Hall. It was a small building adjacent to the Kurow hotel that had been the original bank in the township. In 1982, it was known as the Buffalo Hall, since it belonged to the Royal and Ancient Order of Buffaloes.

21. Minutes of Meeting of the Waitaki Soil Conservation District Committee, March 17th, 1948.

22. Haldon Station lay upriver from Te Akatarawa. Between 1862 and 1878, the station was owned by a partnership of William Cunningham Smith, George James Dennistoun and John Tennant Wallace. An entry in the station diary by Cunningham Smith on August 7th, 1870 reports "rabbit hunting around Waitaki river beds". In May 1871, 43 rabbits were killed, in June 1872 the tally was 64. By June 1874 the diary was reporting kills as high as 376 rabbits. The diary also chronicled the development of anti-rabbit devices from snare-wires, to ferrets, cats and then professional rabbiters (see Pinney, 1971:136-137).

23. Reported in Stanley and McCaskill, 1951, page 1.

24. Ibid.

25. This was The Rabbit Nuisance Act of 1876, which made provision for the proclamation of rabbit districts with rates of a halfpence an acre to be levied on landowners. Owners were required to destroy rabbits on their own properties. An amendment was passed in 1877 which, among other provisions, made it illegal to liberate live rabbits. This amendment also contained the first economic incentive in relation to rabbits, authorising the payment of a halfpenny for each rabbit skin exported.

26. The main legislation between 1877 and 1900 was: The Rabbit Nuisance Acts of 1880, 1881, 1882 and 1890, and The Rabbit-Proof Wire Netting Fences Act of 1898. The imposition of fines for failure to destroy rabbits on a property was introduced in 1880, and the level of fines was increased with each successive piece of legislation. By 1901, it had risen to 100 pounds and 5 pounds for each month thereafter.

27. Oamaru Mail, October 31st, 1890.

28. In 1891, a rabbit-tinning factory was opened in Kurow by Finlinson and Thomson (McDonald, 1962:187). It is not known exactly when it closed, but it was not there in 1905.

29. Lyttelton Times, February 25th, 1898.

30. Reported in Lyttelton Times, February 28th, 1898.

31. Lyttelton Times, March 7th, 1898. Mr Hassell was subsequently reinstated to his position.

32. Lyttelton Times, July 22nd, 1898.

33. This letter was on the files of the Kurow stock inspector. A copy of it was provided by John Grant, a retired Otekaike farmer and former member of the Otekaike Rabbit Board.

34. The most extensive operation of this kind in the Hakataramea Valley was on Hakataramea Station where, in addition to the rabbit fence, a workforce of up to forty rabbiters was employed to keep the pest under control (see Parry, 1968).

35. The increase in the rabbit population during and immediately after World War II can be gauged from the fact that a rabbit factory was opened again in Kurow between 1945 and 1949. According to informants, the skins were sent to Dunedin and the carcasses were frozen for export.

36. Bill Whalan was a key figure in spearheading the push for rabbit boards in the Waitaki Basin. Born in 1902 at Taieri Mouth in Otago, where his father had a small farm, Whalan initially came to the Waitaki in 1923 as a shepherd on Aviemore and Otematata Stations. In 1927 he moved to Huxley Gorge in the Mackenzie Country as manager, taking over a half share in the property the following year. He also got married that year to Flora Cochrane of Kurow. Her father was James Cochrane, a Kurow shepherd. When they took over Te Akatarawa in 1942, they paid 12,000 pounds for it.

37. A brief history of Te Akatarawa can be found in Pinney, (1971:257-262). The period of company ownership was from 1907 until 1928, during which time a succession of different shareholders owned the company under the name of Paterson and Co. Between 1928 and 1942, the station was owned by Donald Burnett. He was in his eighties when he sold out to Bill Whalan.

38. The Kurow stock inspector reported in 1888: "Te Akatarawa, if anything, even in a worse state" (quoted in Pinney, 1971:260). Waitangi was similarly affected, with rabbiting costs between 1892 and 1895 averaging about 430 pounds per year. This was offset by an average income from rabbit skins of 228 pounds per year (see Pinney, 1971:286).

39. Whalan commented in an interview: "When we moved to Te Aka we couldn't get enough water at the homestead to run our cookshop. It just wasn't there. So we concentrated on our catchment area. We wouldn't burn there. We cleaned the rabbits out of it and kept it lightly grazed. Stock was kept off it as much as possible and in a matter of a few years, we had water running past us going to waste and that's never altered. There was no water in that creek but just because we looked after the catchment area that altered. The greatest way to conserve your water is to have cover on your country. It eliminates those flash floods too." (Interview, March 24th, 1982).

40. This was done under the provisions of The Rabbit Nuisance Amendment Act 1947.

41. There had been boards in existence prior to this, but these were mainly Inspectorial Boards. Although it had been possible to get pound for pound government subsidies under these old boards, new provisions meant that where land would not stand heavy rating, direct government grants were available.

42. Whalan's companions on this trip were Jim Keenan and Willis Scaife. Scaife was later to serve with Whalan on the executive of the South Islands Rabbit Boards' Association.

43. Nordmeyer had, in fact, been the minister who had married the Whalans in Kurow in 1928.

44. Interview with Bill Whalan, March 24th, 1982.

45. Ibid. Local opposition to the formation of rabbit boards is contrary to a comment offered by Kevin O'Connor (1981) that facing the rabbit problem required a collective response and that this helped to foster a sense of community among otherwise individualistic farmers. Collective effort may have played a part after the boards were formed, but even this needs to be viewed in a realistic light, since the early rabbit board minutes give indication of frictions and continuing opposition on the part of some farmers.

46. These neighbours were Arthur Sutton of Waitangi, Charlie Davis of Glencary, Jim Chapman of Caberfeidh and Mrs William Ross of Collie Hills. Whalan actually needed six ratepayers to form a board, but Sutton held Waitangi under two leases, so that made up the six.

47. Information contained in a letter dated October 19th, 1948, from the Kurow stock inspector to the Dunedin Superintendent of the Department of Agriculture.

48. This process was aided by the fact that the stock inspector in Kurow at this time, A.R. Murdoch, had worked for the Department of Agriculture on Molesworth Station in Marlborough after it had been taken over by the government in

the early 1940s. It became a large-scale experiment in pasture regeneration as sheep were taken off the country and limited grazing by cattle was instituted. Murdoch was therefore familiar with soil-conservation and pest-eradication issues prior to coming to Kurow.

49. The Upper Waihao Board's territory encompassed Mount Parker to Station Peak and included runs in the eastern corner of the Haka Valley. The Otekaike Board had responsibility from Awakino to Maerewhenua, the Waitaki Board covered Wharekuri and Otematata and the Haka Valley Board included Cattle Creek and the western corner of the lower Haka valley.

50. The extent of the opposition can be gauged from the fact that, in discussions prior to the setting up of the Buscot Board, one of Bill Whalan's neighbours expressed the fear that if he came in with Whalan he might not be able to get musterers or shearers for his sheep. Whalan's response was that if they did not form a board, in five year's time they might not need musterers or shearers. He said "Arthur looked at me quite blankly and then said, 'You could be dead right. I'll go with you'."

51. This information came from an interview with Tom McGimspey and John Grant on January 20th, 1980. Both men were inaugural members of the Otekaike Board. Tom McGimspey was its first chairman.

52. Estimated expenditure for 1949 by the other boards were: Waitaki, 5,300 pounds; and Haka Valley, 9,000 pounds.

53. The only information we have available is from the Otekaike Board. The initial income in 1949 was relatively low (432 pounds), but for the years from 1950 to 1952 it varied between 5,174 pounds and 1,782 pounds. By 1957, income from the sale of hides had fallen to 79 pounds.

54. In the late 1940s and early 1950s there were up to four commercial firms operating in the district, buying carcasses and skins from the rabbit boards.

55. In the early years of their operations, district rabbit boards struck differential rates that varied between 1d and 1/- per acre. In the case of the Otekaike Board, the income generated by rates during this period always ran a poor third to income from rabbit sales and government grants.

56. The fact that boards had difficulty finding funds for rabbiter accommodation contributed to the problem. In other cases, though, competition from other rabbit boards was the problem. In 1951, the Tokarahi Board was operating a policy of freelance trapping and paying three shillings a pair for rabbits caught - a figure well above commercial rates. The Otekaike Board wrote to the Rabbit Destruction Council complaining about this since it was causing discontent among their rabbiters and had resulted in some leaving to work for the other board (minutes of Otekaike Rabbit Board, February

5th, 1951). Some boards attempted to resolve this labour problem by employing immigrants but the Department of Labour indicated that the accommodation arrangements made by Rabbit Boards were not of a suitable standard for newly arrived immigrants (minutes of Haka Valley Rabbit Board, October 18th, 1950).

57. Foremen resignations were a feature of the minutes of all of these rabbit boards. The following entry from the Haka Valley Board minutes is illustrative of the problem: "The foreman gave, verbally, a month's notice of his intention to resign from the position of foreman of the Hakataramea Valley Rabbit Board. He declared that he had been forced to make this decision on account of the uncooperative attitude of several ratepayers at the bottom end of the valley" (August 17th, 1950).

58. The only documentation available from this early period of the boards' activities are minute books, and at times these were singularly uninformative on such crucial information as how many rabbits were killed. The following entry from the Waitaki Board's minutes of April 8th, 1954 was typical: "The foreman's report was read, discussed and approved. The overall position was satisfactory". Early minute books from all of the district Boards were researched.

59. The actual figure was 277,129 rabbits, of which 66,450 had been poisoned and 160,679 trapped (Otekaike Board minutes, March 27th, 1950). The Board switched to fumigation soon after this, and so a rabbit count would have been more difficult to obtain.

60. Interview comment from Tom McGimpsey, January 20th, 1980.

61. Interview with Vic Voyce, October 21st, 1982.

62. This statement was released on December 7th, 1951, by D.A. Campbell, Senior Soil Conservator, Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council, Wellington. A copy was obtained from the files of the Waitaki Catchment Commission in Kurow.

63. The main poisons used were strychnine and phosphorised pollard. They had competing advantages and disadvantages for the rabbiters. Strychnine was quick-acting which meant that rabbits died close to where the poison had been laid, but this tended to frighten other rabbits away. Phosphorised pollard acted more slowly, which did not have the warning-off effect, but meant that the rabbits usually died in burrows and therefore were more difficult to retrieve. Where fumigation was done, chloropicrin (larvacide) was most widely used. It was a tear gas and was found to be the deadliest and most economical fumigant available. In January 1950, phosphorised pollard was dropped from the air by the Buscot Board in what must have been one of the first aerial poisoning operations in the country. Soon after this, the Waitaki and Upper Waihao Boards followed suit. There was no

need for the Otekaike or Haka Valley Boards to do as much aerial poisoning because they had less hill country.

64. The move to have rabbit boards disbanded appears to have been led by a Central Otago member of parliament, William Bodkin. He was understood to have some connections with commercial interests in the rabbit industry. The threat was removed when the Minister of Agriculture, Keith Holyoake, decided against disbandment, since the boards had not had long enough to prove themselves.

65. Stanley and McCaskill (1951:2). Indication that what they were saying was true can be obtained from the fact that of the quarter of a million rabbits killed by the Otekaike Board in its first year of operation, three quarters had been trapped. The Otekaike Board did turn to fumigation soon after this, though.

66. In 1953, Bill Whalan was president of the South Canterbury and North Otago Rabbit Board's Council, and in his annual report to the Council he said: "Rabbit boards have proved conclusively that areas can be cleared without there being a value in the skin or carcase. For many years it was stated that the value in the rabbit was a considerable factor in financing its destruction, but with the rapid extension of rabbit board control over the past few years, proof of this statement is abundantly in evidence throughout the country and it can without question be now stated that until the value is taken entirely out of the skin and carcase, the ideal conditions for extermination would not be present. It is pleasing therefore to know that the levies now being imposed on skins has practically exhausted any trading therein while the recent pronouncement of the Minister of Agriculture indicated that the rabbit carcase will be completely devalued within the next year" (Annual Report, 1953). Three years later, however, with Whalan as president, the South Island Rabbit Board's Association, was passing remits at its 1956 annual conference: (1) that the Association press for legislation completely devaluing the rabbit, both skin and carcase, and (2) that the Government be asked to implement its promise in regard to the complete devaluation of rabbit skins and carcasses (Agenda for Annual Meeting, 1956). Both remits were passed.

67. For a discussion of pastoral leases, see Kerr, Frizzell and Ross (1979).

68. Bill Whalan found this to be a problem when he took over Te Akatarawa in 1946: "Until I went there, they were buying in sheep each year to try to keep up the stock. I didn't buy any in, but I thought about it and realised that if the ewes weren't producing enough lambs, then obviously they weren't getting enough feed" (Interview, March 24th, 1982). Whalan's solution to the problem was somewhat drastic: he reduced the stock from 7,000 sheep to just over 6,000, actually increasing his overall productivity.

69. These seven properties were five of the sheep stations (Otematata, Aviemore, Rugged Ridges, Waitangi and Te Akatarawa) as well as two Cattle Creek runs (Ashridge/Wairua and Hakataramea Downs). In 1950, approximately 300,000 acres in the Kurow district was leasehold land. This represented 57% of the total land in the district. Of this leasehold land, pastoral leases accounted for 54%, ordinary leases 15%, small grazing run leases 19% and renewable leases of farm land 14%. The proportion of leasehold land was much higher in the Otago segment of the district (73%) than in the Canterbury segment (45%) (information drawn from land records).

70. The total number of sheep in the district in 1924 was 210,848. This then rose to 283,095 in 1930 before falling to 204,956 in 1948. It will be noted from Figure 1 in Appendix 3 that this increase in sheep numbers during this period was to be found in both provincial segments of the district.

71. There are indications that vegetation and ground cover was burned by the Maoris, prior to European settlement. In his book Kingdom in the Hills - The Story of a Struggle (Whitcombe and Tombs, 1974) David McLeod comments: "There has been much criticism of the practice of burning tussock country but in the first settlement it was absolutely necessary in order to remove the dense accumulated vegetation so the sheep could graze. ... It was not until a century later that the discovery was made that the Maoris had done precisely the same thing several hundred years before, with the same effects on soil and vegetation" (1974:24).

72. Samuel Butler, A First Year in Canterbury Settlement (London, A.C. Fifield, 1914), page 58. Butler's "Irishman" was a matagouri bush.

73. J. Buchanan, "Sketch of the Botany of New Zealand", Transactions and Proceedings New Zealand Institute, Vol 1, 1869 (quoted in McCaskill, 1971:6).

74. A.H. Cockayne, The Effect of Burning on Tussock Country, The Journal of the Department of Agriculture, Vol 1, No. 1, 1910.

75. Ibid., page 15.

76. O'Connor referred to burning-off as "the essence of exploitative pastoralism" (1981:49). The North Canterbury Catchment Board was the first Board to implement a consistent burning policy. Among its recommendations in 1946 were (a) burn only in the spring, preferably in August or September, (b) burn only in the afternoon, preferably after 3pm, (c) burn when the ground and base of the tussocks are damp, (d) burn only in calm or gentle easterly weather with prospects of a heavy dew or frost, (e) under all circumstances, avoid burning during a nor-wester (quoted in McCaskill, 1973:152).

77. Details of the meeting were reported in the Otago Daily Times and Oamaru Mail of April 14th, 1956.

78. Prior to the formation of conservation boards and committees, holders of Crown leases who wanted to burn vegetation had to get permission from the Lands Department. This was under the provisions of a clause in the Land Act of 1892. McCaskill comments that this was a clause that was honoured mainly in the breach. By agreement with the Commissioner of Crown Lands in 1948, however, Catchment Boards and Soil Conservation Committees became the sole authority for issuing burning permits to lessees of Crown land (McCaskill, 1973:152).

79. In contrast to this, one Omarama runholder who addressed the meeting and favoured the control of burning-off was described as "a greenhorn". It was commented: "He knows the least but makes the longest oration" (Oamaru Mail, April 14th, 1956).

80. On the motion of John Trotter of Garguston, it was accepted that nobody with less than 20 years' experience as a high-country farmer be appointed to the committee. The members appointed to the committee were: J.A.C. McKenzie (Dansey's Pass), S. Wigley (Omarama), E. Williamson (The Gorge), A. Chapman (Kurow), D. Anderson (Omarama), D. McIlraith (Waitaki), J. Chapman (Haka Valley) and R. Gard (Otiake).

81. The Soil Conservation Committee introduced a permit system to control the amount and time of burning under the authority vested in it by the Forest and Rural Fires Act of 1947 (section 19). The number of permits issued declined from 62 in 1961 to 29 in 1976 (Scoular, 1977, Appendix VIIc).

82. In her research in the Otekaike-Dansey's Pass area in the mid-1970s, Scoular found a high level of support for the system among the runholders: "Several runholders expressed the opinion that the conservationists' opposition to burning in the forties and fifties was justifiable, in view of the inadequately planned, and sometimes completely reckless, way in which burning was then conducted. They contend that by the end of the sixties, and certainly in the seventies, the calculated, carefully controlled burns were completely different" (Scoular, 1977:23-24).

83. Without fencing, large sheep runs were unmanageable. No protection could be given either to an already overgrazed area of pasture or to a newly developed area. Fencing allowed stock to be forced onto areas such as dark or overgrown faces where they would not otherwise graze. It also allowed the spelling of pasture that was being developed (see Scoular 1977:25-28 for a discussion of this). Government one-for-one subsidies were available to cover the costs of fencing programmes that were carried out in consultation with the Soil Conservation Committee.

84. The Sheep Industry Commission of 1949 had issued the following warning to sheep farmers: "It is now generally recognised that stocking with cattle is vitally important to pasture improvement. ... There are still numerous areas where

insufficient cattle are being carried. To the farmers concerned we can only say, 'You will ruin your pastures unless you cattle more'." (Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, H-46a, 1949, p98). Scoular (1977:39) offers an explanation as to why the grazing of cattle was so strongly advocated: "The reason ... is because of the difference between the grazing habits of cattle and sheep. The two grazing patterns are complementary. Cattle can handle larger amounts of roughage than sheep, and graze higher where sheep tend to graze low, sometimes damaging the crown of the plant. Thus a block stocked with cattle is in less danger of being overgrazed and eroded than a block stocked with the equivalent number of sheep alone".

85. For a detailed discussion of how this affected the management of runs in the Otekaike/Dansey's Pass area, see Scoular (1977), especially chapter 2.

86. See Chapter 10 (The Aeroplane Joins The Fight) in McCaskill, 1973.

87. Interview with Bill Whalan, March 24th, 1982. Bill Whalan was eventually able to treble his wool clip from the 100 bales he got when he first took over the place. He also increased the number of cattle on the property from nil to 800. Detailed information on how this was achieved is not available, however. When I interviewed Mr Whalan, he had retired and was living outside Christchurch. His farm records were not readily accessible.

88. Such programmes would be developed as "Soil and Water Conservation Plans" by the soil conservators, in consultation with the individual farmer, and would provide the farmer with a detailed schedule for development work as well as government subsidies. Between 1970 and 1976, total subsidies paid out by the Waitaki Catchment Commission amounted to $696,414 (W.C.C. Annual Reports, 1971-76).

89. A 1947 Department of Agriculture Report stated that between 1920 and 1940, extensive pastoral farming had "either remained stationary or regressed slightly" (Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, H-29, 1947).

90. Price stabilisation of wool was achieved after World War II by the cooperation of New Zealand, Australia and South Africa in establishing the Wool Marketing Commission. The high wool prices of 1951 were caused by increased demand following the beginnings of the Korean War.

91. Despite the number of rehabilitation farmers in the district, there were, in fact, only two farms created specifically for this purpose. Both of these were in Cattle Creek, formed on land formerly held by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company.

92. In the same year, his brother Bruce took over a neighbouring 4,000-acre sheep run, Mount Parker. This was also inherited from their father, Robert McIlraith.

93. Information on Glen Mac has been drawn from two main sources: an interview with Doug McIlraith (November 22nd, 1982); and an article published in the New Zealand Fertiliser Journal (A.A. Duncan, Threefold Lift in Carrying in North Otago, December, 1965).

94. Duncan, op cit., page 6.

95. Ibid. During an interview in November of 1982, Doug McIlraith also highlighted the contribution made by the high wool prices of 1951 and the spray irrigation scheme that was established on the front part of the property in the early 1960s. In 1982, Glen Mac was carrying 4,800 sheep and 160 cattle.

96. See Chapter 9.

97. The eastern side of the Haka Valley was more badly affected by rabbits than the western side because it lay more to the sun, and hence was preferred by rabbits. It was also drier, hillier country and so rabbit infestation was more difficult to control. These difficulties were not helped by the fact that in the late 1940s one property in the vicinity of Table Top was being run explicitly as a rabbit farm.

98. The composition of the flock was 4,105 ewes, 1,240 ewe hoggets, 20 wethers and 65 rams. This information came from farm records and from interviews with the McKenzie family.

99. The following information comes from interviews with Phil Sargent's son, Geof.

100 The fact that the publishing of individual sheep numbers was terminated in 1952 is to be regretted, since this was a crucial turning-point for sheep farming in the district, as it was elsewhere. In 1982, through the local member of parliament, I approached the Department of Statistics to enquire about access to post-1952 information for the district. The best they could offer was for me to provide them with a list of 1982 farmers and they would provide me with aggregated statistics. Since I would have needed figures broken down by property type, flock size and locality, I decided not to follow up the offer. I then tried to circumvent the problem by approaching the stock inspectors in Kurow and Waimate, but again, although they had the figures I wanted, I was thwarted by the confidentiality barrier. Towards the end of fieldwork in 1982, I thought of doing a survey of all farmers in the district but then realised that this was too large an undertaking and resigned myself to making do with a sample.

101 The sample included properties in all localities and of differing sizes and farm-types. In considering the increase in sheep numbers in 1982, it needs to be borne in mind, however, that the government was operating a stock incentive scheme at the time, and that this would have had the effect of inflating the numbers a little higher than they might otherwise have been. A number of farmers were in difficulty because of this since the district was in the middle of a severe drought in 1982, and many farms were having to carry more sheep than they could adequately cope with. As a result of this, sheep were being sent out of the district to be grazed elsewhere.

102 See chapter 5.

103 The classification of properties into these categories was done in consultation with Ross Maxwell, Chief Soil Conservator of the Waitaki Catchment Commission, and with a number of district farmers. Excluded from consideration here are smallholdings, orchards and marginal farms. A similar categorisation by farming type was not carried out for earlier periods because of the difficulties of getting consistency between informants.

104 In an earlier chapter I identified a number of factors that contributed to a decrease in cropping. Among these were: declining soil fertility; the increasing expense of machinery for harvesting; and the fact that sheep farming became more attractive economically because of the stabilisation of wool prices (see chapter 5).

105 One informant who had been a shearer commented that he would rather deal with strangers in a situation like that than with someone who was local to the district.

106 Aspects to this were discussed in a previous chapter when the "farmer's year" was outlined (see chapter 5).

107 The obverse of this, of course, was that the farmer ran the risk of his sheep being caught in bad weather with little protection on their backs. Where this was a possibility, farmers had their sheep shorn with blades rather than machines.

108 When I asked local farmers why the practice of post-lamb shearing had continued for so long, the usual answer was "tradition".

109 When I interviewed them in 1982, this couple had been retired for a number of years and were living in Kurow.

110 This informants lived in Paddy's Flat, and the interview was done in September of 1981.

111 Interview, August 25th, 1982.

112 Ibid.

113 In the following five years, until 1975, a further 10 miles of conservation fencing, 38 miles of cattleproof fencing and 13 miles of firebreak access tracks were constructed, along with 12 stock ponds and the over-sowing and top-dressing of 550 acres (Scoular, 1977, Appendix VIIb).

114 The basis for this was an eight-class capability system developed in the United States and adopted by the Soil Conservation and River Control Council in 1952 (see McCaskill, 1971:189). Classes I-IV cover land suited for cultivation and cropping, classes V-VII cover land suitable for grazing or forestry use and class VIII is land that is suitable for Catchment protection use only.

115 Waitaki Catchment Commission, Waitaki Water and Soil Resource Management Plan, Volume 2 - Description of the Waitaki Catchment, (July 1982), page 52.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

1950 to 1982

INTRODUCTION

When Bill Cochrane died in April of 1983, not many people noticed. There were no long obituaries in the press, no statements of appreciation from local bodies on which he had served, just a simple death notice that gave the date and place of his passing.[1] For thirty-six years, he and his wife Mavis had lived on a smallholding in Kurow Settlement not far from where Bill had been raised as a boy.[2] He had been born on June 10th, 1910, the first of five children born to John and Margaret Cochrane.[3] John Cochrane was a musterer and shepherd who owned a small plot of land on the banks of Kurow Creek.[4] Shortly after Bill started school, the family moved to Digger's Gully, behind Kurow.

On leaving school in 1924, Bill Cochrane had no other ambition than to chase rabbits and sheep,[5] and his subsequent work history, like that of many of his contemporaries, was a varied one. For most of his life, he was a shearer and musterer, but he was also a surfaceman for the County, a sexton in the cemetery, a cook in the army, a cook for a threshing gang, a fore-man in a local rabbit factory and a casual labourer. He had also been a dairy farmer.

Shortly after getting married in 1936, Bill bought some land in Kurow and built a house, but the ground was stony and nothing would grow. He had no great ambition to own a farm but decided to buy the first bit of land that came along. Fourteen acres in Kurow Settlement came available in 1947, and he paid 950 pounds for it.[6] He was working as a surfaceman for the county at the time and helping in the local rabbit factory at nights.[7]

In 1953 he acquired another fourteen acres adjacent to his Kurow Settlement section and decided to get into dairy farming.[8] His motivations for doing so were varied. Mustering and shearing were not too conducive to family life and dairy farming seemed to offer greater stability. Apart from that, he liked the idea of being his own boss and saw the possibilities of making a good living.[9] There were only two other farmers in Kurow Settlement licensed to sell milk at the time, so he felt there was a good market in Kurow.

He started off with fifteen cows and had thirty by the time he finished, six years later. He sold about ten gallons of milk a day (at two shillings a gallon) and had about fifteen regular customers. The milk was sold locally, but the cream went to Oamaru twice a week. The Cochranes made about fifteen pounds a week, and although it was not riches, it was enough for them.

Lack of water was a problem, however. When Kurow Settlement was first established, water races were put in, but the water was for domestic use only and was not for watering the paddocks. Being a communal facility, there were always disputes over its use, and in 1954 Bill decided to have a well drilled. No one else had a well in the settlement at the time, so the enterprise was a bit of a gamble. It paid off. The drilling firm from Oamaru struck water twenty-three feet down, and the well cost only 150 pounds. Neighbouring farmers followed his example but had to pay more.

Bill upgraded the milking equipment on his property in 1955, but his days as a dairy farmer were numbered. A milk treatment station was established in Oamaru in the mid-1950s, so

small operators like Bill faced increased competition. In addition, inadequacies in the local system were being shown up by increased hydro demand. There was a large influx of people to Waitaki hydro in 1954 when the generating capacity of the dam was being upgraded, and problems were encountered trying to meet this extra demand for milk from the Kurow supply. The problem was exacerbated in 1958 when work began on the Benmore Dam and Otematata was established. The Kurow domestic supply could no longer cope, and farms like Bill's were gradually phased out. His was the only dairy farm still operating in Kurow when he sold his cows in 1959.

Bill went back to blade shearing, but things had changed there, too. Freelance shearing had given way to the contract system. The contractor, not the cockie, now controlled the hiring and the firing, and most of the contractors were outsiders. Bill described the system as "sweated labour". He was running 300 sheep on his Kurow Settlement properties at the time and could make more money from the sheep than he could from shearing, so he shore only as a sideline. He was getting a bit old for the pressures of shearing anyway. In 1968 he stopped shearing and worked on a casual basis for a local apiarist, but a heart attack in 1972 forced him to retire.

By the time Bill Cochrane died in 1983, he had seen many changes take place in the district that had circumscribed his life, none more so than in the period since the late 1940s. The post-war period was a time of transitions for most New Zealanders. In these next two chapters we look at the main implications of this for the Kurow district and its people.

POPULATION STRUCTURE

Details of the contemporary district have already been presented in earlier chapters, and all that remains to do is to fill in the last segment in the story of how that contemporary situation came to be. We begin, therefore, by overviewing population changes between 1950 and 1982.

From earlier census figures we know that the population of the settled localities in the district was fairly constant from 1896 onwards. Where population fluctuations did occur, this was mainly is response to hydro developments in the district. In the early 1950s, expansion work at Waitaki hydro was carried out, and this brought increased numbers to the dam site.[10] Then, in 1958 construction of the Benmore Dam was commenced and the township of Otematata established.[11] The Benmore power station was operational by 1965.[12] Meanwhile, in 1962, work began on the Aviemore Dam just above Lake Waitaki. Aviemore was completed by 1968, and a village was established adjacent to the dam to house the hydro staff and their families.[13] Meanwhile the Campbell Park Special School at Otekaike continued to operate, and it too brought additional people into the district. The net population effect of the hydro developments and the special school is shown in Table 12.1, where a comparison is made with the population of the settled localities. The population in the localities remained relatively constant but there were large fluctuations, especially in the population of the hydro settlements.

Table 12.1 : Population of Settled Localities and Occupational Enclaves, 1951 to 1981

CENSUS YEAR	Settled Localities	Hydro Settlements	Otekaike Special School
1951	1,236	329	131
1956	1,226	166	211
1961	1,289	2,999	215
1966	1,305	4,152	228
1971	1,215	1,587	216
1976	1,133	940	218
1981	1,180	650	206

Source : New Zealand Census

The household reconstruction exercises for 1950, 1965 and 1982 produced population figures of 1,174, 1,229 and 1,171 respectively for the settled localities.[14] However, the number of households increased from 312 in 1950 to 368 in 1982 - see Table 12.2a overleaf. As will be seen from this table, however, the main increases in the number of households took place in Cattle Creek between 1965 and 1982, and in Kurow Township between 1950 and 1982. The Cattle Creek increase was the result of what was known as the Moorland Settlement, where a number of new farms were created out of land that had been developed as a Lands and Survey Department settle-ment block.[15] It was mainly young farming families that were settled on these farms.

The growth in Kurow Township was the result of new houses being built in two particular locations. Between 1950 and 1965 a number of houses were built in the vicinity of the high school. Because of its elevated position relative to the township, and

Table 12.2a : Numbers of Households and Population by Locality, 1950, 1965 and 1982

	Adults			Children			Total Popn.			Households		
LOCALITIES	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
Kurow Township	179	226	289	133	146	132	312	372	421	84	104	146
Kurow Vicinity	31	39	18	17	23	10	48	62	28	13	19	10
Paddys Flat	57	38	38	29	27	17	86	65	55	25	18	18
Otiake	64	62	69	42	39	42	106	101	111	23	24	31
Otekaike	102	81	61	52	54	34	154	135	95	43	39	30
Wharekuri	25	28	26	6	18	18	31	46	44	10	11	12
NTH OTAGO	458	474	501	279	307	253	737	781	754	247	215	198
Haka Township	70	50	45	40	31	11	110	81	56	28	24	21
Mount Parker	31	30	23	21	27	18	52	57	41	12	14	12
Waitangi	9	13	8	2	13	4	11	26	12	3	6	3
Haka Valley	124	113	109	56	84	74	180	197	183	50	52	52
Cattle Creek	52	49	74	32	38	51	84	87	125	21	21	33
STH CANTERBURY	286	255	259	151	193	158	437	448	417	114	117	121
TOTAL	744	729	760	430	500	411	1174	1229	1171	312	332	368

because of the number of teachers and catchment commission staff who subsequently lived here, this area was referred to by some residents as "Kurow Heights". The other development took place in the late 1970s between the Catholic Church and the golf course. This land was developed as a residential area by a local development company and in 1982 the houses were mainly occupied by retired couples. This neighbourhood was referred to by some residents as "Taylorville" after one of the principals in the development company.[16]

The net result of these changes was that the average size of households in the district dropped from 3.8 in 1950 to 3.2 in 1982.[17] This was mainly the result of an increase in the number of "retired" households in the townships and their vicinity - we commented on this in Chapter 4.[18] The average size of households in the township localities was 2.9, whereas in the rural localities it was 3.5.

Proportions of households and population in each of the localities is shown in Table 12.2b. The two main points to be noted from the table are the increasing significance of Kurow Township within the district and the relative distribution of households and population between the two provincial segments of the district. The proportion of district population living in Kurow Township increased from 27% to 36% between 1950 and 1982 and the proportion of households increased from 27% to 40%. By way of contrast, in 1920, Kurow Township had accounted for only 17% of the total population of the settled localities of the district and 19% of the households. In 1982, 64% of the population and 67% of the households were to be found in the

Table 12.2b : Proportions of Households and Population by Locality, 1950, 1965 and 1982

	Adults			Children			Total Popn.			Households		
LOCALITIES	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
Kurow Township	24%	20%	38%	31%	19%	32%	27%	30%	36%	27%	31%	40%
Kurow Vicinity	4%	2%	2%	4%	2%	2%	4%	5%	2%	4%	6%	3%
Paddys Flat	8%	9%	5%	7%	10%	4%	7%	5%	5%	8%	5%	5%
Otiake	9%	12%	9%	10%	9%	10%	9%	8%	9%	7%	7%	8%
Otekaike	14%	16%	8%	12%	14%	8%	13%	11%	8%	14%	12%	8%
Wharekuri	3%	4%	3%	1%	2%	4%	3%	4%	4%	3%	3%	3%
NTH OTAGO	62%	62%	66%	65%	55%	62%	63%	64%	64%	64%	65%	67%
Haka Township	9%	9%	6%	9%	16%	3%	9%	7%	5%	9%	7%	6%
Mount Parker	4%	5%	3%	5%	4%	4%	4%	5%	4%	4%	4%	3%
Waitangi	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%
Haka Valley	17%	17%	14%	13%	20%	18%	15%	16%	16%	16%	16%	14%
Cattle Creek	7%	6%	10%	7%	5%	12%	7%	7%	11%	7%	6%	9%
STH CANTERBURY	38%	38%	34%	35%	45%	38%	37%	36%	36%	36%	35%	33%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

North Otago segment of the district. This had altered only slightly from 1950 and was consistent with the pattern that had been established from the early 1900s. In 1920, for example, the North Otago localities accounted for 69% of the population of the settled localities and 68% of the households.[19]

Table 12.3 provides information on the age, sex and marital status of the district population in 1950, 1965 and 1982.

Table 12.3 : Marital and Age Status, 1950, 1965 and 1982

	Males			Females			TOTAL		
CATEGORIES	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
Married	269	281	291	264	281	291	533	562	582
Widowed	13	6	11	20	23	21	33	29	32
Separated	1	0	10	3	3	8	4	3	18
Single	108	103	83	66	32	45	174	135	128
ADULTS	391	390	395	353	339	365	744	729	760
Boarding School	12	22	21	10	14	24	22	36	45
Local Secondary	13	35	19	18	34	32	31	69	51
Local Primary	120	132	103	99	136	122	219	268	226
Pre-school	75	52	46	83	75	44	158	127	90
CHILDREN	220	241	189	210	259	222	430	500	411
TOTAL	611	631	584	563	598	587	1174	1229	1171

The married and widowed population of the district remained fairly constant over these thirty years, while the number of separated or divorced adults rose and the number of single adults declined. The decline in the number of single adults in the district was commented on in an earlier chapter. These figures reflect the continuation of a trend whereby, in the

face of declining employment opportunities, young people left the district.

Apart from an increase in 1965, the number of children within the district remained fairly constant over the period. The decline in the number of pre-schoolers is notable, however, and points to an aging population. The rise in the number of children attending secondary school or boarding schools reflects increasing educational opportunities for district children.[20] Just over three-quarters of the children attending boarding schools were children of farmers.[21]

While the proportions of males to females remained reasonably constant during these years, there was a clear trend for females to outnumber males among the children - see Table 12.4 overleaf. This became noticeable in 1965 and was even more pronounced by 1982. The size of the population is too small to draw any firm conclusions in relation to this, but, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, the pattern of family formation among farming families may be of some relevance here. The argument presented earlier was that, given the significance of male children to farm inheritance, it would be reasonable to suppose there would be an incentive for farming families to continue having children until a male was born, thus increasing the likelihood that female children would outnumber males among farming families.[22] While this general tendency would have been present in earlier years also, it became more pronounced by 1965 due to the accompanying tendency for families to be smaller on average.

Table 12.4 : Proportions of Males and Females 1950, 1965 and 1982

	Adults			Children			TOTAL		
SEX	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
Male	53%	54%	52%	51%	48%	46%	52%	51%	50%
Female	47%	46%	48%	49%	52%	54%	48%	49%	50%
NUMBER	744	729	760	430	500	411	1174	1229	1171

Table 12.5 provides information for 1950, 1965 and 1982 on types of households.

Table 12.5 : Types of Households 1950, 1965 and 1982

	Number of Households			Proportion of Households		
HOUSEHOLD CATEGORY	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
Nuclear Family	190	218	200	61%	66%	54%
Conjugal - Young	34	25	25	11%	8%	7%
Conjugal - Old	25	27	60	8%	8%	16%
Extended Family	6	2	6	2%	1%	2%
Single Parent	13	5	7	4%	2%	2%
Single Adult	18	30	46	6%	9%	13%
Related Adult	16	20	13	5%	6%	4%
Unrelated Adult	10	5	8	3%	2%	2%
De Facto Couple	0	0	3	0%	0%	1%
TOTAL	312	332	368	100%	100%	100%

Despite an increase in the absolute number of nuclear family households between 1950 and 1982, they declined as a proportion of all households. The appearance of de facto couples and the increase in the number of separated or divorced people in the district is an indication of changing values.[23] The aging nature of the district's population is observable in the increase in households that comprised older couples (8% to 16%) or single adults living on their own (6% to 13%). The majority of these single adults were older people and most of them were living in the townships or their immediate vicinities. The increase in the number of older couples was influenced by the recent tendency for farmers and their wives to continue living in the district after retirement.[24]

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The growth in the number of retired or widowed people in the population is further reflected in the increase in "non-occupational" heads of households between 1965 and 1982 - see Table 12.6 overleaf. In fact, between 1965 and 1982, this group replaced "farm manual" as the second largest category among heads of house-holds. Thirty-seven of the district households in 1982 were headed by women, and twenty-eight of these were in the non-occupational category.[25]

Apart from the increase in the non-occupational category, the other points of interest from Table 12.6 are the relative stability in the number of farmer households, the decrease in farm manual households and the growth in the number of business and white collar households. The former changes reflected the

changing nature of farming in the district, while the latter reflected expansion in Kurow Township.[26]

Table 12.6 : Occupation of Heads of Households 1950, 1965 and 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Households '50	'65	'82	Proportion of Households '50	'65	'82
Farmer	115	104	117	37%	31%	32%
Business	23	27	40	7%	8%	11%
Farm Manager	5	10	2	2%	3%	1%
White Collar	26	34	48	8%	10%	13%
Farm Manual	68	54	44	22%	16%	12%
Other Manual	36	63	40	12%	19%	11%
Non-occupational	39	40	77	13%	12%	21%
TOTAL	312	332	368	100%	100%	100%

Information on the occupations of all adults is provided in Tables 12.7 and 12.8.

Table 12.7 : Occupations of Adult Females 1950, 1965 and 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Adult Females '50	'65	'82	Proportion of Adult Females '50	'65	'82
Farmer	0	1	1	0%	0%	0%
Business	1	4	2	1%	1%	1%
Farm Manager	0	0	0	0%	0%	0%
White Collar	13	7	27	4%	2%	7%
Farm Manual	4	2	9	1%	1%	3%
Other Manual	16	10	16	5%	3%	4%
Non-occupational	319	315	310	90%	93%	85%
TOTAL	353	339	365	100%	100%	100%

Table 12.8 : Occupations of Adult Males 1950, 1965 and 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Adult Males '50	'65	'82	Proportion of Adult Males '50	'65	'82
Farmer	123	113	117	32%	29%	30%
Business	24	27	42	6%	7%	11%
Farm Manager	5	8	3	1%	2%	1%
White Collar	23	38	47	6%	10%	12%
Farm Manual	142	100	80	36%	26%	20%
Other Manual	47	82	50	12%	21%	13%
Non-occupational	27	22	56	7%	6%	14%
TOTAL	391	390	395	100%	100%	100%

Even by 1982, very few women in the district were in paid employment, and they were concentrated in white-collar or manual jobs.[27] The broad changes identified earlier in relation to occupations of heads of households are substantiated when we look at the occupational profile for men. The number of farmers remained fairly stable, the number of farm workers decreased, and the number of men in the business and white-collar categories increased.[28] These changes are shown in more detail in Table 12.9 overleaf.

Table 12.9 : Occupational Status of Adult Males 1950, 1965 and 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Adult Males '50	'65	'82	Proportion of Adult Males '50	'65	'82
Farmer - Employer	27	26	21	7%	7%	5%
Family Farmer	88	79	93	23%	20%	24%
Small Farmer	8	8	3	2%	5%	1%
Farm Manager	4	8	3	1%	1%	1%
Farm worker - Son of Farmer	27	17	20	7%	5%	5%
Farm worker - Non-related	116	87	60	29%	22%	15%
Farm Related	270	225	205	69%	58%	52%
Professional	7	15	24	2%	4%	6%
Managerial	12	14	11	3%	4%	3%
Business Proprietor	2	1	7	1%	2%	2%
Skilled Manual Proprietor	16	23	22	4%	6%	6%
Petty Proprietor	6	3	8	2%	1%	2%
Clerical and Sales	4	5	12	1%	1%	3%
Skilled Manual Worker	6	8	4	2%	2%	1%
Semi-skilled Manual Worker	30	51	26	8%	13%	7%
Unskilled Manual Worker	11	23	20	3%	6%	5%
Non-Farm Related	94	143	134	24%	37%	34%
Non-Occupational	27	22	56	7%	6%	14%
TOTAL	391	390	395	100%	100%	100%

The broad implication of these occupational changes was that farm-related occupations declined in significance between 1950 and 1982 with a consequent increase in the significance of non-farm occupations. The most startling change during this period was the decrease in the number of farm workers. The decrease here was in general farm workers and rabbiters. In 1950, fifty-three of the men were general farm workers and

twenty-nine were rabbiters. By 1982, these figures had fallen to twenty-three and three respectively.[29]

Excluding orchardists and small farmers from consideration,[30] Table 12.10 provides some background information on the other district farmers (i.e., employer farmers and family farmers).

Table 12.10 : District Farmers, 1950, 1965 and 1982

	DISTRICT FARMERS					
	1950		1965		1982	
CATEGORY	N	%	N	%	N	%
Farmer in Previous Period	43	38%	62	60%	47	43%
Son of District Farmer	49	43%	26	25%	38	35%
Son of District Non-Farmer	4	4%	6	5%	2	2%
New to District	17	15%	10	10%	23	21%
TOTAL	113	100%	104	100%	110	100%

The patterning of generational turnover is evident in these figures. In 1950, approximately 40% of the district farmers had been farming in the district in the previous period, i.e., 1935. The equivalent figure for 1965 had risen to 60%, but it then dropped to just over 40% in 1982. As will be seen from the figures, however, only a small percentage of the new farmers each year came from outside the district - 15% in 1950, 10% in 1965 and 21% in 1982.[31] What is significant about the figures in Table 12.10 is the proportion of "new" farmers in each of these years who were sons of district farmers - 43% in 1950, 25% in 1965 and 35% in 1982. This indicates a relatively high degree

of intergenerational continuity among farmers in the district.[32] This continuity is further reflected in the fact that, for example, in 1950 62% of farmers were more than first generation in the district. This figure rose to 73% in 1965 and then decreased to 66% in 1982 - see Table 12.11.

Table 12.11 : Intergenerational Continuity of District Farmers 1950, 1965 and 1982

	DISTRICT FARMERS					
	1950		1965		1982	
GENERATION	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st Generation	43	38%	28	27%	37	34%
2nd Generation	32	28%	26	25%	16	15%
3rd Generation	38	34%	41	39%	33	30%
4th Generation	-	0%	9	9%	23	21%
5th Generation	-	0%	-	0%	1	1%
TOTAL	113	100%	104	100%	110	100%

CONTINUITY

In previous chapters three main indicators of continuity within the district have been examined: the proportions of households and individuals who were in the district at previous points in time, differences in the settler status of adults, and intergenerational continuity. Figures from these earlier periods indicated that households and individuals in the farmer and farm worker categories showed the greatest continuity within the district and that proportionately more males than females would be considered to be "locals", i.e., more than first generation in

the district. In coming now to consider comparable material for 1950, 1965 and 1982 we will find that these trends are further reinforced.

Table 12.12, for example, provides information on the continuity of households and individuals.

Table 12.12 : Continuity of Households and Individuals 1950, 1965 and 1982

	Households			Individuals		
CONTINUITY	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
There in 1890	0%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%
There in 1905	2%	0%	0%	7%	2%	1%
There in 1920	12%	2%	0%	18%	9%	4%
There in 1935	32%	12%	2%	37%	18%	10%
There in 1950	100%	41%	16%	100%	36%	20%
There in 1965	44%	100%	34%	37%	100%	34%
There in 1982	19%	36%	100%	18%	39%	100%
NUMBER	312	332	368	1174	1229	1171

In the case of each of these populations, the continuity profile is similar to that noted for previous periods - approximately a third of households and individuals had been in the district for at least fifteen years, and another third were to continue in the district for a further fifteen years. Beyond that, between 12% and 16% of households and 18% to 20% of individuals had been in the district for at least 30 years, while 2% of households and between 7% and 10% of individuals had been in the district for at least forty-five years. Again, the pattern was that farmer households showed greatest continuity in the district and, among the adult males, it was the farmers who

on average had been in the district the greatest length of time and were to persist in the district the longest. As in previous periods, however, there was also a core of farm workers who had been in the district for some time.[33]

We turn now to look at the issue of settler status during these years - see Table 12.13.

Table 12.13 : Intergenerational Continuity among District Adults, 1950, 1965 and 1982

	Proportion of Adult Males			Proportion of Adult Females			Proportion of Total Adults		
CATEGORY	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
SETTLER STATUS :									
Locals	43%	45%	46%	35%	25%	26%	39%	36%	37%
Newcomers	30%	25%	36%	40%	48%	57%	35%	36%	46%
Transients	27%	30%	18%	25%	27%	17%	26%	28%	17%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
GENERATION :									
1st Generation	57%	55%	54%	65%	75%	74%	61%	64%	63%
2nd Generation	19%	15%	12%	17%	9%	6%	18%	13%	9%
3rd Generation	20%	20%	18%	15%	11%	11%	18%	16%	15%
4th Generation	4%	10%	15%	3%	4%	7%	3%	7%	11%
5th Generation	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	391	390	395	353	339	365	744	729	760

From previous chapters we noted a steady increase in the proportion of the adult population who were locals, i.e. who were at least second generation in the district. This figure had risen from 22% of the population in 1905 to 39% of the population in 1950. In 1965 and 1982, however, there were indications of a levelling off in this increase with the figure falling slightly to 36% before rising again to 37%. The fact that approximately a third of the adults in the district between 1920 and 1982 were at least second generation indicates increasing intergenerational continuity. We also noted in previous periods that this intergenerational continuity was stronger among males than among females. While the proportion of adult males who were locals rose steadily from 28% in 1920 to 46% in 1982, the female proportion fell from 32% to 26%. By way of contrast, the proportion of males who were newcomers fell from 45% in 1905 to 30% in 1950, while the proportion of females who were newcomers remained at around 40%. Both proportions had increased by 1982, but the female proportion remained substantially higher. The substance of the patterning here is that males were more likely to be locals than females, while females were more likely than males to be newcomers.[34] This is confirmed by the figures in Table 12.14.

Table 12.14 : Settler Status by Sex - 1950 to 1982

SETTLER STATUS	Number of Adults '50	'65	'82	Proportion of Adults '50	'65	'82
LOCALS :						
Males	167	177	182	57%	67%	66%
Females	125	86	95	43%	33%	34%
Sub-Total	292	263	277	100%	100%	100%
NEWCOMERS :						
Males	115	97	143	45%	37%	41%
Females	142	163	208	55%	63%	59%
Sub-Total	257	260	351	100%	100%	100%
TRANSIENTS :						
Males	109	116	70	56%	56%	53%
Females	86	90	62	44%	44%	47%
Sub-Total	195	206	132	100%	100%	100%
TOTAL	744	729	760	100%	100%	100%

Table 12.15 (overleaf) provides information on male locals, newcomers and transients and again, confirms the patterning that was identified in earlier periods.

In terms of occupational background, the largest group among the locals were farmers, followed by farm workers and other manual workers. The proportion who fell into the "non-occupational" category had increased quite considerably by 1982 (16% of locals), but the majority of these were retired farmers or retired farm workers. Farmers were also the largest group among the newcomers, but the business group took on increasing

Table 12.15 : Selected Characteristics of Adult Males 1950, 1965 and 1982

	LOCALS			NEWCOMERS			TRANSIENTS		
ADULT MALES	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
OCCUPATION :									
Farmer	45%	46%	42%	42%	34%	29%	0%	0%	0%
Business	4%	5%	6%	11%	18%	22%	0%	0%	0%
Farm Manager	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	2%	5%	4%	1%
White Collar	2%	2%	4%	2%	6%	7%	17%	24%	43%
Farm Manual	32%	24%	21%	25%	17%	11%	55%	34%	37%
Other Manual	11%	16%	12%	6%	14%	12%	21%	33%	18%
Non-Occupat	5%	7%	16%	14%	8%	18%	2%	5%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
LAND OWNERSHIP :									
Farm Property	35%	37%	40%	39%	29%	27%	0%	0%	0%
Smallholding	7%	7%	12%	11%	10%	22%	0%	0%	0%
Town Section	16%	18%	19%	27%	34%	32%	0%	0%	0%
No Land	42%	39%	29%	23%	27%	19%	100%	100%	100%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
KINSHIP DENSITY :									
Kin in District	85%	87%	89%	52%	39%	43%	5%	7%	17%
No Kin	15%	13%	11%	48%	61%	57%	95%	93%	83%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	167	177	182	115	97	143	109	116	70

significance here between 1950 and 1982. The main point of interest in relation to the transient group was the swing in emphasis away from farm workers in favour of white-collar workers. We commented earlier on this change.

Turning now to land ownership, there was an increasing tendency between 1950 and 1982 for locals to own all types of land - farms, smallholdings and town sections - and while the proportion of locals who owned no land declined as a result of this, there was still a sizeable proportion of local men who still owned no land in the district (29% by 1982). The proportion of newcomers who owned no land also decreased between 1950 and 1982 but the compensating increases were in ownership of smallholdings and town sections. The proportion of newcomers who owned farms decreased over this period.[35]

The biggest contrast between locals, newcomers and transients comes when we consider the issue of kinship density. By 1982, almost 90% of adult males had kin living elsewhere in the district as opposed to only 43% of newcomers and 17% of transients.[36] This local proportion had increased steadily from 73% in 1920 and points to a firming of kinship networks among those who were more than first generation in the district.

KINSHIP DENSITY

In Chapter 10 we noted that the proportion of households with kin in the district had increased from 40% in 1905 to 54% in 1950, thus indicating a strengthening of kinship density within the district. Table 12.16 brings this up to date by presenting equivalent information for 1965 and 1982.

Table 12.16 : Household Kinship Density
1950, 1965 and 1982

	Number with Kin			Proportion with Kin			Total Households		
LOCALITY	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
Kurow	39	43	74	46%	41%	51%	84	104	146
Kurow Vicinity	18	18	21	47%	51%	75%	38	37	28
Otiake	15	17	21	65%	71%	68%	23	24	31
Otekaike	21	16	16	49%	41%	53%	43	39	30
Wharekuri	4	7	6	40%	64%	50%	10	11	12
NORTH OTAGO	97	101	138	49%	47%	56%	198	215	247
Haka Township	17	16	14	61%	67%	67%	28	24	21
Mount Parker	9	9	10	75%	64%	83%	12	14	12
Waitangi	1	4	1	33%	67%	33%	3	6	3
Haka Valley	32	31	37	64%	60%	71%	50	52	52
Cattle Creek	13	12	16	62%	57%	48%	21	21	33
SOUTH CANT	72	72	78	63%	62%	64%	114	117	121
TOTAL	169	173	216	54%	52%	59%	312	332	368

Although there was a slight decrease in kinship density in 1965, the 1982 data clearly indicate an increasing kinship density within the district. Indeed, in looking over the locality data, two things stand out: first, the consistently high proportions in all localities; and second, the fact that, with the exception of Cattle Creek, the proportions increased between 1950 and 1982 in all localities. The decrease in the Cattle Creek proportion was the result of new farms being settled in the locality.[37] The main point to emerge from this data, therefore, is confirmation of the trend towards increased kinship density identified in earlier years.

We also noted in Chapter 12 that this kinship density was highest among farmer, business and farm manual households. Table 12.17 indicates how kinship density was related to the occupation of heads of households in 1950, 1965 and 1982.

Table 12.17 : Proportions of Household Occupational Categories with Kin, 1950, 1965 and 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Households With Kin			Proportion of Households With Kin			Proportion of Category With Kin		
	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
Farmer	85	77	81	50%	45%	38%	74%	74%	69%
Business	9	10	18	5%	6%	8%	39%	37%	46%
Farm Manager	0	3	0	0%	2%	0%	0%	30%	0%
White Collar	5	3	10	3%	2%	5%	19%	9%	21%
Farm Manual	29	26	26	17%	15%	12%	43%	48%	61%
Other Manual	12	22	23	7%	13%	11%	33%	35%	58%
Non-Occupat	29	32	58	17%	18%	26%	74%	80%	74%
TOTAL	169	173	216	100%	100%	100%	54%	52%	59%

Farmer households comprised just under 40% of all households with kin in 1982, but 69% of all 1982 farmer households had kin living elsewhere in the district. The fact that these proportions were lower than they had been in 1950 is a reflection of the number of new farmers who had settled in the district between 1950 and 1982. There was thus a significant connection between farmer households and kinship density. However, the data in this table also reveal high levels of kinship density among farm manual households (61% of all farm manual households in 1982 had kin living elsewhere in the

district), other manual households (58%), business households (46%) and non-occupational households (74%). As has been mentioned before, many of these non-occupational households were variants of farmer and farm worker households since they consisted of retired people from these categories.

The relative movements in these figures between 1950 and 1982 reflect occupational changes that have been discussed earlier: the decline in farm workers between these years, the expansion in the business sector and in the number of white collar workers in the district, the increasing proportion of the population who were continuing to live in the district after retirement. The fact that kinship densities were relatively high in most of the occupational categories indicates that kinship ties were spread across all occupations and were not restricted to farm-related occupations. Nevertheless, farmer households and farm manual households featured prominently among households with kin in the district.

Tables 12.16 and 17 show that there has been a consistent increase in the number of households with kin living elsewhere in the district. We find a similar pattern when we come to look at kinship density among adults. Between 1905 and 1950, the proportion of adults with kin had increased from 38% to 55%. As Table 12.18 shows, this proportion then dropped slightly to 52% in 1965 before rising again to 60% in 1982.

Table 12.18 : Adult Kinship Density, 1905 to 1982

	ADULTS WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
	Males		Females		Total	
YEAR	N	%	N	%	N	%
1905	111	35%	114	42%	225	38%
1920	157	41%	150	45%	307	43%
1935	209	49%	185	50%	394	49%
1950	209	54%	198	56%	407	55%
1965	200	51%	177	52%	377	52%
1982	234	59%	221	61%	455	60%

If we ignore the 1965 figures,[38] then the data in this table show a definite and steady increase in the proportion of adults, both male and female, who had kin in the district. In 1982, 59% of all adult males and 61% of all adult females had kin living in other households in the district. The steady increase is not the only significant feature of the data in this Table, however. If we consider the sex ratio of adults with kin in the district, we find a remarkable consistency over these seventy-five years. In 1905, males accounted for 49% of the adults with kin in the district. The equivalent proportions for the following years were 51% in 1920, 53% in 1935, 51% in 1950, 53% in 1965 and then back to 51% in 1982.

While there were similarities in kinship density between males and females, it is likely that the nature of their kinship linkages differed. In considering data from 1982 in Chapter 4, it was noted that while males and females both had consanguineal and affinal kin in the district, males were more likely than

females to have consanguineal links, while females were more likely than males to have affinal links.[39] This was explained by reference to the patrilocal marriage system. It was not possible to replicate this data for earlier years, however, and so we can only assume that this pattern held prior to 1982.[40]

Table 12.19 and 12.20 present a summary of some selected characteristics of those adults who had kin in the district.

Table 12.19 : Selected Characteristics of Adult Males with Kin in District, 1950, 1965 and 1982

	Number of Adult Males With Kin			Proportion of Adult Males With Kin			Proportion of Category With Kin		
CATEGORY	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
OCCUPATION :									
Farmer	93	85	80	45%	43%	34%	76%	75%	68%
Business	8	10	21	4%	5%	9%	33%	37%	50%
Farm Manager	0	1	0	0%	1%	0%	0%	13%	0%
White Collar	6	4	9	3%	2%	4%	26%	11%	19%
Farm Manual	63	52	52	29%	25%	22%	44%	52%	66%
Other Manual	19	30	31	9%	15%	13%	40%	62%	62%
Non-Occupat	20	18	41	10%	9%	18%	74%	73%	73%
Total	209	200	234	100%	100%	100%	54%	51%	59%
OWNERSHIP OF LAND :									
Farm Property	76	67	76	36%	34%	32%	74%	72%	68%
Small Holding	14	16	37	7%	8%	16%	56%	73%	71%
Town Section	37	37	49	18%	18%	21%	65%	57%	61%
No Land	82	80	72	39%	40%	31%	40%	38%	48%
Total	209	200	234	100%	100%	100%	54%	51%	59%

From Table 12.19 it can be seen that farmers, farm workers and men in the non-occupational categories featured prominently and yet, apart from the farm manager and white collar categories,

the proportions with kin in all other occupational categories were relatively high. This confirms the fact that two-thirds of the men with kin in the district owned some land but there was still a sizeable proportion of men who did not.

Table 12.20 : Selected Characteristics of Adults With Kin in District, 1950, 1965 and 1982

	ADULTS WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
	Males			Females		
CATEGORY	'50	'65	'82	'50	'65	'82
SETTLER STATUS :						
Local	68%	77%	69%	57%	44%	41%
Newcomer	29%	19%	26%	41%	53%	55%
Transient	3%	4%	5%	2%	3%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
GENERATION :						
First Generation	32%	23%	31%	43%	56%	59%
Second Generation	26%	22%	15%	25%	15%	10%
Third Generation	35%	36%	27%	26%	21%	16%
Fourth Generation	7%	19%	25%	6%	7%	12%
Fifth Generation	0%	0%	2%	0%	1%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	209	200	234	198	177	221

From Table 12.20 it will be seen that locals accounted for a high percentage of males with kin (69% in 1982) while among the females the dominant group with kin were newcomers (55% in 1982). Again, this confirms what has been noted earlier. It was still the case, however, that kinship density was high among female locals. In 1982, 89% of male locals had kin in the district (see Table 12.15). The equivalent figure for female locals in 1982 was 96%.[41]

While it was relatively easy to establish that adults had kin living in other households in the district, it was found to be too complicated to accurately record the occupational backgrounds of those kin. Observation indicated that there was much inter-marrying between people from different occupational backgrounds, but the only systematic data available on this are from marriage records.

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

Research into marriage registers turned up 451 marriages in the period from January 1951 to December 1980 where either the groom or the bride had been born in the Kurow district or gave a locality in the district as their usual place of residence.[42] Of these 451 grooms and brides, 181 grooms gave a locality in the Kurow district as their usual place of residence, as did 200 brides.[43] The occupational distribution of these district grooms and brides is shown in Table 12.21.

Table 12.21 : Occupations of District Grooms and Brides 1951 to 1980

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Number of Grooms	Number of Brides	Proportion of Grooms	Proportion of Brides
Farmer	36	0	20%	0%
Business	10	1	6%	0.5%
Farm Manager	2	0	1%	0%
White Collar	25	108	14%	54%
Farm Manual	43	6	24%	5%
Other Manual	65	50	36%	25%
Non-Occupational	0	35	0%	18%
TOTAL	181	200	100%	100%

In comparing these proportions with comparable information from the two earlier periods (see Table 12.22 overleaf), the most striking difference relates to the women. By the third of these periods, substantially more women were in the paid workforce by the time of their marriage, but shifts had taken place in the nature of their occupations. In the middle period (1921 to 1950) the women were primarily employed in manual occupations, but by the third period this emphasis had shifted to white-collar employment with only half as many employed in manual occupations. There were changes noticeable among the grooms, too. The proportion of district grooms who were farmers or businessmen declined quite considerably over the century while the proportions of white-collar and manual workers increased. It is likely that the decline in the numbers of local farmers and businessmen

Table 12.22 : Occupational Distribution of District Grooms and Brides, 1880 to 1980

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Proportion of Grooms 1880-1920	1921-1950	1951-1980	Proportion of Brides 1880-1920	1921-1950	1951-1980
Farmer	36%	23%	20%	0%	0%	0%
Business	16%	4%	6%	0%	0%	0.5%
Farm Manager	4%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%
White Collar	3%	6%	14%	4%	9%	54%
Farm Manual	20%	26%	24%	1%	0%	3%
Other Manual	21%	40%	36%	25%	52%	25%
Non-Occupational	0%	0%	0%	70%	39%	18%
NUMBER	135	164	181	117	193	200

is a reflection, not of the fact that fewer of them were getting married, but rather, that more of them were marrying women from outside North Otago and hence were not appearing in regional registers.[44] Some evidence of this can be adduced from Table 12.23, which provides information on the usual place of residence of the men and women who married district grooms or brides.

These figures seem to show that district grooms were much more localised in their choice of marriage partners than were district brides, since proportionately far fewer of them married women from outside North Otago and a consistently high proportion of them married women from within the district.

Table 12.23 : Usual Residence of Marriage Partners District Grooms and Brides, 1880 to 1980

USUAL RESIDENCE OF MARRIAGE PARTNER	Proportion of Grooms			Proportion of Brides		
	1880-1920	1921-1950	1951-1980	1880-1920	1921-1950	1951-1980
Inside District	68%	68%	61%	79%	58%	56%
Elsewhere N Otago	25%	16%	30%	8%	15%	13%
Outside N Otago	7%	16%	9%	13%	27%	31%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In contrast to this, the proportion of district brides who married men from within the district decreased quite considerably over the 100 years, while the proportion who married men from outside the region increased. Since there is no obvious explanation as to why men should be more localised in their choice of marriage partners than women, we can only presume that this patterning is an artifact of the registration procedures, since the marriages of district men to women from outside the region would not appear among the marriages being sampled. All that we can safely say from these figures, therefore, is that district brides became less localised in their selection of marriage partners insofar as the proportion who married men from the local district declined while the proportion who married men from outside the region increased. This was mediated, however, by a mild form of regionalism insofar as the proportion who married men from elsewhere in North Otago increased slightly.

Our main concern in considering these marriages is to assess the extent to which there was class endogamy and to see whether this had changed over time. In looking at this issue in previous chapters we focused attention on those marriages that involved a district groom as well as a district bride, and in this third period there were 111 such marriages.[45] A comparison of the groom's occupation with that of the bride's father is shown in Table 12.24, while a comparison of the groom's father's occupation with that of the bride's father is shown in Table 12.25.

Table 12.24 : Groom's Occupation by Bride's Father's Occupation District Marriages, 1951 to 1980

	BRIDE'S FATHER'S OCCUPATION						
GROOM'S OCCUPATION	Farmer	Busi-ness	White Collar	Farm Manual	Other Manual	Non-Occup	Total
Farmer	11	2	1	0	3	0	17
Business	2	1	1	2	0	0	6
Farm Manager	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
White Collar	8	1	2	0	3	0	14
Farm Manual	8	2	3	4	5	0	22
Other Manual	10	7	6	4	22	2	51
TOTAL	40	13	13	10	33	2	111

By aggregating the information in Table 12.25 along class lines, i.e. treating farmer and business as "proprietorial" and the rest as "non-proprietorial", we can get an indication of the patterning of class endogamy.[46]

Table 12.25 : Groom's Father's Occupation by Bride's Father's Occupation, District Marriages, 1951 to 1980

GROOM'S FATHER'S OCCUPATION	BRIDE'S FATHER'S OCCUPATION						
	Farmer	Business	White Collar	Farm Manual	Other Manual	Non-Occup	Total
Farmer	17	5	3	2	9	1	37
Business	1	0	1	3	1	0	6
Farm Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
White Collar	6	0	2	0	2	0	10
Farm Manual	2	3	1	1	2	0	9
Other Manual	13	5	6	4	18	0	46
Non-occupat	1	0	0	0	1	1	3
TOTAL	40	13	13	10	33	2	111

Table 12.26 shows how the material from 1951 to 1980 compares with the earlier periods.

Table 12.26 : Patterns of Class Endogamy in District Marriages 1880 to 1980

GROOMS AND BRIDES	Spouse from Same Class			Spouse from Different Class		
	1880-1920	1921-1950	1951-1980	1880-1920	1921-1950	1951-1980
Proprietorial :						
Sons	79%	56%	51%	21%	44%	49%
Daughters	71%	65%	43%	29%	35%	57%
Non-Proprietorial:						
Sons	47%	59%	57%	53%	41%	43%
Daughters	57%	49%	65%	43%	51%	35%

These figures point to decreasing class endogamy within the proprietorial class and increasing class endogamy within the non-proprietorial class, a pattern that is substantiated by the information in Table 12.27.

Table 12.27 : Class Endogamy, District Marriages 1880-1980

CLASS OF DISTRICT GROOMS AND BRIDES	PERIOD 1 1880-1920		PERIOD 2 1921-1950		PERIOD 3 1951-1980	
Proprietorial Son/ Proprietorial Daughter	45	50%	34	30%	23	21%
Proprietorial Son/ Non-proprietorial Daughter	12	12%	29	26%	20	18%
Non-proprietorial Son/ Proprietorial Daughter	18	20%	19	17%	30	27%
Non-proprietorial Son/ Non-proprietorial Daughter	16	18%	30	27%	38	34%
TOTAL	91	100%	112	100%	111	100%

The information in this table shows that farmers were increasingly likely to get their marriage partners outside their own class and outside the district. A similar situation held with regard to land mortgage finance.

SOURCES OF LAND MORTGAGE FINANCE

Between 1951 and 1980, 576 mortgages were taken out on rural land in the district, the majority of them in the last decade. One hundred and twelve of these (20%) were taken out between 1951 and 1960, 197 between 1961 and 1970 (34%) and 267

between 1971 and 1980 (46%).[47] Over the whole period, private sources provided finance for only 219 rural mortgages (38%), and the vast majority of all mortgages were provided by sources outside the district (84%). As will be seen from Table 12.28 (overleaf), 15% of mortgages during this period were provided by private individuals within the district, 1% by institutional sources within the district, 22% by private individuals outside the district and 62% by institutional sources outside the district.[48] The main institutional sources were banks (129 mortgages), the government (114 mortgages) and loan companies (53 mortgages).[49] Only 12% of these institutional sources were located in North Otago. Institutional sources outside the district were therefore a significant part of land mortgage finance during this period, and this applied as much to the amount of land mortgaged as to the number of mortgages. These 576 mortgages covered a total of 1.3 million acres, and the finance for the majority of this land came from institutional sources (68%) and from sources outside the district (82%).

In looking at the proportions of mortgages provided by different sources across these 100 years, the main trends are: a shift in emphasis from private sources to institutional sources, with sources outside the district remaining dominant, despite evidence of a heightened localism during the middle period. The proportion of land mortgaged by each of these sources remained fairly constant, while the proportion of land mortgaged from district sources almost quadrupled.[50]

Table 12.28 : Rural Land Mortgages, 1880 to 1950

	PERIOD ONE 1880-1920	PERIOD TWO 1921-1950	PERIOD THREE 1951-1980
Number of Rural Mortgages :	599	400	576
Total Acres Mortgaged :	836,498	734,337	1,345,059
Proportion of Mortgages Provided by :			
Private Sources	62%	54%	38%
Institutional Sources	38%	46%	62%
	100%	100%	100%
District Sources	17%	23%	16%
Ex-district Sources	83%	77%	84%
	100%	100%	100%
Private within district	16%	23%	15%
Private outside district	46%	31%	22%
Inst's within district	1%	1%	1%
Inst's outside district	37%	45%	62%
	100%	100%	100%
Proportion of Total Rural Area Mortgaged from :			
Private Sources	36%	33%	32%
Institutional Sources	64%	67%	68%
	100%	100%	100%
District Sources	4%	11%	18%
Ex-district sources	96%	89%	82%
	100%	100%	100%
Location of Institutional Sources :			
Kurow	1%	2%	1%
North Otago	9%	27%	11%
South Canterbury	1%	0%	0%
Elsewhere	89%	71%	88%
	100%	100%	100%

What emerges from the data in this table, therefore, is a reinforcement of the fact that local farmers were dependent on sources outside the district for their land mortgage finance and that institutional sources came to play an increasingly significant role in this.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Changes in the number of rural properties between 1950 and 1982 are shown in Table 12.29.

Table 12.29 : Numbers of Rural Properties 1950, 1965 and 1982

PROPERTY CATEGORY[51]	Number of Properties '50	'65	'82	Proportion of Properties '50	'65	'82
Smallholdings	45	53	46	27%	31%	30%
Orchards	3	2	4	2%	1%	3%
Small Farms	15	8	3	9%	5%	2%
Middle Farms	47	48	34	28%	28%	22%
Large Farms	20	24	30	12%	14%	20%
Sheep Runs	31	28	30	19%	17%	20%
Sheep Stations	7	6	5	4%	3%	3%
TOTAL	168	169	152	100%	100%	100%

The number of smallholdings increased slightly until 1965 but by 1982 this had returned to the 1950 level. A significant development between 1965 and 1982 was people outside the district buying up small properties for holiday homes, already mentioned in Chapter 5. The number of orchards remained much the same, but there was a sgnificant decline in the number of small farms. In

1950, most of these properties were being worked by men who had a secondary occupation in the district, but the economics of farming in the 1970s made this more difficult, so these properties were amalgamated into neighbouring farms. Given the decline in the number of middle-sized farms, it is obvious that there was a process of amalgamation underway here too.

Most of the increase in the number of large farms resulted from the Land Company's 25,000-acre Hakataramea Station being sold in 1978 to a private syndicate and sub-divided into five properties. The sale was a matter of controversy in the district, and the circumstances surrounding it will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. One effect of the sale and subdivision of Hakataramea Station was to reduce the number of sheep stations in the district by one. The difference of one sheep station between 1950 and 1965 resulted from the flooding of Lake Aviemore behind the Aviemore hydro dam. Because of the loss of land, two sheep stations, Garguston and Rugged Ridges, were combined into one and retained by the Munro family.[52] The other change of conse-quence among the sheep stations during this period was that the Lands and Survey Department took over a sizeable portion of Hakataramea Downs in Cattle Creek when the leases came due for renewal in 1964. Some of this land was developed for settlement (principally as the Moorland Settlement), and the rest was combined with other Crown land to form a new 32,000-acre sheep station, Highland Farm Settlement.

Table 12.30 (overleaf) provides comparative information on these property types for 1950, 1965 and 1982.[53]

Table 12.30 : Characteristics of Landholding Categories 1950, 1965 and 1982[57]

CATEGORY		SMALL-HOLD'S	SMALL FARMS	MIDDLE FARMS	LARGE FARMS	SHEEP RUNS	SHEEP STATIONS	TOTAL
NUMBER OF PROP-ERTIES	50	45	15	47	20	31	7	168
	65	53	9	48	24	28	6	169
	82	46	3	33	30	30	5	152
% Total Number	50	27%	9%	28%	12%	19%	4%	100%
	65	31%	5%	28%	14%	17%	3%	100%
	82	30%	2%	22%	19%	19%	3%	100%
AREA (Acres)	50	645	2142	25029	47666	183978	291020	550798
	65	793	1127	26010	59161	185592	262516	535359
	82	613	294	22071	68869	220934	245249	558817
Average Area (Acres)	50	14	143	533	2383	5935	41547	3279
	65	15	125	542	2465	6628	43752	3168
	82	13	98	669	2296	7365	49050	3307
% Total Area	50	0.1%	0.4%	4%	9%	33%	53%	100%
	65	0.1%	0.2%	5%	11%	35%	49%	100%
	82	0.1%	0.1%	4%	12%	40%	44%	100%
CAPITAL VALUE (Pounds)	50	31115	20295	196935	190670	319215	265880	1031675
	65	100880	27455	770135	788335	979790	737660	3408950
	82	379060	31000	2596840	4353625	5504856	2055925	15109907
Average Cap Val (Pounds)	50	691	1353	4190	9534	10297	37982	6141
	65	1903	3051	16045	32847	34992	122943	20171
	82	8240	10333	78692	145121	183495	411185	99407
% Total Cap Val	50	3%	2%	19%	19%	31%	26%	100%
	65	3%	1%	23%	23%	29%	22%	100%
	82	3%	0.2%	17%	29%	36%	14%	100%
POUNDS PER ACRE	50	48.2	9.5	7.9	4.0	1.7	0.9	1.9
	65	127.2	24.4	29.6	13.3	5.3	2.8	6.4
	82	618.4	105.4	117.7	63.2	24.9	8.4	27.0

Broadly speaking, the data confirm some of the trends identified in earlier chapters. Small farms decreased in significance between these years, middle farms decreased in number but maintained their importance in terms of the proportions of area and capital value that they represented, large farms and sheep runs increased in significance, and this offset the decreasing significance of sheep stations. All property types increased in value quite markedly during the thirty years,[54] but there was a redistribution of wealth (as measured by the capital value of properties) from sheep stations to large farms and sheep runs. In 1890 sheep stations accounted for 62% of the district's capital value, while farms and sheep runs accounted for only 20% and 17% of capital value respectively.[55] In 1890 the majority of the sheep stations were owned by pastoral companies, whereas in 1982 all but one of them were owned locally.[56]

In the previous chapter some of the changes in farming practice that took place in the district after 1950 were discussed. These changes were also accompanied by the continuing shift in significance from sheep stations to large farms and sheep runs. There were also significant changes in land titles during this period. In 1950, 28% of the district's rural land was held in freehold title, but by 1982 this had increased to 43%. This change was most noticeable in the North Otago segment of the district. In South Canterbury, the proportion of freehold land increased from 43% in 1950 to 54% in 1982, but in North Otago, the shift was from 9% freehold in 1950 to 30% in 1982. This was mainly the result of Otekaike farmers freeholding their land when their leases fell due for renewal in 1974.[58]

There was also a change in ownership patterns across these years away from single ownership to joint and family company ownership - see Table 12.31.

Table 12.31 : Ownership Patterns, 1950, 1965 and 1982

	NUMBER OF PROPERTIES					
	1950		1965		1982	
TITLE	N	%	N	%	N	%
Single	145	86%	119	70%	68	45%
Marital	4	2%	15	9%	35	23%
Other Joint	11	7%	17	10%	26	17%
Deceased Estate	5	3%	8	5%	1	1%
Company	1	1%	9	5%	21	14%
Public Body	2	1%	1	1%	1	1%
TOTAL	168	100%	169	100%	152	100%

By 1982, all of the companies who held title to land in the district were family companies.[59] If we add these to the marital titles and other joint titles, then we find that 53% of the titles were collective in some form in 1982, compared with only 9% in 1950.[60]

We turn our attention now to how land ownership was distributed among the population. Table 12.32 indicates how many district men in 1965 and 1982 held title to various types of land within the district.[61]

Table 12.32 : Land Ownership By Occupational Group
Adult Males, 1965 and 1982

	Farm(*)		Small Holding		Town Section		No Land		TOTAL	
OCCUPATION	1965	1982	1965	1982	1965	1982	1965	1982	1965	1982
Farmer	92	111	8	3	1	0	12	3	113	117
Business	0	0	0	12	22	27	5	3	27	42
Farm Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	3	8	3
White Collar	0	0	1	6	5	5	32	36	38	47
Farm Manual	1	0	6	5	9	4	84	71	100	80
Other Manual	0	0	4	4	18	17	60	29	82	50
Non-Occupat	0	1	3	22	10	28	9	5	22	56
TOTAL	93	112	22	52	65	81	210	150	390	395

* : Includes Farms, Orchards, Runs and Sheep Stations.

The main changes of note between these two years are in smallholdings, principally the increase in the number of men in the business, white-collar and non-occupational categories with smallholdings. Between 1965 and 1982 it seemed to become attractive for local businessmen and some resident professionals to live on smallholdings rather than in the townships. This contributed to this increase. The rise in non-occupational men with smallholdings was a function of two factors: first, smallholders retiring, and second, local farmers and farm workers moving to live in Kurow or its vicinity on retirement.[62]

Looked at overall, there is evidence here of increasing land ownership among the population. In 1965, 46% of the men in the district owned some land and by 1982 this had risen to 62%. These increases were consistent with a trend that saw the

proportion of men who owned land in the district rise from 41% in 1905 to 47% in 1950 - see Table 12.33.

Table 12.33 : Proportions of Adults Owning Land, 1905 to 1982

	PROPORTIONS OWNING LAND		
YEAR	Adult Males	Adult Females	Total Adults
1905	41%	3%	24%
1920	45%	5%	26%
1935	37%	4%	21%
1950	47%	5%	27%
1965	46%	8%	28%
1982	62%	7%	35%

There was a similar increase in the overall proportion of adults who owned land over this period, but, as will be seen from the table, the relative proportion remained quite low (21% to 35%), because very few women owned land.

While there had been an increase, therefore, in the proportion of people who held land in the district, this still benefitted only a few. Table 12.34 presents data that shows the proportions of adult males who owned various types of land between 1905 and 1982. These figures indicate that the expansion in land ownership during these years affected mainly smallholdings or town sections (i.e., land that was marginally productive or residential) and had little impact upon the ownership of farm land (i.e., the productive land). With the exception of 1905 and 1935, the proportion of district adults who owned farm properties remained fairly constant, and relatively low.

Table 12.34 : Proportions of Adult Males Owning District Land 1905 to 1982

PROPERTY TYPE	PROPORTIONS OF ADULT MALES					
	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farms	17%	25%	19%	26%	24%	28%
Smallholdings	8%	10%	9%	6%	5%	13%
Town Sections	13%	10%	9%	15%	17%	21%
None	59%	55%	63%	53%	54%	38%
NUMBER	317	384	430	391	390	395

Earlier tables indicated that by 1982 there had been a significant redistribution of wealth (as represented by the ownership of land) among district farmers. These latest tables reinforce the fact that the benefits of this were restricted to a relatively small proportion of individuals and families in the district.

The group who benefitted most from land-based wealth were, of course, farmers. The average value of middle and large farms, sheep runs and sheep stations increased from 4,000, 9,000, 10,000 and 38,000 pounds respectively in 1950 to 79,000, 145,000, 184,000 and 411,000 pounds in 1980.[63] These were substantial increases that did much to reinforce the reality of inequalities within the district.[64] Late model cars, overseas trips and the purchase of large houses on retirement were seen as an increasing feature of farming life. Given the fact that so many of these farmers were locals and hence were at least second generation in a process of land-inheritance, we might reasonably expect,

therefore, that they and their families would continue to feature prominently in providing leadership for local organisations and for district representation on regional, provincial and national bodies. This, in fact, is the case.

LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

Previous chapters have documented the dominance of farmers in district organisations and committees. Table 12.35 shows the membership of the Presbyterian Committee of Management and Masonic Lodge 1950-81 and Presbyterian elders 1884-1982.[65]

Table 12.35 : Occupational Distribution of Members of Presbyterian Committee of Management and Masonic Lodge (1951 to 1981), and Presbyterian Eldership (1884 to 1982)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Presbyterian Management (1951-1980)		Presbyterian Eldership (1884-1982)		Masonic Lodge (1951-1981)	
Farmer	45	47%	32	53%	25	19%
Farm Manager	2	2%	1	2%	5	4%
Business	9	9%	7	12%	15	11%
Professional	21	22%	12	20%	25	19%
Clerical	6	6%	0	0%	23	17%
Manual	13	14%	8	13%	41	31%
TOTAL	95	100%	60	100%	134	100%

The role that farmers played on the Presbyterian Committee of Management was an important one. Prior to the 1920s, farmers accounted for 56% of committee members and between 1921 and 1950 this fell only slightly to 55%. Between 1951 and 1980, 47% of the 95 committee members were farmers or their wives.[66] In the

Presbyterian system, the committee of management is responsible for the temporal welfare of the church (stipends, maintenance of buildings and so on), while the spiritual welfare is the responsibility of the elders. Eldership is intended to be a life-long appointment (unless the elder leaves the district) and this made it extremely difficult to provide an occupational profile of elders at any fixed point in time.[67] As a compromise, the occupational profile of all elders appointed between 1884 and 1980 is also included in Table 12.35. This also shows the dominance of farmers and confirms the important role that professionals also played in the management of the church's affairs.[68]

Farmers played a less significant role in the Masonic Lodge during this period than in previous periods. Prior to the 1920s they accounted for 51% of lodge membership and this fell to 37% between 1921 and 1950 because of the number of hydro workers who joined the local lodge.[69] If the forty-seven hydro workers and the twelve Special School staff are excluded from these figures, then farmers made up a third of the rest of the membership. The high proportion of members in the professional, clerical and manual categories is a reflection of the number of members who came from hydro situations or from the Special School.

During this period from 1951 to 1981 the interlinkage between the Masonic Lodge and the Presbyterian Church remained strong. Twenty-two members of the management committee were also members of the Masonic Lodge, and another fourteen had close kin who were Masons. The linkages extended to the eldership too.

Since 1884, sixteen of the elders had also been Masons, and a further eleven had close kin who were Masons.

Some of these elders and members of management committee were women, most of whom were farmers' wives. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that farmers' wives were also well represented during this period among the office bearers of the ladies' groups within the Presbyterian Church - see Table 12.36.[70]

Table 12.36 : Female Office Bearers, Selected Presbyterian Organisations (1949 to 1964)

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF FAMILY	Presbyterian Womens' Missionary Union (1951-1964)		Presbyterian Ladies' Guild (1951-1964)		Presbyterian Wives & Mothers' Union (1949-1962)	
Farmer	13	59%	8	53%	15	88%
Business	2	9%	1	7%	0	0%
Professional	3	14%	3	20%	2	12%
Clerical	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Manual	4	18%	3	20%	0	0%
TOTAL	22	100%	15	100%	17	100%

The role that farmers played in providing leadership in a variety of other district organisations varied. In those organisations that were more directly related to farming, such as Federated Farmers, the Collie Dog Club or the Jockey Club, they provided almost all of the office-bearers during this period. They also played an important role in school-related committees and in some sports clubs (e.g., the rugby, golf and bowling clubs) but in organisations that were more closely linked to

Kurow Township (e.g., the hall committee and the fire brigade), they played a much less important (even negligible) role - see Tables 12.37.

Table 12.37 : Office Bearers, Selected District Organisations 1951 to 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Kurow Bowling Club (1946-78)		Parent and Teacher Association (1950-80)		Kurow Golf Club (1939-73)	
Farmer	4	41%	11	34%	15	33%
Business	5	29%	2	6%	4	9%
Professional	2	12%	13	41%	17	38%
Clerical	1	6%	0	0%	3	7%
Manual	2	12%	6	19%	6	13%
TOTAL	17	100%	32	100%	45	100%

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	Kurow R.S.A. (1951-74)		Kurow Hall Committee (1951-77)		Volunteer Fire Brigade (1947-74)	
Farmer	5	19%	2	15%	0	0%
Business	8	31%	4	31%	3	19%
Professional	4	15%	3	23%	1	6%
Clerical	5	19%	1	8%	2	13%
Manual	4	15%	3	23%	10	62%
TOTAL	26	100%	13	100%	16	100%

Some of the office-bearers in these committees were women, but, with the exception of the Parent and Teacher Association, their involvement was always as secretaries or treasurers and never as presidents or chairpersons. The only exception to this

was in the early 1970s, when a farmer's wife was vice-president of the golf club. She never made the transition, however, to being president of the club and this appears to have been a matter of controversy within the club. There was clear sex-role stereotyping, then, in relation to the functions that men and women could and could not fulfil on committee executives. Stereotyping appears also to have occured in relation to locals and non-locals. The pattern is not quite so clear-cut, but by examining the settler status of committee members on a few local committees, we can perhaps find a basis for distinction. Table 12.38 summarises the committee members who served on the executives of the golf club (1939-1973), the Kurow Memorial Hall Committee (1934-1978) and the Kurow Branch of the Returned Servicemen's Association (1934-1974).

Table 12.38 : Settler Status of Executive Members of Selected Local Committees, 1934 to 1978

	Presidents and Vice Presidents			Secretaries and Treasurers		
SETTLER STATUS	Golf Club	Hall Cttee	RSA	Golf Club	Hall Cttee	RSA
Local	49%	58%	30%	9%	14%	2%
Newcomer	20%	33%	48%	19%	37%	33%
Transient - Professional	25%	9%	14%	66%	35%	62%
Transient - Non-Professional	6%	0%	9%	6%	14%	3%
NUMBER	65	43	81	47	43	63

The information in this table shows that locals and newcomers were more likely to fill the titular positions of president or vice-president whereas transients - especially those who were professionals - were more likely to fill functionary positions such as secretary or treasurer. In the 1920s or 1930s, the functionary positions on many of the township committees were filled by young women - unmarried daughters of storekeepers or farmers - while the doctor, bank manager, minister, headmaster or postmaster served as presidents or chairmen. The functionary role is one that at least some of the transient professionals could identify with. Speaking of his own involvement in local committees, a teacher said: "You're not the out-and-out leader. You're doing more the secretary role."

This willingness to serve was a valued asset in the district no matter who showed it, especially since apathy seemed to be the norm rather than the exception. There may have been a relatively high number of clubs, organisations and committees that were active in 1982, but the organisation and motivation was invariably left in the hands of the few. This problem particularly beset such service organisations as the St John's Ambulance, the hall committee or the domain board, and here the interest and enthusiasm of the transient professional was especially welcome.[71]

However, while locals were grateful to transient professionals for their involvement and for the expertise that they brought to administrative tasks, there was often a price to be paid. Sometimes that price took the form of grandiose building projects that were initiated by enthusiastic transients

who then left the district, leaving others to carry the expense. At other times, the price was having the traditional way of doing things threatened by transients who knew how it was better done elsewhere.[72] Such eventualities could be guarded against, but the process inevitably engendered conservatism as the only reasonable reaction for people who saw a valued way of life being threatened.

The effectiveness of conservatism is undermined by apathy, however, and thus some changes were more difficult to resist than others. In 1978, for example, it was a relatively simple task for a number of the Catchment Commission staff to take over the running of the Ratepayers' Association, simply by turning up in enough numbers to swamp the meeting and electing themselves to the committee. Having achieved a measure of power, however, and acting in concert with the local councillor, they then found their efforts to establish a community council and improve the town's water supply continually thwarted by the organised opposition of a group of "old timers", whose main problem was how to mobilise support among the mass of apathetic locals in order to forestall the threat from those they identified as "the mobile brigade".[73] Through a series of petitions, public meetings and threatened litigations, the forces of conservatism held sway, just as they had done on so many previous occasions.[74]

Not only local forces undermined initiatives for change, however. Frustrating as it may have been, local conservatism paled into insignificance against the indifferences of the government towards local initiatives. This is the subject to which we next turn our attention.

FOOTNOTES :

1. This does not mean to say that Bill Cochrane was not involved in local affairs. He had been president of the Kurow Memorial Hall committee and president of the Kurow Cemetery Trust. He had also been a committee member of the local branch of the Returned Servicemens' Association and of the Kurow Citizens' Committee. At the time of his death he was also one of two remaining members of the Forresters' Lodge in Kurow.

2. Bill and Mavis had married in 1936. She was from Kaitangata in South Otago and had been working as a nurse in the hospital in Kurow when they met. After shearing and mustering for a number of years, Bill had bought up three small sections of land in Kurow Settlement between 1947 and 1956 and ran a small dairy farm until the late 1950s. He then returned to shearing and casual labouring work before he retired in 1972. When he died, he and Mavis were living on one section, their son Raymond was living on the next section with his family and Raymond was using all three sections to run some sheep as a supplement to his farm hand income.

3. Because there was no maternity hospital in Kurow at the time, Bill was born in Dunedin. He had two brothers - Phil, born in 1914 and Elliot, born in 1923 - and two sisters - Ruel, born in 1918 and Olive, born in 1920. All except Elliot were born in Oamaru. Elliot was born in Digger's Gully, Kurow. Phil eventually became a butcher in Kurow while Elliot was a farm worker. Ruel married a musterer and Olive married a plasterer. By 1982, only Bill and Ruel were still alive.

4. Together with his brother James, John Cochrane had come to the Upper Waitaki from St. Bathans in the Maniototo in the late 1890s. They were both shepherds. John worked on Omarama Station and James on Benmore Station. They were joined later by their brother Mark. On March 24th, 1899, James Cochrane married Flora Richmond, daughter of the proprietor of the Wharekuri Hotel and in 1908, John Cochrane married Margaret Hale, the Omarama postmistress. Mark remained single all his life.

5. This was stated to me in an interview and subsequently appeared in some "reminiscences of Kurow school" that he contributed to the Kurow school's centennial booklet, published in 1982 (see pages 43-44 of centennial booklet).

6. Bill always insisted on paying cash. He sold the house in Kurow for 480 pounds, he had a war gratuity of 150 pounds and made the rest of the asking price up out of savings.

7. The rabbit factory was located in the stables of the Anglican vicarage. There was no minister in residence at the time so the factory owner, Ash Faigan, lived in the vicarage. The factory operated between 1945 and 1949. The rabbits were skinned and the carcasses cleaned and cased. The skins were

sent to Dunedin and the carcasses to Pukeuri on the coast where they were deep frozen before being shipped to England.

8. This second section cost him 2,000 pounds and he financed it out of the proceeds of some self confessed land speculation. In 1949 he had been approached by a local farmer to see if he would be interested in taking over the lease of 400 acres of Kurow Settlement hill country. The asking price was 400 pounds so Bill put a deposit of twenty-five pounds on the land. Under war-time regulations, however, the Land Board subsequently decided that the seller could not include "good will" in the asking price since no improvements had been done on the land and he had held it for less than the required three years. Fortune therefore smiled on Bill and he got the 400 acres for fifty pounds. Three years later, with war-time restrictions lifted, he was able to sell the land to another farmer for 1,500 pounds and bought his second small section in Kurow Settlement with the proceeds, plus what he got for the house and sheds on the section. He added to this in 1956 by buying another adjacent section of fourteen acres for 3,000 pounds. The money for this came from a soldier rehabilitation loan.

9. In an interview comment, Bill offered his own variation on the suggestion that the Upper Waitaki was the Land of Munros, Merinos and Matagouri. On a senior citizens' outing to Mount Cook in 1981, he said it had occurred to him that the Upper Waitaki was dominated by three "B's" - "Briar, Broom and Bosses" - rather than three "M's".

10. As in the 1930s, the district benefitted from this economically. It also placed a large strain on the facilities of the high school. The number of children in the school increased from 197 in 1950, to 251 in 1951, to 315 in 1952, to 326 in 1953, before decreasing to 256 and 203 in 1954 and 1955 respectively. Even apart from these construction periods, however, there was a consistently high proportion of hydro children attending the Kurow school. Looking at selected years on a five-yearly basis from 1940 to 1975, the respective proportions of hydro children in the school were 21% (1940), 19% (1945), 17% (1950), 22% (1955), 14% (1960), 14% (1965), 24% (1970) and 28% (1975). In the eyes of some local informants, this contributed to the perception that the Kurow school was not a true rural school.

11. Where residents in the smaller hydro villages of Lake Waitaki or Aviemore had to go to Kurow for their shopping, this was not the case in Otematata. A large range of shops and stores were opened there, as well as a high school.

12. When it opened early in 1965, the Benmore power station had a 540 megawatt capacity and was the second largest power station in New Zealand. The lake that formed behind the dam was 30 square miles with a shore line of seventy-two miles.

13. Aviemore is twelve miles downstream from Benmore and four miles upstream from Waitaki. The Aviemore site had, in fact, been considered in the 1920s as an alternative to the site that was eventually chosen for the Waitaki dam. Work on the Aviemore site commenced in November of 1962 and the first electricity from the station was produced in August of 1968. The capacity of the power station when it opened was 220 megawatts and the lake that formed behind the dam was eleven square miles.

14. The reconstruction figures therefore fell short of the census figures by 62 (-5%), 76 (-6%) and 9 (-1%) in each of these years.

15. Moorland Settlement consisted of just over 4,000 acres that the Crown had bought from the owners of Hakataramea Downs in 1964. The land was developed by the Lands and Survey Department before being settled as five properties in the 1970s.

16. The gentleman in question was the then county councillor. His main partner in the development company was a local accountant.

17. The average household size in the intermediate year of 1965 was 3.7.

18. The justification for putting the word "retired" in italics is in recognition of the fact that, for many of these rural people, leaving the paid workforce does not necessarily mean an end to work.

19. The contrast is made with 1920 rather than 1905 because of the number of larger sheep stations still in the district in 1905. This made that year slightly atypical in relation to the rest of the reconstruction years.

20. In 1935 sixteen children from the settled localities were attending the local secondary school and twelve were attending boarding schools outside of the district. In 1920 there were no secondary children - the secondary department in the Kurow school did not open until 1931 - and only one attending a boarding school. There were at least five children in the Cattle Creek locality in 1920 who were enrolled in correspondence school.

21. The majority of the other children attending boarding schools came from households where the father was a farm manager, a businessman or a professional. The boys attended a range of schools including John McGlashan in Dunedin, Waitaki Boys High in Oamaru, Christ College, Saint Andrews or Saint Bedes in Christchurch. The girls mainly attended Waitaki Girls High in Oamaru, Timaru Girls High in Timaru or Rangi Ruru in Christchurch. The choice of school seemed to be dictated either by tradition (one of the parents had attended the school) or convenience (other locality children attended the

same school and so transport was more easily arranged). Reasons for children attending boarding school rather than the local high school ranged from educational (better facilities and teaching available elsewhere) to social (establishing networks that would be important later in life).

22. Thus, within a general framework of family formation that set aspirations relating to ideal family size and the gender balance of children within the family, and given a situation where a male child was not among the first children to be born into a farming family, then contemporary farming families would be expected to continue having children until a male heir was born, and stop soon thereafter. An adequate test of this "hypothesis" would require that the motivations underlying family formation be explored in depth with farm families. Such a project was outside the scope of this present study. Occasional comments were made in the fieldwork situation, however, which indicated the existence of such an orientation among farmers. A professional's wife, commenting on the fact that they only had two daughters, said; "There's still a lot of emphasis on producing the son and heir in the family. Quite often we've had comments, 'Oh, you're trying for a son, aren't you?' and they can't understand someone saying "that's two girls and that's it'. They'll try it five times, you know, if they've had five girls they keep on going until they get that son".

23. What is significant here is that the de facto couples were living in Kurow Township. There had been de facto couples living in the district prior to this but these had tended to be rabbiters living in isolated parts of the district. However, with the incorporation of rabbiters into the Rabbit Boards in the early 1950s, even this changed. One man who worked in the Hakataramea Valley as a rabbiter in the early 1950s was sacked from his job because the Board chairman did not approve of his living arrangements.

24. Prior to the late 1970s, farmers tended to leave the district on retirement and live in Oamaru, Timaru or Christchurch, but in the 1970s an increasing number decided to live in Kurow.

25. The others were to be found in the following occupational categories: business two; white collar five; and manual two.

26. The increasing number of households in the district meant increased business opportunities while increases in the provision of state services, i.e. post office, high school and catchment commission, meant more public service professionals and bureaucrats.

27. The women in full-time paid employment in 1982 were mainly domestic workers, shop assistants, teachers, clerical workers or post office staff. Two owned shops in Kurow township and one oversaw the operation of a family farm. There were about twenty women in part time paid employment and their

occupations ranged from doctor, physiotherapist, district nurse and relieving teacher through to domestic worker, school bus driver and hairdresser.

28. There was a substantial increase in the "other manual" category in 1965 and, as will be seen from Table 12.9, this was mainly in the semi-skilled category. Many of these would have been drivers. By the mid-1960s, local transport companies had benefitted from hydro construction work in the Waitaki Valley but the level of activity was declining and so at the end of 1965 there was a rationalisation of transport in North Otago. Waitaki Transport Holdings Limited was formed out of the amalgamation of the two Kurow transport firms - the Kurow Motor Company and Collins Transport - as well as five other firms from Tokarahi, Duntroon, St Andrews, Enfield and Oamaru. Further trucking companies from Maheno, Herbert and Oamaru were added in 1966. Where there had been two transport operations in Kurow in 1965, in 1982 there was only one, and this was merely a branch office. The head office of Waitaki Transport was in Oamaru.

29. In 1950 there were also three shearers, eight shepherds, one gardener, twelve musterers, one tractor driver, six cowboys and two cowmen. In 1982, the other farm workers were fourteen shearers, four shepherds, four fencers, five musterers, one tractor driver, two cowboys, two orchard workers and one rouseabout.

30. Orchardists were included with family farmers in this table. The numbers of orchardists were three in 1950, one in 1965 and four in 1982. The numbers of small farmers were eight in 1950, eight in 1965 and three in 1982. These small farmers were mainly apiarists, pig farmers, market gardeners or marginal farmers with a secondary occupation.

31. By "new" to the district is implied that they bought in to the district and were not living there during the previous period under consideration. Land settlement in Cattle Creek contributed to much of this influx of new farmers in 1965 and 1982.

32. Farmers who had not come from farming families (four in 1950, six in 1965 and two in 1982) were mainly from farm worker families, although one was the son of a local apiarist and another was the son of a local company manager. There is therefore not much indication of upward mobility here.

33. This has already been commented on in Chapters 4, 8 and 10.

34. We have already explained this in terms of the patrilocality of the marriage pattern within the district.

35. By definition, transients owned no land whatsoever. If a transient acquired land in the district then, according to our analysis, he or she automatically made the transition to being a newcomer.

36. While the proportion of transient males who had kin in the district in 1982 appears to be quite high (17%), it should be appreciated that this, in fact, consisted of only eleven men. Equivalent figures for 1950 and 1965 were five and eight men respectively.

37. This was the Moorland Settlement that was referred to earlier.

38. The decrease between 1950 and 1965 was not a major one but why there should have been this decrease at all is not obvious. This was certainly a time when the population of the district was at a peak, but the continuity figures give no indication of large numbers of new people coming to the district then.

39. This was discussed in Chapter 4 where it was pointed out that in 1982, 45% of the men and only 32% of the women had consanguineal kin living elsewhere in the district whereas 48% of the men and 51% of the women had affinal kin.

40. The main problem is the immensity in the task of tracing kinship links in detail for approximately 700 adults in each of the reconstruction periods. While in theory this was not an impossible task, constraints on time precluded it being carried out for any year other than 1982.

41. In 1982, 89% of male locals had kin in the district as did 43% of newcomers and 17% of transients. Among the females, the equivalent figures were 96% of locals, 59% of newcomers and 13% of transients.

42. It will be remembered that the registers that were researched included Kurow Presbyterian, Duntroon Presbyterian, Lower Waitaki Presbyterian, St Paul's Presbyterian Oamaru, Columba Presbyterian Oamaru, Waitaki Anglican, St Luke's Anglican Oamaru, St Patrick's Roman Catholic Oamaru and St Patrick's Roman Catholic Waimate. Three hundred of these 451 marriages (67%) were recorded in a Presbyterian register, 72 in an Anglican register (16%) and 79 in a Roman Catholic register (17%).

43. Nine of the grooms were from Omarama, fifteen from Duntroon, eight from the Lower Waitaki, one from Waihao Downs in South Canterbury and seventy-eight from Oamaru. The other 159 came from outside North Otago. By way of contrast, thirteen of the brides were from Omarama, twenty-six from Duntroon, ten from the Lower Waitaki, one from Waihao Downs and 124 from Oamaru. Only seventy-seven of the brides came from outside North Otago.

44. Tradition appeared to demand that the couple be married in a church or registry office in the bride's district, and that is where the marriage would be registered. Unless a local man married a woman from the North Otago region, then the marriage would not fall within the population from which the

sample was being drawn for this study. We have a fair degree of certainty, however, that the population sampled would have included practically all local women. What this means, of course, is that the sample is biased in favour of local women but that is a function of marriage practices and could not be easily remedied.

45. In the period 1880 to 1920 there were ninety-one of these local marriages recorded in the registers that were consulted while between 1921 and 1950 there were 112.

46. Because of the small numbers in the white collar group, it did not make much sense to attempt to break the non-proprietorial group down further into manual/non-manual.

47. The years with the highest number of mortgages were between 1975 and 1978 when the range was thirty-seven to forty-two in each of the years. Prior to this, the range had been five to thirty.

48. The actual numbers here were: private individuals within the district - ninety-two mortgages; institutional sources within the district - two mortgages; private individuals outside the district - 127 mortgages; and institutional sources outside the district - 355 mortgages.

49. The other institutional sources were : Insurance companies (twenty-six), stock agents (seventeen), businesses (thirteen), building societies (four) and lodges (one).

50. There was a similar pattern with regard to mortgages taken out during this period on township land. Of the 271 mortgages, 112 were provided by private individuals and 159 from institutional sources - banks, building societies and the government. Only twenty-six of the mortgages were provided from within the district with the rest (245) coming from outside the district.

51. From previous chapters, it will be remembered that smallholdings are being defined as properties of less than 50 acres; small farms are being defined as properties of between 50 and 200 acres; middle farms are properties between 200 and 1000 acres in size; and large farms are properties, other than sheep runs and stations, over 1,000 acres in size.

52. Garguston had been held by the Trotter family since 1911. Following the loss of their Garguston property they moved to farm in Totara but John Trotter died soon after this. His family maintained that it was the loss of Garguston that hastened his death.

53. Strictly speaking, the data for 1982 should be expressed in hectares and dollars but in order to make comparison with these earlier years easier, the conversion has been made to acres and pounds sterling. Dollars were converted to pounds by dividing by two. When the change from dollars to pounds

was made in New Zealand in 1967, one pound was taken to equal two dollars.

54. The range in increase of average capital value of the various property types between 1982 and 1950 was as follows: small-holdings (+1092%); small farms (+663%); middle farms (+1778%); large farms (+1422%); sheep runs (+1682%); and sheep stations (+982%).

55. See Tables 7.2 and 8.9.

56. The one sheep station that was not locally-owned in 1982 was Highland Farm Settlement, a Lands and Survey property.

57. It will be remembered from similar Tables in previous chapters that orchards have not been included in this Table. In 1982, their combined size was 780 acres and their combined capital value was 188,600 pounds. This had risen from 318 acres and 7,565 pounds in 1950.

58. There was only one Otekaike farmer who did not take the opportunity of freeholding his land.

59. As was commented in an earlier chapter, these family companies appear to have been formed after 1950 for tax purposes.

60. The one company title in 1950 was held by the New Zealand Australian Land Company in relation to Hakataramea Station.

61. We noted in previous chapters that very few women held title to land in the earlier periods. This is also a feature of these two years. In 1965, twenty-six women held title to district land, either singly or in joint title with husbands. Four of these properties were farms, four were smallholdings and eighteen were town sections. The equivalent figure for 1982 was twenty-four women and they held title to six farms, seven smallholdings and eleven town sections.

62. The properties in Kurow Township with the highest capital values continued to be the hotels and stores. The highest valuations in 1950, 1965 and 1982 were 5,445 pounds (a hotel), 20,245 pounds (a store) and 92,500 pounds (a hotel) respectively.

63. Not all benefitted from these increased values, however. Among my informants were retired farmers who sold out in the early 1960s when prices were still relatively low and were amazed at how much their properties were worth later.

64. Interesting differences in perception were found here, however. Those at the top of the hierarchy tended to deny that such inequalities existed. A farmer's wife commented, for example: "I think the days of the image of the rich farmer must be gone. You might have a valuable asset, but your actual living is probably lower than a lot of folk who

are on a fixed salary. Possibly they'd have more cash in the pocket". This was offset, however, by the fact that many of those further down the scale were able to cite instances from personal experience to show that inequalities did exist.

65. Among the local churches, the Presbyterians were the only ones who had retained their records in any kind of systematic way. This is unfortunate, since it would have been invaluable to have had comparable material for the Anglican and Catholic churches. The patchy availability of local records of all kinds was a problem that constantly dogged the development of the study, however. As in previous chapters, information on membership of committees and organisations has been drawn from minute books, membership registers and so on.

66. The first two women members of the management committee were appointed in 1958. Both of them were farmer's wives. Between then and 1977, a further sixteen women were appointed to the committee and the majority of them were farmer's wives too.

67. On a few occasions elders have been known to resign for reasons other than moving from the district. Such situations have usually resulted from conflicts or disputes within the church. Although rare, this did occur during fieldwork in 1982 when the issue was a conflict between the minister and some of the congregation over the running of the church.

68. Seven of these elders were women, and the first of them was appointed in 1958.

69. Of these forty-seven hydro workers, twelve were from Twizel, twenty-four from Otematata, two from Aviemore and nine from Lake Waitaki. Most of these men were engineers or supervisory staff but quite a few were tradesmen or manual workers. Given the fact that hydro workers and Special School staff were relatively uninvolved in district affairs, it is interesting that so many of them should have joined the local lodge. The justification for many of them, presumably, would have been that they were transferring their membership from elsewhere.

70. Again, there were problems with the availability of records here and Presbyterian groups were the only ones on which information was available from documentary sources.

71. In May of 1978, while in the district on fieldwork, I turned up to the annual meeting of the Kurow Hall Committee. I was one of seven people present and experienced great difficulty in persuading the meeting that I was there in a research capacity and did not want to be elected on to the committee. The meeting was opened to the accompaniment of a comment from the floor: "thousands turned away as usual". Despite the small turnout, however, the meeting was still run according to strict protocol with everybody present having to be nominated and seconded before being elected on to the

committee. One of the women present commented how in the old days, you could always count on the bank manager or the post master to help out, but things had changed.

72. Those traditional ways may have related to the type of organ that was played in the church, the placement of the pews or the architecture of the building but any moves to have such things changed were met with stoic resistance, if not outright hostility on the part of some. This did not only apply in church matters. The appearance of the township was another matter of some reactionary concern since any attempts at civic improvement could not possibly be countenanced if it meant that the rates would have to be increased.

73. Not all of these "old timers" were locals. The group appeared to be an amalgam of older locals as well as newcomers who were long-standing residents in the district. While the impetus behind "the mobile brigade" came mainly from transient professionals, this group also included some businessmen newcomers who had not been in the district for terribly long.

74. Some local informants were not too generous in their appraisal of this situation. In their estimation, the "old timers" wanted Kurow kept the way it had been in the 1880s. The "old timers", for their part, claimed that the main concerns were increased rates and suspicion of the county council and its officers. At a public meeting to discuss the issue in 1982, and individual from this group commented: "There's nobody more interested in local issues than the local people. How can the council really know about these things when they don't have to suffer the consequences?". It was in response to such a reaction that one of the "mobile brigade" commented that suspicion, criticism and organised opposition were the order of the day when it came to local political issues in Kurow.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE HAKATARAMEA STATION ISSUE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a particular insight into the complex interrelationships that exist at a local level between property, propinquity and kinship and how these relationships are, in turn, articulated against the backdrop of events on a broader scale in the national arena.[1] Two main issues are addressed in the chapter. The first of these is the tension between family interests and community interests over the acquisition of land. The second, emerging from Weber's analysis of "community formation", is the extent to which a propertied-class can, in fact, control access to land. The "drama" that is to be presented in the following pages involves real characters. These are named. To do otherwise would be plainly absurd. There is a portion of New Zealand history to be documented here, and it would serve no valid end to veil it in fiction.

This reconstruction is based on a careful examination of documentary sources as well as interviews with many of the key figures involved.[2] I was also present at a number of crucial meetings, both formal and informal, that occurred during October of 1978 when the issue was coming to a head. Some material has had to be omitted to preserve confidentiality but this certainly does not detract from the broad thrust of the story.[3]

THE DRAMA

The "social drama" in the chapter centres around the acquisition by a private consortium in late 1978 of Hakataramea Station.[4] This property had been owned for just over a century by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company.[5]

In 1864, George Lockhart sold Hakataramea Station to the New Zealand and Otago Agricultural and Land Investment Association. Some four years later, in 1868, the Association transferred its assets to the Canterbury and Otago Association, which was linked with the New Zealand and Australian Land Company. When the two companies merged in 1877, Hakataramea Station ran from the Waitaki River to Burke's Pass in the Mackenzie Country and comprised almost 200,000 acres, most of it leased either from the Crown or from Canterbury Agricultural College. In 1968, the Land Company was taken over by Dalgety Limited of the U.K., thus ending one hundred years of association with the station. At that time the size of the property was about 48,000 acres. In 1969, however, the Crown resumed leases over country in the Kirkliston Range and the size of the station was thus reduced to 23,000 acres, comprising mainly flat to gentle hill country.[6]

In mid-1977, Dalgety let it be known to the then National Government that they were interested in selling the station. This had followed local representations to the Company in 1976 to consider subdividing the property for settlement. The Company's offer was to sell "at current valuation", but in spite of promises to the contrary that had been made to local groups by successive governments over some thirty years, the government chose not to purchase the station and let it be sold instead to a private consortium of South Canterbury farmers. The sale was announced on October 9th, 1978. At that stage, the stock on the station comprised approximately 26,000 ewes and replacements as well as 1,800 cows and replacements.

Although the identity of one of the consortium members was common knowledge in the Kurow district prior to the finalisation of the sale, it was not until December 22nd, 1978 that their names were released to the press. The leader of the consortium was Doug McIlraith of Hakataramea, who at that time, in addition to being a local farmer, was also the deputy chairman of the New Zealand Wool Board. The other two leading members of the consortium came from outside the Kurow district, but for ten years they had farmed a 5,600 hectare property near Waimate in partnership with McIlraith. These other members were Pat Hayman and Mick Rattray.[7] In addition to being a farmer, Hayman was also at that time a member of the Timaru Harbour Board and the South Canterbury Electric Power Board. Rattray was chairman of the Waimate County Council. The stated intention of the consortium was to subdivide the station so that their sons could be settled on the land - they had twelve sons between them - but they hoped that eventually they would be able to make land available for settlement by people other than their families. They believed that the station would subdivide into a maximum of about sixteen units.

District opposition to the scheme was initially spearheaded by an Action Group comprising six local farmers,[8] but then, in response to the initiative of the local councillor, Forbes Taylor, the base of the opposition was broadened to include non-farmers as well as farmers.[9] Taylor's ad hoc group was brought together to make submissions on the Hakataramea issue but individual members of the Action Group were singled out for verbal attack by National Party officials, especially when

the idea was floated locally of finding an alternative candidate to contest the Waitaki seat at the forthcoming election. On the evening of October 11th, George Chapman, the President of the National Party, appeared on national television and described the people who were "fomenting" trouble in Kurow as being "fifth columnists". The day before, Prime Minister Rob Muldoon had described Forbes Taylor as "a sort of Country Party right-wing type of person" who had been "the promoter of alternative candidates for some time".[10]

What started out, then, as a local issue relating to the government's refusal to buy the Hakataramea Station for subdivision very quickly developed into a broader issue that related to public dissatisfaction with the performance of the National government and, in particular, with the local National member of parliament, Jonathan Elworthy. The issue came to a head on October 11th, 1978, with the holding of a public meeting in Kurow to discuss the situation,[11] but the beginnings of the drama were to be found much further back than that.

BEGINNINGS : 1908

Following the success of the settlement of the Otekaike estate in the early 1900s, a meeting of residents of Kurow and Hakataramea took place on Monday, February 10th, 1908 :

> ... to discuss the desirability of approaching the government with a view of getting them to take over the New Zealand and Australian Land Company's Hakataramea estate for closer settlement.[12]

Describing the meeting as a "representative" one, the Oamaru Mail of February 12th reported that it was the unanimous opinion of those present that the estate "was well suited for

closer settlement and would carry a large population and be eagerly competed for if divided into suitably sized farms". It was agreed by those present that a public meeting to discuss the issue would be held in Hakataramea hall on February 20th and that two local Members of the House of Representatives, Sir William Steward and John MacPherson, would be asked to attend.[13]

The Oamaru Mail had played a leading role in pressing for the subdivision of the Otekaike estate, and it was equally supportive of this new local move.[14]

> The changed circumstances of this part of the country necessitate an entire change in the treatment of pastoral as well as arable properties. When the company became possessed of the congeries of areas known as Hakataramea, land was plentiful and was accordingly dealt with in wholesale quantities. That epoch of great territories is past. Wealthy corporations, earning money for their shareholders, as well as playing an important part in colonisation, are now an anachronism in New Zealand. If the whole of the soil was subdivided into minimum areas, people could be found to take up every acre of it.[15]

At this time, the Hakataramea Station stretched eighty-five miles from just above Hakataramea Township into the MacKenzie country. It was therefore a fairly sizeable property and, according to the editorial writer of the Mail, settling it at this stage would have ranked Hakataramea Station with Cheviot and Waikakahi in the scales of success.[16]

The meeting of February 20th was duly reported in the press as having been an "enthusiastic" one.[17] Present at the meeting, in addition to Steward and MacPherson was the Hon Tom Duncan who commented that, like influenza, land hunger was sweeping the country and had settled in Hakataramea.[18] It was his opinion that the government was anxious to settle the land

but, in his experience, they could not be driven fast enough to achieve this. Steward commented that the land hunger which still existed throughout the Dominion had caused the people of the local district to cast their eyes around and settle on the Hakataramea estate as "the land of promise". The meeting unanimously passed the following motion:

> In the opinion of this meeting, it is eminently desirable that the government should acquire for closer settlement the freehold estate at Hakataramea of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company of about 52,000 acres and the various leasehold properties associated therewith.

In speaking to the motion, one local farmer by the name of Kelcher commented that, having a property of his own, he had no personal interest in the subdivision of the estate, but he could see the advantages that would accrue to the local community through "exchanging a vast sheep run (which gave occupation to comparatively few people) for numerous homesteads with a school in their midst". He therefore supported the motion and thought that the local people should "strongly urge its resumption".

The chairman of the meeting, Sir William Steward was instructed to forward the resolution to Wellington, and the local parliamentary representatives were urged to give their support to the cause.

During the meeting Duncan expressed astonishment that so large a tract of excellent country had remained in the hands of one owner for so long, but he felt that this probably reflected the reluctance of local people to run counter to the wishes of the company insofar as many of them had been employees on the estate. MacPherson echoed these sentiments but said that, now

that the pressure for settlement had come, it had to be acted upon. He anticipated that it would not be long before he, Steward and Duncan would be congratulating the residents on the success of their movement. It was recorded that the meeting closed with cheers for the Members.

The Oamaru Mail commented on the outcome of the meeting as follows :

> There is only one conviction on the subject in these parts and that is, emphatically, that not only sheep but men and women and children should draw sustenance from this immense area. There might have been fifty representatives at Hakataramea to cooperate with the local Members in the advocacy for the resumption of the estate, so universal is the desire that the hunger for land shall, as far as possible, be appeased.[19]

It was anticipated, however, that there would be opposition from northern Members who felt that all the unsettled land in the north should be settled before any more estates were resumed in the south. The Mail soundly condemned such "enemies of southern progress" and urged every parliamentarian worthy of the trust of the people to support the Hakataramea cause.

On February 22nd, 1908, the first disposal ever of land from Hakataramea station took place. Just over 40,000 acres of land in the lower Hakataramea Valley that the Land Company had been holding on lease from Canterbury Agricultural College were put up for auction. This land was mainly run country and so was unsuitable for close settlement. It was offered in seven lease lots and four freehold lots, and the Land Company appears to have had no difficulty in retaining the two largest leases, comprising 30,335 acres. What remained of the land was taken up by four local farmers and one local farm worker.[20]

Shortly after the Otekaike displenishing sale was completed on March 4th, Sir William Steward was advised by the Minister of Lands that the question of the purchase of the Hakataramea estate had been referred to the Land Purchase Board for consideration.[21] On March 11th, the Oamaru Mail reported "on reliable authority", that the Land Company had placed the estate under offer to the Government. In conjunction with the Land Purchase Board's projected visit to the estate, this was taken to indicate "a speedy consummation of the desire of the Upper Waitaki settlers".[22] It was assumed that, after viewing the estate, the Board would be satisfied concerning its suitability for resumption. In order to bolster the local case, a petition had been drawn up in Oamaru and local people were urged to sign it since it was felt that: "Such evidence of enthusiasm are demanded by the Government and cannot fail to have an influence in deciding whether the estate is to be resumed".[23] By March 12th, however, the response had not been very great.[24]

It appears to have been the case that private purchasers were also in the hunt for the Hakataramea estate. Around March 20th, Steward telegraphed the Minister of Lands as follows:

> Hope you will hurry up Land Purchase Board re Hakataramea. Afraid private purchasers will intercept you. Would be great pity as estate contains excellent land and should be secured at once.[25]

The Minister replied that procedures had to be gone through and that this all took time. It was understood from this that communication had been entered into with the Company's directors in London to see if they would be willing to sell. Towards the end of April, however, the Minister reported to

Steward that the owners were unwilling to sell until the leases expired in about three years time and that as a consequence of this, the Government was willing to wait.[26] The Oamaru Mail accepted the decision somewhat philosophically:

> It is evident that the Government is satisfied, for the time being, with the scale on which it has resumed land in this district and, really, while we hold that every estate in the district of sufficient size should be subdivided, we cannot complain, just at present, that we have been neglected of late by the Land Purchase Board. This is as it should be, for the estates resumed in North Otago and the immediate neighbourhood have been the outstanding success of the system.[27]

Steward's opinion was that, "reading between the lines", the Minister's communication could be taken as a virtual promise that the estate would be resumed on the expiration of the term of the leases in question.[28] The Mail's editorial writer still insisted on maintaining, however, that the estate should be resumed forthwith under the taxation assessment provisions of the Land Act. The law was made to be exercised, and besides, he said, who knew who might be in power in three years' time. A change of government would mean no chance of taking Haka.[29]

As it turned out, Sir Joseph Ward's Liberal Government survived until 1912, but the expiration of the Hakataramea leases meant that only two thousand three hundred acres in the lower end of the Hakataramea Valley were resumed for settlement.[30] The majority of the estate remained untouched by the Government. This was not to be the last occasion on which local aspirations were to founder on government indifference to their wishes.

OCTOBER 11TH, 1978 - THE POST MORTEM

The councillor was pleased. The meeting had been a success. He had initially entertained a few misgivings as to how the local people would respond to the issue, but the strategy of calling a public meeting had paid off. One hundred and sixty people had turned up - the best public response to a political meeting in Kurow for a long time - and the majority of those who had been there seemed to support his stand. He felt good.

He looked over the people in his lounge and warmed to the occasion. The excitement of the meeting was still with him: the crowd, the speech, the questions, the television lights. He had been pleased when he found out that a TV documentary crew wanted to film the meeting and do a "Dateline Monday" programme on the issue. The publicity would do the cause good. The crew of three were now spread out on his sofa chatting to his other guests.

> The National Party's in trouble in North Otago. At the centre of the row, a huge outback sheep station. Ever since the last war locals in Kurow and the Hakataramea Valley have been pressuring the government to buy Hakataramea Station. They want the 23,000 acre station subdivided to make smaller holdings for young farmers. Successive governments have stated that they wouldn't take the farm over compulsorily, but this year it looked as though Hakataramea Station might drop into the government's lap if it wanted it. It didn't. Dalgety's London, who owned the farm decided to sell. They gave the government first option to buy, but the option was turned down. The farm was eventually knocked down to a New Zealand consortium. In justifying its decision not to buy, the government has muddied the water by issuing conflicting assessments of the station's worth. But, justified or not, many locals say the government has sold them down the river.[31]

It was a small group that had gathered in the councillor's lounge. They had come together informally after the meeting for drinks and a postmortem on the evening.

Jim Wilkinson was there. Jim was a retired farmer from the Hakataramea Valley. His farm was adjacent to the Hakataramea Station and it was now run by his son Gray. Jim had farmed in the Hakataramea Valley for nearly thirty years, but his family had originally farmed a few miles down river from Kurow, on the Canterbury side. The McIlraiths had been neighbours of theirs. As a member of the Returned Servicemen's Association, Jim had been involved for most of those thirty years in trying to persuade successive governments to acquire the Hakataramea Station for sub-division, but his efforts had all been in vain. He was becoming more disillusioned now, and had caused a stir earlier in the evening when he had announced from the floor of the meeting that he was formally resigning from the National Party.

Sitting across from Jim was another retired farmer, Hay Smith. Hay and his wife Olive had farmed for a number of years at the top end of the Hakataramea Valley in the Cattle Creek locality. Their daughter still lived there, married to a second-generation farmer in the district. When the time had come for the Smiths to retire, they had bought a plot of land in a new residential sub-division on the outskirts of Kurow. The sub-division had been developed by the councillor's company and so it was known to some of the locals as "Taylorville". The councillor lived across the street from the Smiths.

In the corner of the room, Murray Collins was talking with a sociologist from Christchurch. Murray was in his early

thirties and was a draughtsman with the Catchment Commission. He had been in Kurow only a few years but had become involved in civic affairs and was now the secretary of the Ratepayers Association. He and councillor Taylor often discussed council business together, and Murray had become one of the councillor's informal advisors. Earlier in the evening, Murray had sat on the platform beside the councillor and had taken minutes of the meeting.

Talk at first centred around the message that had been delivered to the local electors by representatives of the National Party. Jonathan Elworthy had not attended the meeting, but some of his electorate officials had, and their message to the locals was uncompromising.

> The National Party doesn't need your vote. That's the message the people of the Haka Valley and Kurow got at the meeting in Kurow last night. It wasn't said quite that plainly, but the message was there. The vice-chairman of the Waitaki electorate committee, Mr T.H. Hurst, said that if all the people in the Haka Valley and Kurow deserted Mr Elworthy in the election, Mr Elworthy would more than make up for it by polling more votes in Oamaru. With both feet planted firmly in his mouth, Mr Hurst said that Haka was only a small area. National Party supporters had canvassed in Oamaru and found that Mr Elworthy had outstanding support in Oamaru and would get more votes in Oamaru than he did at the last election. The last word at the meeting, held before TV cameras for 'Dateline Monday', came from Mr Taylor. He said he hoped Mr Elworthy could learn a lesson from the meeting. 'At times governments and MPs forget the small people of this world. When that happens, they have to be told'.[32]

Talk in the lounge was interrupted by the arrival of another Cattle Creek farmer, Jim Small. Originally from Waimate, Jim and his wife had settled on their Cattle Creek property in 1957. He was chairman of the local branch of the National Party,

and his arrival resulted in the conversation taking on a more overtly political tone. It did not take them long to get round to reviewing the history of the Hakataramea Station issue and it was a history with which Jim Wilkinson was only too familiar.

THE MIDDLE YEARS : 1952-1960

In August of 1952, as chairman of the Upper Waitaki Returned Servicemen's Association, Jim Wilkinson had written to the then Minister of Lands, Mr E.H. Corbett, requesting that the government give consideration to acquiring Hakataramea Station for soldier settlement.[33] The station at that time comprised 25,000 acres of freehold and 23,000 acres leased from Lincoln College. The case that was presented in Jim Wilkinson's letter hinged on the assertion that any 1,500 acres of the freehold land could be considered an economic unit, and there would thus be scope for sub-dividing the property into at least seventeen farm units. With this closer settlement, and with more intensive farming, it was felt by the local R.S.A. members that production on the property would increase.

The reply that came back from the Minister of Lands was far from encouraging. Corbett indicated that the Land Settlement Board had investigated the possibility of acquiring the sheep station from the New Zealand and Australian Land Company in 1943 but had decided against it. He claimed that the Land Company had already made a contribution to the settlement of servicemen through the sale to the government of their Moeraki Station in Otago and that the further loss of the Hakataramea Station might result in the dispersal of their valuable Corriedale stud. The

indications were that, in this eventuality, the Land Company would take the stud out of New Zealand and relocate it in Australia.

The government's main objection to the acquisition, however, related to the cost of establishing settlers. The Minister claimed that this would involve costs of over 20,000 pounds per unit, and he asserted that it was against his government's policy to proceed with a settlement that would impose such a heavy financial commitment on the individual settlers as well as on the state. He also doubted that the property could be divided into more than six or seven viable farm units.[34]

Despite this set back, the local branch of the R.S.A. decided to press ahead with their case. Part of their motivation stemmed from the fact that the government was expecting Canterbury and Otago returned soldiers to settle on the pumice country around Rotorua in the North Island.[35] They were also aware of the fact that the closer settlement of Hakataramea Station would have important social and economic benefits for the local district.

Their case was further impeded, however, by the fact that the provisions for compulsory acquisition of land under the Servicemen's Settlement Act expired on June 30th, 1952. Two executive members of the Otago R.S.A. had been made aware of this during an interview with the Minister of Lands in June of 1952.[36] The Minister had gone on to say, however, that he was in the process of bringing down an amendment to the Land Act which would contain provisions for the compulsory acquisition of

land for subdivision where this was felt to be in the interests of the country. At that stage, he had appeared to be favourably disposed to the suggestion that Hakataramea Station be taken over by the government, especially, he said, since the owners were a limited company financed by overseas capital.

In reporting to Jim Wilkinson on the outcome of their meeting with the Minister, one of the Otago executives commented as follows :

> Although the time for compulsory acquisition for servicemen is past and although Ministers of the Crown are apt to make light statements when approached by the public, I am of the opinion that there is still a good chance that Hakataramea Station might be acquired. It will largely depend on how attractive a case can be made out for subdivision.[37]

The advice offered to the local branch of the R.S.A. by the other Otago executive member who had attended the meeting was more practically oriented :

> Gentlemen, I have had a good deal to do with government departments and my experience is that writing letters is futile. I suggest, therefore, that we get the Minister to have a look at Haka Station himself - he is a practical man, and as such could not but be convinced, especially if he saw it during the summer months.[38]

With the strong support of the local member of parliament, Davey Kidd, such an invitation was extended to the Minister, and he viewed the property in March of 1953.

Despite the fact that he claimed to be favourably impressed with the possibilities for subdivision, the Minister stated that he was against compulsory acquisition. He did promise the local R.S.A. members that he would investigate the possibility of acquiring the station by negotiation, but he

subsequently reported to them that the Land Company was not prepared to sell.[39]

The Land Company's reluctance to sell seems to have been related to a concern on their part that, if they voluntarily offered the property for sale to the government, many of their shareholders would complain about the conditions of sale, irrespective of what these might be. On the other hand, if the government insisted on compulsory acquisition, then the price would be arranged by arbitration and the directors would be absolved from the possibility of charges of mismanagement.[40] Since the government was not prepared to follow this course of action, a stalemate was reached, but it appears to have been the case that the interests of both sides were adequately served by this outcome.

In his meeting with the Otago R.S.A. representatives the previous year, the Minister had indicated that there had more or less been a gentleman's agreement between a previous Minister of Lands and the Land Company to the effect that if the Land Company offered Moeraki Station to the government at a reasonable price, then their ownership of Hakataramea Station would be allowed to continue without threat of acquisition.[41] Whether or not Corbett saw himself as being bound by that verbal agreement is difficult to say, but it was obvious that there were no deals to be made in the present instance.

During the winter months of 1953, the Upper Waitaki R.S.A. prepared a petition calling for the compulsory acquisition of the station and, in September, Jim Wilkinson was part of a two-man delegation from the local district that presented that petition

in Wellington to the Prime Minister, Sidney Holland.[42] The petition contained over two hundred signatures and represented a cross-section of voluntary organisations and groups in the Kurow district.

A major point of contention that arose during this September meeting was the carrying capacity of the station. Working on the basis of Land Settlement Board reports that had been produced in 1943, the Prime Minister insisted that the property could be subdivided into no more than seven or eight farms, and he asked the R.S.A. to supply maps in support of their claim that the property could be subdivided into twice that number of units. The preparation of this map was completed by November of 1953.

During these months, the local R.S.A. branch received strong support from the South Canterbury R.S.A., and in March of 1954 their case was discussed at a meeting of the R.S.A. Dominion Executive Committee (henceforth D.E.C.). It was resolved by the Executive Committee that, while they wanted to keep an open mind on the matter, they were prepared to be convinced, and they requested more information.[43]

On May 11th, 1954, a delegation from Kurow returned to Wellington with the map and, accompanied by the chairman of the Lands Committee of the D.E.C. and by Davey Kidd MP, met with the Prime Minister and with the Director General of the Lands Department.[44] Following their discussions, Holland agreed that the property was suitable for subdivision as set out by the delegation, but he insisted that the property would be acquired only if the company was willing to sell. The situation returned

to a stalemate. The Prime Minister offered to renegotiate with the Land Company, and Mr Kidd suggested that if they were unwilling to sell, then the government should make a bid for half of the freehold land. Holland agreed to this and promised to have the Minister of Lands approach the Land Company again to see if they would sell half the freehold land to the government.[45]

In the context of these suggested negotiations, the Land Company remained faithful to a policy that they had applied throughout the period of their ownership of land in New Zealand. This policy stated in part :

> It is for the government of the day to decide and acquire their properties for closer settlement when the government considers that it is necessary in the interests of closer settlement in New Zealand.[46]

In discussion with representatives of the Upper Waitaki R.S.A. in June of 1954,[47] the managing director of the Land Company's agent in New Zealand - the National Mortgage and Agency Company - maintained that where Land Company properties had been acquired by the government in the past, the Company had cooperated to the full with the government in order to ensure that the transfers were completed with a minimum of problems.[48] He claimed that the Land Company had contributed much to the development of New Zealand and that no other company had done more in terms of providing land for subdivision and closer settlement. He referred to the very sentimental and genuine attachment that the directors of the company had expressed towards New Zealand and to their expressed reluctance to parting with Hakataramea Station because it was the last of their original properties. Nevertheless, he insisted the company would

not sell the property to the government unless the government indicated that it was prepared to acquire it compulsorily.[49]

Following this meeting, it was obvious to the local R.S.A. members that compulsory acquisition by the government was the only solution. In a letter to Davey Kidd, dated June 17th, 1954, Jim Wilkinson expressed this view in the following terms:

> It now seems to us that the Compulsory Clause in the Act must be used to get the place and the whole business rests on the government as to whether they will use the above clause or not. We are of the opinion that this action must be taken, and as quickly as possible. We are under the impression that the Prime Minister is a bit frightened of the economic factor, but surely our life-line in New Zealand is the land, and what better investment is there in this country today; and also what an opportunity to get a few more farmers to help step up our production.[50]

In July of 1955 the local R.S.A. branch was informed by the D.E.C. Lands Committee that, after protracted negotiations, the Crown had succeeded in purchasing enough land on the northern boundary of the station for subdivision into two farms.[51] The local branch drew encouragement from this and urged the Lands Committee to continue the pressure to have the whole station acquired and subdivided:

> ... we feel that the acquisition of these sections indicates recognition of the suitability of the property for settlement. It is our opinion that approximately sixteen further units could be provided from the remainder of the property, and that the settlement of these further units would be a significant contribution towards the solution of the problem of settling those ex-servicemen who are still without farms. We should be grateful, therefore, if continued representations could be made to have the remaining area subdivided for settlement.[52]

In August of 1955 a deputation from the Dominion Executive Committee raised the matter with the Prime Minister.[53] During the meeting the Prime Minister stated that, for political reasons, his government was strongly opposed to compulsory acquisition in any shape or form. He amplified on this by stating that they regarded it as being contrary to the principles of private enterprise. In any case, he said, it was the opinion of the government that the New Zealand and Australian Land Company had already done well in discharging their obligations to ex-servicemen.

The Dominion Executive Committee's response to this was expressed in the following resolution :

> That the Minister be informed that the N.Z.R.S.A. has noted with considerable satisfaction the government's action in acquiring two units of the Hakataramea Station, and expresses the hope that the government may see its way clear to acquire further sections of this property in due course.[54]

During 1955 an invitation had been extended to Tom Shand, Minister of Rehabilitation and Lands, asking him to visit Kurow and inspect the Hakataramea property. The visit did not eventuate, however, until April of 1957. Shand was accompanied on his visit by Tom Hayman, Minister of Finance, and Mr A.J. Davey, MP. Although Shand reported that he was favourably impressed with the suitability and potential of the property for subdivision, he affirmed that compulsion could not be used in acquiring the property.

Possibly motivated by a desire to reinforce the impact of Shand's visit, the local branch of the National Party, at its annual meeting on May 10th, 1957, passed the following remit:

> That this branch is concerned at the continual aggregation of land by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company and considers that, as they are allowed to hold these large tracts of back-country land, their holding in the Hakataramea Valley should be subdivided for closer settlement.[55]

There was a change of government in December of 1957, but any hopes that the local branch of the R.S.A. might have entertained that a Labour government would have different views from the previous government on compulsory acquisition and "private enterprise" were eventually proved to have been falsely grounded. The new Minister of Lands, Gerry Skinner, had worked on Hakataramea Station in his younger days, but despite his familiarity with the local situation and people, he was bound by the fact that the Labour government's views on compulsory acquisition were identical to those of their National Party predecessors. He was invited to inspect the property, but the visit never eventuated.

By this stage, the D.E.C's position had become much firmer. In a resolution passed in early 1958 they urged that:

> ... the maximum effort be made by the Land Settlement Board to acquire properties suitable for closer settlement; and, in addition, the statutory powers of compulsory acquisition be exercised in suitable cases.[56]

They were in no doubt that Hakataramea Station was one such "suitable case", but the pressure was to no avail. Compulsory acquisition was still out of the question as far as the government was concerned, the Land Company was still unwilling to sell and, in any case, there were very few graded ex-servicemen from World War II who still needed to be settled.

It was about 1960 that the Upper Waitaki R.S.A. finally gave up its pressure, grimly recognising that their cause had foundered time and again on the rock of compulsory acquisition.

OCTOBER 11TH, 1978 - THE MEETING

The councillor got to the hall ahead of time. There were preparations to be made, and anyway, the activity would keep his mind busy. He had thought of holding the meeting in the small function room off the main hall, but the TV crew insisted that their lights would overheat the small room. It would have to be the big hall after all. Balloons were hanging from the ceiling - left over from a previous function - so at least there would be a bit of colour about the place. He was certain, however, that the main hall was going to be too big.

With the chairs set out and the platform ready, he stood at the back of the hall with Murray Collins and the sociologist.[57] They watched as people began to arrive. The councillor nodded to the ones that he knew. At five to eight, the hall was still rather empty.

"I'll start the meeting a few minutes after eight", he said. "There's bound to be latecomers." There was a grunt of approval. "Don't worry about the numbers", said Murray. "I spoke to quite a few people today and they all said they were coming". He paused and then asked, "Do you want me to take notes of the meeting ?" The councillor nodded.

"You know," said the councillor, "I'm amazed at how this whole thing has taken off. I really am." He seemed to be reflecting for his own benefit as he went on "I never expected it to

get this far. I just stood up and said what I knew a lot of other people were feeling, and now I find I'm the front man. It's amazing really." He shook his head and laughed.

They talked briefly about the fact that the Labour candidate had phoned earlier in the evening and had offered apologies for not being able to make the meeting. "It's a golden opportunity," said the councillor, "the kind of situation politicians dream of, and what does the Labour Party do with it? They throw it away !" Elworthy was not going to be there either, but they understood that there would be National Party spokesmen at the meeting. "They'll turn up to show the colours", said the councillor. "And to check up on what's going on", replied Murray. The councillor felt slightly apprehensive at the thought. They were bound to have something to say to the meeting. He had stood against Elworthy for preselection at the last election, and his action in calling a meeting such as this was bound to be seen by some as "sour grapes". Still, you had to take the rough with the smooth in politics.

It had just turned five past eight when they decided to start the meeting. As they moved towards the platform the councillor said to Murray that he was not sure how the meeting would go. "I'll just let it run and we'll see what happens", he said.

The hall was much fuller by this stage. The audience was made up mainly of men, but there were a few women seated around the hall. The councillor glanced to where his wife was sitting and noticed that Doug McIlraith was sitting a few rows behind her. Men were busy bringing in more seats and eyes were blinking

at the unaccustomed glare of the television lights. The councillor approached the small array of microphones at the rostrum, and the crowd quietened. With the meeting called to order, the councillor was elected chairman on the motion of Doug McIlraith.

The councillor began his speech by extending a welcome to all "fifth columnists" present, and this drew an appreciative response from the audience. He said that in New Zealand, and even in the Waitaki electorate it was not easy to be independent, to stand up to the system and say "stop". He said it was encouraging, however, to see that some people in the Hakataramea Valley were prepared to do so. His earlier glance across the audience had confirmed that many of the more prominent Hakataramea farmers were in the audience.

"This meeting has been called to attack the inaction of government and of an MP," he said, "and I want to make it clear right from the beginning that I'm not interested in petty local squabbles or personality issues. I regard all of you here as my friends. What I'm concerned about is that this meeting should deal with a question of principle that this government has to face up to." It was a shaky start, but he knew that guidelines for discussion had to be set out early, otherwise the meeting would probably degenerate to a slanging match.

He held up a coloured brochure. "Most of you have probably seen one of these because you should have got one in your letterbox. It's been put out by Jonathan Elworthy and it details all the wonderful things that have been happening in the Waitaki Valley since he became MP for the area. I want to tell

you that it's not Jonathan Elworthy who's been responsible for the development in this valley. It's you people who are here tonight, and others like you in the district who've been responsible. If the truth were told, the government isn't really concerned about this valley, and we've seen that over the Hakataramea Station issue". At last he was picking up his stride.

"I would say that this name Hakataramea will go the length and breadth of New Zealand, as it has been doing in the news media. It will haunt the National Party for years to come." His voice rose in volume. "What we're seeing today is a valley that the government doesn't even care about. I think the government have misjudged seriously the grassroots and the public opinion. We have here a long and emotional history over the Hakataramea Station. The fact is, the government was given the opportunity to purchase the property, and they turned it down."

He outlined how the Land Settlement Board had recommended the property for purchase by the Crown but the government had said that there was not enough money for land acquisition of this nature. This, he said, was in spite of government extravagance in other sectors of spending.

His audience began to warm up when he moved on to condemn what he called "the tendency in politics for an indulgence in name-calling and character-assassination by certain prominent people". There was absolutely no doubt in his audience's minds as to who he was referring to. Earlier in the week the Prime Minister had referred to the councillor as a "Country Party right-wing type of person" who, he claimed, had been a promoter of alternative candidates for a long time. The councillor had

not been sure whether to be surprised or dismayed at receiving such attention.

In addition to this, the National Party president had been on television just that evening and had described the people who were "fomenting trouble" and proposing alternative candidates as being "fifth columnists". He had gone on to say that any person supporting such alternative candidates would be expelled from the party. In recounting this to the audience, the councillor paused for effect and then said "Big deal! So who wants to be a member anyway!". He was on winning territory. There was a round of laughter and applause, anti-National heckling began, and the laughter increased.

The councillor warmed to his theme and said quite pointedly that as a returned soldier he was insulted to be called a "fifth columnist". He claimed that there were other returned servicemen in the audience who were being similarly branded, and he did not think this was right. His aim was to stand up for free speech against a party machine. He had received the day before a telegram from a man in Christchurch, with a one-word message: "Traitor". He felt there were others in the meeting who were being similarly branded for standing up to the National Party over this issue.

After some twenty minutes, he came to the "options" under consideration at the meeting. He claimed that Elworthy had not fought for the local people and had been a poor representative on local issues. "He's been nothing better than a message boy for Wellington", he said. The councillor did not feel, however, that it was his place to tell people how to vote in the light of this.

That was something that would have to be decided in individual consciences when the time came. He claimed that there was no need to select an alternative candidate because there were three good alternatives already standing and people were free to make their choice from them. They could withhold their vote if they wanted to, but it was for the people to decide for themselves.

He ended on a stirring note by drawing attention to the hidden significance that there might be in the name Hakataramea. "The name Hakataramea will live in this nation for a long time as the issue that destroyed the Muldoon myth. Hakataramea - "dancing speargrass" - will carry this message: Ignore the grass-roots at your own peril. At times governments and MPs forget the small people of this world. When that happens, they have to be told."

Even as he finished, though, and opened the meeting for general discussion, he knew what a lot of other people in the meeting also knew, that successive governments for a number of years had ignored such grassroots pressure and this time was not likely to be much different from the others.

ENDINGS : 1976-1978

In June of 1976 a field day was held in the Hakataramea Valley to allow local farmers to view developments on the Lands and Survey property, Highland Farm Settlement.[58] This property ran along the lower reaches of the Kirkliston Range on the western side of the valley, skirting up behind Hakataramea Station and into Cattle Creek. The inspection also allowed local farmers a rather unique opportunity to see much of Hakataramea Station at closer range than they would otherwise manage. One

who was particularly struck by what he saw that day was Garfield Hayes. At that time Hayes was the local president of Federated Farmers and when he was asked at the end of the day to propose a vote of thanks to their hosts, the Lands and Survey Department, he spoke his mind in relation to what he had seen. He later recalled his sentiments that day:

> I was staggered that there was so much of that land being underutilised. I felt something was wrong. So I said this quite outspokenly at the meeting, that I thought we had to have this thing changed and submissions put forward to see whether they'd sell it to local people. You might say this grew out of a Christian sense of conviction.[59]

Hayes felt that he had an opening on the issue since Dalgety New Zealand's Rural Manager at the time, Ron Hayes, was an uncle of his. Later that month, then, when he was next in Wellington on Federated Farmers business, he called in to see his uncle and discussed the issue with him. Ron Hayes appears to have been non-commital on the future plans for the station. He indicated that the station was owned by Dalgety NZ's British parent company, and so there was nothing that the local company could do about it. As far as he was aware, there had been no submissions asking to have the property subdivided since Dalgety had taken over the property in 1968, so he did not know what the parent company's views were on the issue. Garfield Hayes took sufficient encouragement from the meeting to press ahead.

At a branch meeting of the Upper Waitaki Federated Farmers on 4th August, 1976, it was decided to follow up the informal contact by formally writing to Dalgety NZ on the matter. Prior to sending the letter on September 28th, Garfield Hayes also

raised the matter at a meeting of the management committee of the local Presbyterian Church and received their support as well. Jim Wilkinson was one of the managers present. The argument for subdivision that was presented in the letter was basically two-fold: the national need for increased production from farm land and the local need for a more integrated community. It read:

> For over one hundred years the Hakataramea Station has been our largest neighbour. The station has helped to put Hakataramea Valley on the map, and the quality of your wool is well known. We also appreciate the increased development being carried out on the property in recent years. There is, however, a matter we would like to raise with you. It is the concern of many people that the long-term continuation of the Hakataramea Station in one single farming unit is not in the best interests of the whole Haka Valley-Kurow area. Because of the present land settlement situation, the population of the valley is basically divided into two separate communities, twenty miles apart. Socially and economically, this is not in our best interests. Also, with the ever-moving work force at the station, the problems facing the two schools and rural servicing industries are accentuated.[60]

The letter was signed by Garfield Hayes as local President of Federated Farmers and Keith Cleave as local President of the Young Farmers Club. David MacDougal, Managing Director of Dalgety NZ, replied to their letter on 7th October and suggested that a meeting to discuss the issue could be held at Hakataramea Station homestead on 11th November. This meeting lasted an hour and a half and seemed to be productive.[61] The Dalgety representatives indicated that they would forward the local views to their head office in England. In a subsequent letter dated 16th November, MacDougal indicated that he was "sympathetic" to their proposals but that he did not expect any firm decision from his head office until after Christmas. In a

personal letter to Garfield Hayes, dated the same day, he commented: "I trust you can hold your men until that time !!"

On March 14th, 1977, Dalgety representatives again met with representatives of the local farmers, this time at Garfield Hayes' "Normanvale" homestead, and presented to them their proposals for settlement of part of the station.[62] The general outline of these proposals was that Dalgety NZ would purchase the parent company's interest in the station and would continue to farm the southern half of the station while allowing the upper portion to be settled under the auspices either of themselves or the Department of Lands and Survey.[63] The farmer's organisations reacted "with enthusiasm" to the possibilities and assured MacDougall of their "solid support" in the negotiations that lay ahead.[64]

By May of 1978, however, it became apparent that Dalgety's negotiations with the Crown were being stalled by the government's insistence that there were insufficient funds available for land settlement on this scale at that time. On May 5th a letter was sent from the local branch of Federated Farmers to the Minister of Lands, Venn Young, expressing concern at the lack of progress and reiterating the strong local support for Crown action. The reply noted their position but was non-commital. The local farmers then received a letter from the local National member of parliament, Jonathan Elworthy, in which he claimed that he had kept close to the issue for some time and was disappointed at the lack of progress. He concluded the letter, however, by saying that "the battle will continue" and that he had no doubt that "it will be successful in the end".

On 28th July 1978, telegrams were sent from the local farmer organisations to Venn Young and to Jonathan Elworthy, urging that the government purchase Hakataramea Station. In responding to this on 3rd August, the Minister indicated that the proposal had been investigated "very fully" and the Government had decided not to proceed with the purchase:

> The development and purchase of this property...involves expenditure around $5 million, and the Government has decided that the expenditure of this sum could not be supported, taking into account the existing economic climate and the other commitments the Government has for the expenditure of public monies.[65]

In a later letter the Minister of Lands amplified on this by stating that the purchase of this property would have tied up the funds allocated for the purchase of land for at least three years, and the government considered that this would be to the detriment of other farming communities throughout New Zealand.[66]

Subsequent discussion of the issue was clouded by conflicting estimates of how much it would cost to buy, subdivide and settle the property. The estimate of the Minister of Lands was $5 million, but government colleagues Jonathan Elworthy and George Gair, the Minister of Regional Development, were quoting figures closer to $6.8 million. Local farmers estimated themselves that a more realistic figure would have been $4.8 million.

The government's decision was criticised by many local organisations in South Canterbury and North Otago.[67] The only support for the government's stand seems to have come from the Sheep and Cattleman's Association, who claimed that settlement by

the government would be uneconomic, not only for the government, but also for the farmers involved. Settlement under the terms proposed would require the settlers to be "martyrs to a cause".[68]

By mid-September it became obvious that private purchasers were in the hunt for Hakataramea Station. In a press statement reported on September 15th, Jonathan Elworthy commented on this as follows:

> I understand that a consortium plans to buy the property and that they will be releasing some land for settlement. We believe in the system of private enterprise and the fact that it can be done by a group of individuals rather than by the government is surely a good thing.[69]

As it turns out, the announcement that there was private interest in the station was rather belated, since the initial impetus for private involvement had come as the result of an informal remark made to David MacDougall in 1973. At that time MacDougal was a board appointee on the New Zealand Wool Board, and during a break in a meeting one of the wool growers' representatives on the Board, Doug McIlraith, asked if there was any possibility that Dalgety might be interested in selling Hakataramea Station.[70] It appears that McIlraith's question was prompted by the knowledge that Dalgety had not received the gross return they expected for their Hakataramea Station wool at the Timaru sales that year. MacDougall indicated that they had no plans for selling, and so the matter was forgotten - for the moment anyway.

It appears, however, that, having gone to the government in 1977 with their proposals for subdivision of the property,

Dalgety were met with less enthusiasm than they might otherwise have expected. Their decision to sell was communicated to the government in letters sent in September and December of 1977.[71] They indicated in these letters that, in their opinion, the station could be divided into fourteen "good, self-supporting farms". Subsequently the Lands and Survey Department considered the offer, and, on the instruction of the Minister of Lands, officers of the department made inspections of Hakataramea Station. This was done on May 12th, 1978, in unmarked cars. On the basis of these reports, the District Commissioner of Lands for Canterbury strongly recommended the purchase of the station, and so too did the local Land Settlement Committee and the Land Settlement Board. Despite this, the government was reluctant to commit the necessary funds to the project. Getting early indications of this may have prompted the company to resurrect Doug McIlraith's offer. He was certainly kept informed of developments from an early stage. In a letter to him dated January 12th, 1978, Dalgety made the following comment:

> We confirm your interest in the purchase of Haka Station and will arrange to keep you informed of progress with the Crown.

The letter indicated that the station was under offer to the Crown "plus stock and plant at valuation" and went on to say that if the Crown decided against purchase, it might still be possible for them to purchase part of it.[72]

Facing further delays on the part of the Crown, MacDougall then asked McIlraith at a Wool Board meeting in May 1978 if he was still interested in buying Hakataramea Station. After some consideration, McIlraith answered that he was. MacDougal then

followed this up with a letter to McIlraith, dated May 28th, which read in part:

> You advised me this morning that you now wish to take the matter further on the basis of the total property and that you thought you would be in a position to make a firm offer within about six weeks.[73]

In recognition of the fact that the government was still engaged in negotiations with Dalgety at this point, McIlraith backed off until the cabinet gave a firm "no".[74] It may be of some significance, however, that when the government was reaching its decision not to purchase, the Minister of Lands knew that a private party had an interest in buying the station.[75] Following the announcement by the government on August 3rd that the cabinet had decided against purchasing the station, Doug McIlraith visited the Minister of Lands, and confirmed that the government had no further interest in the property whatsoever. Young confirmed that this was the case, and so McIlraith felt able to open negotiations with Dalgety. It was no doubt in response to this that Elworthy had announced that a private consortium was interested in buying the property.

Elworthy subsequently tempered his enthusiasm on the matter, however, by pointing out that the sale to a private consortium could constitute a gross aggregation of land.[76] He pointed out that the government had prepared and introduced to Parliament the Land Purchase Bill which was designed to control undue land aggregation. However, in the light of the strong opposition the bill had received from Federated Farmers, he said, the government had decided not to proceed with it in the present parliamentary session. His implication was obvious: had the bill

been passed, the sale of Hakataramea Station to a group of farmers might well have been prevented. Dalgety would then have been forced to sell the station in several parcels, thus allowing part to be bought by government and part by private enterprise. He concluded :

> I trust the Haka Station problem will help persuade Federated Farmers that legislation to control undue land aggregation is in the best interests of the farming community and the country as a whole.[77]

The chairman of the South Canterbury Land's Committee of Federated Farmers responded that this was "blatant political gimmickry". He said:

> If the government would drop the mania for using farmers as scapegoats for its own inept lawmaking, then Mr Elworthy would readily admit that it was the July conference of the National Party which completely squashed the Land Purchase bill. The enactment date for the bill was January 1979. To associate farmer opposition to the bill with the station issue is blatant political gimmickry.[78]

Elworthy's posturing was also roundly criticised by the Labour opposition. Bill Barclay, the Labour spokesman on agriculture commented on the matter as follows:

> We are against the undue aggregation of farm units. We want to revive farming and stimulate rural communities. It is clear to me that the National Party stands four square behind the landed aristocracy and could not give a damn for the young farmer who has to pay exorbitant interest charges....Only rarely is any government given the opportunity to purchase such a large block of good farm land. If it is still on the market after the change of government in November, the Labour government will purchase this station at a fair price. It will be subdivided and sold to young farmers.[79]

On September 21st, however, Dalgety New Zealand confirmed that the sale of the station to a private consortium was being negotiated and that little delay was expected in finalising it.[80]

Dalgety's motivation to sell the station had also become clearer on September 18th, when it was announced from London that the company was poised to make a series of takeover bids worth some $50 million as part of a concerted push into the American "agribusiness".[81] In commenting on this, the Sunday Times "Business News" said that the company was undergoing "a startling metamorphosis":

> A giant in the world of agriculture, Dalgety is extensively involved in wool broking, livestock insurance, travel, agricultural produce, retailing, malting, pastoral production, food processing and distribution, commodity trading and merchanting, and chemicals and engineering. Its problem has been that 50 per cent of its capital employed has historically been tied up in low return assets in Australia and New Zealand.[82]

The company's new strategy was to divide its capital equally between three geographical areas - North America, Europe and Australia/New Zealand "to reduce dependence on climatic and economic conditions in any one area". Dalgety NZ quickly responded that this did not reflect adversely on the local company, which was going through one of the most expansive phases in its 120-year history of trading in New Zealand. Indeed, Lindsay Papps, the company's chairman of directors, claimed that the company was trading and developing "at very buoyant levels".[83]

At the end of September 1978, telegrams were sent from

local farmers' organisations to the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Lands and the two local members of Parliament, Rob Talbot and Jonathan Elworthy, expressing "considerable disillusionment with yourself and the government on the apparent disinterest in public opinion". Talbot replied that he was continuing to have detailed discussions with the Minister of Lands on "this complex issue which is not yet finally resolved". Elworthy claimed in his reply that a large number of electors supported the government's stand:

> I believe a majority of electors do not wish government to enter into uneconomic and inefficient enterprises which involve wasteful use of the tax-payers' money. I have already given assurances that if the property again becomes available I will visit and inspect the property with the Minister of Lands and will again try to persuade Dalgety to sell the property in at least two titles to allow both government and private developers to participate in the development and settlement of Hakataramea Station.[84]

On October 2nd, it was announced that a six-man Action Committee had been formed in the Kurow district to organise the campaign for the purchase of Hakataramea Station by the government. This group had a combined membership from the Upper Waitaki branch of Federated Farmers and the Upper Waitaki Young Farmers Club. All six members were local farmers.[85] The activities of the group, however, were overtaken by the train of events. At 10pm on the evening of Monday, October 8th, Radio New Zealand announced that Hakataramea Station had been sold to a private consortium. This was confirmed in the press the following day by Dalgety executives, who stated that "the accepted offer of an undisclosed sum was made by a group of New Zealand residents."[86]

In fact, this was only a verbal offer, since the final agreement was not signed until October 24th.[87] There was some dispute locally as to how much the consortium paid for the station, with figures of $5-6 million being quoted in the press. In fact, indications are that the buying price was between $2 million and $2.5 million.[88] Another source of local dispute was the allegation that the government had supplied some of the money for the purchase through a Rural Bank loan. A perusal of the mortgages registered on the certificate of title indicate that this was not the case.[89]

Those who had been pressing for subdivision for some time were disappointed and cynical. The Action Committee had been taken in by previous government assurances that the property would be bought if it was offered to the Crown. As a result of this, they had not exerted as much pressure as they might have, relying instead on informal contacts with Dalgety management and support from local MPs. This was seen subsequently as having been a serious mistake in strategy. The more cynical drew attention to the fact that Waitaki was not a marginal electorate, and the government therefore had little to lose from ignoring local pressure.

Jonathan Elworthy's role in the matter was not viewed with favour by some. He retained his seat in the 1978 election with a reduced majority, as many National voters in the district either abstained or cast a protest vote for the Social Credit candidate.[90] Some, like Jim Wilkinson, also registered a protest by formally resigning from the National Party over the issue.[91]

With hindsight, it was seen by some as a divisive issue that would split the people of the district for some time.[92] Another local Action Committee was formed in November 1978, at the instigation of the local councillor, Forbes Taylor, to press for a judicial enquiry into the circumstances surrounding the sale of the station.[93] The enquiry never eventuated, but the closing months of 1978 saw a flurry of accusation and counter-accusation between the different sides in the issue, activity that was subsequently described in the press as a "range war".[94] The issue certainly did bring divisiveness in its wake.

But what of Doug McIlraith? How did he view the issue? He summed up his views on the matter as follows:

> Haka Station appeared to be a very, very good investment. I was a farmer with children. It was available and I was able to raise the money. That's all there is to it. I strongly suggest that there are others who, given the same opportunity, would have done exactly the same as I did....I don't see it as rugged individualism. I see it as a very fortunate opportunity that happened to come my way...it doesn't come everyone's way. It just happened to come my way because of a chance remark to MacDougal that he remembered... My philosophy is "if you want a thing, go and get it". Nothing's unobtainable if you want it - within reason.[95]

OCTOBER 11TH, 1978 - THE FINALE

Secrecy, that was the main item of discussion in the lounge. The issue had been surrounded in too much secrecy. Jim Small had a lot of answering to do for the National Party and admitted that the government had made a mistake in not keeping

the local people informed about what was happening. Nobody knew for certain how much the consortium was paying for Hakataramea Station, but it was thought to be less than the price discussed with the government. It was suggested that Dalgety had got a better deal by selling privately, since they could insist on retaining the stock-and-station business for the property. This was something they could not have done with the government, and that might have been incentive enough to sell privately.

The fact that McIlraith had obviously got the inside running on the deal through his contacts on the Wool Board was also a matter of concern, and somebody pointed out that David MacDougal was not only a Dalgety executive but also part of the National Party hierarchy. The feeling was that when the government had turned down the option to buy, the station should then have been placed on the open market. Taylor drew a comparison with his own land dealings. When he had bought the land that subsequently became "Taylorville", he had done so at a public auction where everything was done above board. The same procedures should have been followed with Hakataramea Station, he insisted. Why was there the need for all this secrecy?

When everything was weighed up, however, no one seemed too concerned to condemn Doug McIlraith for what he had done. They saw him as having had an eye to the main chance and seemed to admire him for his courage in taking that chance. There were no words of direct criticism spoken against him in the whole evening. He had bought the property for his sons, and that seemed the right thing to do.

For at least some of those present, he was welcome to the

added financial responsibility. It was suggested that if the government achieved the stability in the economy that it was seeking and brought inflation under control, then the consortium would stand a good chance of going bust because they would not be able to meet interest repayments. There was general agreement that farming was in a poor financial state and that things were getting tight, so their prospects were not entirely rosy. This was countered by the argument that if things got really bad in the farming sector the government was just as likely to step in with mortgage relief as had been done during the 1930s.[96]

It had been an issue with strange twists and turns in its history, but what of the future? Forbes Taylor was insistent that the outcome would divide the people of the district for some time to come. No one would disagree with this, but Jim Wilkinson was the one who put this into perspective. Hakataramea Station was right across the fence from their "Kirkliston" property, and so his son Gray had grown up with that as a neighbour for twenty-eight years. Having seen at first hand what potential was there for subdivision and settlement, he now had to adjust to the fact that it had been lost for another generation. But it was not all negative: one of Doug McIlraith's sons was a brother-in-law to Gray Wilkinson, since they had married sisters. Community interests may have been thwarted by an indifferent government but at least there was family benefit in it for some of them.

FOOTNOTES :

1. This chapter derives in approach from Victor Turner's insistence that focusing on "social drama" be seen as a means of probing beneath the "otherwise opaque surface of regular uneventful social life" (1957:93). MacFarlane (1977b:17) has warned of the danger of "degeneration into a narrative and literary mode of pure description" that might accompany such a "social drama" approach, but I choose to see this "narrative" mode of presentation as possessing a potential that, as yet, has been largely untapped by sociologists. Turner maintained that by examining such "social dramas" we are enabled "to observe the crucial principles of the social structure in their operation, and their relative dominance at successive points in time" (1957:93). Van Velsen suggested that combining this with the "extended case-study method" allowed researchers to gather material concerning "a series of connected events to show how individuals in a particular structure handle the choices with which they are faced" (1967:140). Van Velsen referred to this as "Situational Analysis".

2. The extent of these sources will become obvious as the chapter progresses. Historical newspaper records were researched and an extensive contemporary newspaper file was developed. I was given access to correspondence and papers on the issue that were held by local groups as well as private individuals. I researched land records relating to the property in question and read what literature was available. Lastly, I formally interviewed some of the key local figures in the issue and talked informally with a great many others. During 1978, when the issue was coming to a head, I attended local meetings and informal gatherings as a "participant observer", I put together an extensive newspaper clipping file on the issue and recorded radio and television programmes that were relevant.

3. In recognition of the sensitive nature of the issue and also of the fact that certain individuals feature rather prominently in the contemporary part of the story, the content of this chapter was discussed with the following individuals before the chapter was finalised: Doug McIlraith, Jim Wilkinson, Garfield Hayes and Forbes Taylor. Alterations were made in accordance with their wishes. McIlraith was particularly concerned that the material relating to the events of October 11th, 1978 (see the sections entitled 'Post Mortem', 'The Meeting', and 'Finale') dealt with the issue from a biased perspective. This is accepted, since the people who are featured in these sections represented, by and large, one particular side of the issue. However, my offer to exclude these sections was met by a statement of indifference on his part and so they have been left in as a record of what some local people felt about the issue.

4. The main background literature on the history of Hakataramea Station is to be found in Gordon Parry, Hakataramea Hundred

1868-1968, New Zealand and Australian Land Company, Edinburgh, 1968. There is also a chapter on Hakataramea Station in Pinney (1971). Some of the early history of the station has already been covered in chapter 6 of the thesis.

5. The main background literature on the Land Company is to be found in Parry (1968), Palmer (1971), Pinney (1971 and 1981) and Cuff (1982).

6. The fact that the remaining 23,000 acres of Hakataramea Station was flat to gentle hill country was not appreciated by many people, who presumed that the station was made up of the high country on the nearby Kirkliston Range.

7. These three, with members of their respective families, registered a ten-man company on November 21st, 1978. The name of this company was Doupatmic Holdings Limited of Timaru - a compilation of their three christian names. On February 15th, 1979, the name was changed to Hakataramea Station Limited, and this was registered on the following day. The final agreement on the transfer of the property was signed on February 28th, 1979 and registered at 11.41am on March 9th, 1979.

8. Members of the committee were as follows : Graham Swinney, chairman of Upper Waitaki Federated Farmers; Garfield Hayes, immediate past president of the branch and Vice President of North Otago Federated Farmers; John Matheson, Federated Farmers member; John McKenzie, chairman of the Upper Waitaki Young Farmers Club; Robbie Cochrane, Young Farmers Club member; and Donald McCaw, Young Farmers Club member. They held their first meeting on October 2nd (Timaru Herald, October 2nd, 1978).

9. The members of Taylor's committee were: Forbes Taylor, a local businessman and member of the Waitaki County Council; Jim Wilkinson, a retired farmer who was a member of Federated Farmers and also the Upper Waitaki Returned Servicemen's Association; Eileen Cochrane, a farmer's wife and provincial president of the North Otago branch of the Womens' Division of Federated Farmers; Murray Collins, a draughtsman with the Waitaki Catchment Commission and secretary of the Kurow Citizens and Ratepayers Association; and Jim Chapman, a retired farmer and former member of the Oamaru Harbour Board. Also represented from the Farmer's Committee were Garfield Hayes, Graham Swinney, John McKenzie and Donald McCaw (see Timaru Herald, December 5th, 1978).

10. See the Timaru Herald, October 10th, 1978. Taylor had unsuccessfully sought the National Party nomination for Oamaru in 1975 when Jonathan Elworthy was selected. Two elections previous to that, he had contested the Ashburton seat for the short-lived New Zealand Country Party. In November 1978, he was described by Prime Minister Muldoon as "a dissident National Party supporter with no official status" (Oamaru Mail, November 13th, 1978). He later joined

the Labour Party but subsequently became disillusioned with that too.

11. The notice announcing the meeting read in part: "Waitaki Electors, Are you concerned with ineffective local representation in Parliament? The present course of action of the National Party under the leadership of the Prime Minister? New Zealand the way you are getting it? If so, you are invited to attend a Public Meeting to discuss these problems together with the following options: (1) Do we find an alternative National candidate? (2) Do we support collectively only one of the other three candidates? (3) Do we withhold our vote at the election?" (Oamaru Mail, October 10th, 1978). The meeting was to be held in the Kurow Hall at 8pm on Wednesday, October 11th and had been called by councillor Taylor.

12. Oamaru Mail, February 12th, 1908.

13. Sir William Steward was Member of the House of Representatives for Waitaki, while John MacPherson was Member for Mount Ida.

14. The Hon G. Jones, the proprietor of the Oamaru Mail sent apologies for absence to the February 20th meeting - ill health prevented him attending - but he assured "the promoters of the movement" that they could confidently count upon his assistance "both in his capacity as proprietor of the Oamaru Mail and as a Member of the Upper Chamber". (Oamaru Mail, February 21st, 1908).

15. Oamaru Mail, February 18th, 1908. This article provided a reasonably detailed description of the farming country to be found in the lower Hakataramea Valley and in Cattle Creek at the time. The writer foresaw Hakataramea becoming "an important centre of agricultural and pastoral industry, substantially increasing in population and wealth as the years rolled on". The article concluded by saying "Other industries would spring up and the traffic on the railway would be augmented as usual, as a reward to the State for having performed a service which blesses him who gives as well as him who takes".

16. Oamaru Mail, February 18th, 1908. The Cheviot estate had been settled in 1893 and Waikakahi in 1899.

17. Oamaru Mail, February 21st, 1908. The article was headlined "Hakataramea Estate. Enthusiastic Meeting - Resumption Demanded".

18. Thomas Duncan was Member of the House of Representatives for Oamaru.

19. Oamaru Mail, February 24th, 1908.

20. The two largest leases - one of 15,485 acres and the other of 14,850 acres - were retained by the Land Company. They paid 830 pounds for the two leases. Of the remaining leases, a local farmer, John Fitzsimmonds, paid 760 pounds for 7,450 acres (one lease); another local farmer Norman Hayes paid 95 pounds for 853 acres (two leases); and a third local farmer, William Ross, paid 158 pounds for 1055 acres (two leases). Hayes also bought 27 acres of freehold land for 40 pounds and Ross bought 32 acres of freehold land for 88 pounds. The two remaining freehold lots were sold to the Kelcher Bros who were local farmers (572 acres for 1,430 pounds) and to Bernard O'Brien, a local farm worker (100 acres for 150 pounds). Oamaru Mail, February 24th, 1908.

21. Oamaru Mail, March 4th, 1908.

22. Oamaru Mail, March 11th, 1908.

23. Oamaru Mail, March 12th, 1908.

24. By the time it was finally submitted, however, there were 230 signatures on the petition (Oamaru Mail, April 29th, 1908).

25. Oamaru Mail, March 21st, 1908. It is not known who the "private purchasers" might have been, but, given the eventual outcome of the issue in 1978, this train of events represents a remarkable coincidence.

26. Oamaru Mail, April 29th, 1908.

27. Ibid.

28. Oamaru Mail, April 30th, 1908. This was to be the first of a great many misreadings of Government intentions.

29. Ibid.

30. This land was to the west of Milne's Road and was disposed of in seven freehold sections ranging from 67 acres to 429 acres. With the exception of two properties, all of the land was taken up by local people.

31. Quoted from Television New Zealand programme, "Dateline Monday", October 16th, 1978,

32. Oamaru Mail, October 12th, 1978.

33. The letter was dated August 14th, 1952. Material from this section has been drawn from the files of the Upper Waitaki Returned Servicemen's Association and from interviews with Jim Wilkinson and Ross Maxwell, both of whom were longstanding R.S.A. members in Kurow.

34. Corbett's letter was dated October 30th, 1952. At the end of his letter, the Minister said: "The suggestion that the property would make 17 subdivisions is not supported by any

of the reports received. These extend over a long period, as I find that the administration in 1943 had at that time the question of acquiring Hakataramea under review. The investigation then, and subsequent reports, have all resulted in reports adverse to acquisition".

35. This point was communicated in an interview with Ross Maxwell. As well as being a member of the R.S.A., Ross was also Chief Soil Conservator with the Waitaki Catchment Commission in Kurow.

36. This meeting took place on the morning of Friday, June 20th. The two R.S.A. executive members were D. Wood of Dunedin and T. McCulloch of Oamaru.

37. Quoted from a letter sent by Wood to Jim Wilkinson, dated 28th July, 1952. He strongly advised the Upper Waitaki R.S.A. to prepare a submission to the Minister.

38. Undated report prepared by McCulloch.

39. In an undated letter to Kidd, the Minister said: "I ... asked the Director-General of Lands to make a further approach to the owners to see if they would be interested in selling and this was done through the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Christchurch. The Company has replied to the effect that it does not wish to sell the property and in these circumstances I am afraid there is little prospect of acquiring the land in the reasonably near future".

40. This emerged as supposition in a letter from the Upper Waitaki R.S.A. to the North Otago R.S.A. in a letter dated September 1st, 1954.

41. This comment appeared in McCulloch's undated report on the June 20th meeting. Moeraki had been subdivided just after World War II for soldier settlement. An area of 4,449 acres had been divided up into about twelve farms.

42. The other member of the delegation was Hakataramea farmer Bert Walker.

43. The matter was recorded on pages 27-28 of the minutes of the R.S.A. Dominion Executive Committee, March 2nd, 1954.

44. The local representatives at this meeting were Bert Walker and Wharekuri runholder, Max Croft.

45. Information contained in a letter from the Secretary of the Upper Waitaki R.S.A. to the executive of the North Otago R.S.A., dated September 1st, 1954. Acquiring the freehold land appears to have been only part of the problem. There was also the question of the leasehold land that was Canterbury College endowment land. In June 1952, Corbett had indicated to Wood and McCulloch that this was the part that he was "most worried about" insofar as he had previous

experience of dealing with the gentlemen concerned and had found them "very tough to deal with" (undated report from McCulloch).

46. Quoted in a letter from J.M. Ritchie to Ross Maxwell, dated June 9th, 1954. Ritchie was Managing Director of the National Mortgage and Agency Company of New Zealand Limited who were agents in New Zealand for the Land Company. Ross Maxwell at that time was Secretary of the Upper Waitaki R.S.A.

47. The local representatives at this meeting were Jim Wilkinson, Max Croft and Bert Walker.

48. In his letter to Ross Maxwell, dated June 9th, 1954, Ritchie had outlined some background to the Land Company's involvement in pastoral production in New Zealand. They had commenced operations in New Zealand in the 1860s and by 1880 had acquired eighteen to twenty large properties in the South Island. These included "Totara" (14,464 acres freehold), "Ardgowan" (6,260 acres freehold), "Moeraki" (8,413 acres freehold and 25,000 acres leasehold), "Kurow" (47,360 acres) as well as "Hakataramea" (57,728 acres freehold and 97,700 acres leasehold). The remaining properties were scattered throughout South Otago and Southland. Since 1880, all of these properties had been resumed by the Crown with the exception of Hakataramea. Ritchie claimed that this had been done "with the full cooperation of the Land Company".

49. Letter from Ritchie to Maxwell, dated June 9th, 1954.

50. Detail provided from letter from the General Secretary of the R.S.A. to the Minister of Lands, dated February 14th, 1958. The land was to provide two sheep and cropping units and applications were sought from suitably graded ex-servicemen. The successful applicants were to be given possession on Wednesday, 12th April 1956. Those successful applicants were Alex Taylor and Harry Murcott.

51. As a result of their meeting with the Prime Minister on May 11th of that year, the Messrs Croft and Walker had formed the opinion that "the task ahead is not to prove the suitability of the property for subdivision, but to persuade the P.M. to use compulsory acquisition" (information contained in letter from Upper Waitaki R.S.A. to North Otago R.S.A., dated September 1st, 1954).

52. Letter from Secretary of the Upper Waitaki R.S.A. to the Chairman of the D.E.C. Lands Committee, dated February 2nd, 1956.

53. Details of the meeting have been obtained from a letter from the General Secretary of the R.S.A. to the Minister of Lands, dated February 14th, 1958.

54. Resolution contained in letter of February 14th, 1958 from the R.S.A. to the Minister of Lands.

55. Minutes of Upper Waitaki Branch of National Party, May 10th, 1957. In the light of subsequent developments, it is interesting to note that the secretary of the local branch at that time was Doug McIlraith.

56. Details of the motion were contained in the letter sent from the General Secretary of the R.S.A. to the Minister of Lands, dated February 14th, 1958.

57. I attended this meeting and the informal gathering that followed it later in the evening as a participant observer. My sponsor in both settings was Murray Collins and so I was able to listen in to conversations that he had with councillor Taylor.

58. The main sources of data for this section were as follows: interviews with three of the main people involved in the issue - Garfield Hayes, Doug McIlraith and Forbes Taylor; a comprehensive set of newspaper clippings that were compiled as the issue unfolded from September 1978 to the end of the year; certificates of title relating to Hakataramea Station; personal correspondence held by Garfield Hayes and Doug McIlraith and a copy of the extensive dossier on the issue compiled by Forbes Taylor's Action Group. This dossier was used by them as the basis for their pressure to have a judicial enquiry set up on the issue. I also tape recorded radio news items and video-taped television programmes that were relevant. Lastly, as a participant observer I had access not only to formal meetings in October of 1978 but also to a number of informal meetings. I also discussed the issue informally with a number of people in the district during the normal course of research.

59. This comment was made during an interview on September 28th, 1982.

60. Letter from Upper Waitaki Federated Farmers to Dalgety NZ Ltd, dated September 28th, 1978.

61. The Dalgety representatives who attended this meeting were Ron Hayes, Rural Manager, David MacDougal, Managing Director and Lindsay Papps, Chairman of Directors.

62. The Dalgety representatives at this meeting were the same as at the first. The local farmers were represented by Garfield Hayes and Keith Cleave.

63. The company subsequently decided to leave the subdividing to the Lands and Survey Department because of the costs involved in providing roading, water, power and fencing (see report in Christchurch Press and Otago Daily Times, November 14th, 1978).

64. This support was conveyed in a letter dated April 17th, 1977.

65. Letter from Minister of Lands to Upper Waitaki Federated Farmers, dated August 3rd, 1977.

66. This letter was dated September 29th, 1978. The Government had set aside $1 million a year for purchase of land for quick settlement (i.e. to be settled within three years of purchase). At a meeting in Cattle Creek on November 1st, 1978, Venn Young indicated that using this money to buy Hakataramea Station would have interfered with the Government's plans for settling land in the Wairarapa (see Waimate Daily Advertiser, November 2nd, 1978).

67. Headlines such as the following became quite common in the local papers : "Government Decision Angers Farmers" (Oamaru Mail, Sept 15th), "Government Inaction Angers Federated Farmers" (Ashburton Guardian, Sept 22nd), "Borough Council Wants Govt to Buy Haka Station" (Oamaru Mail, Sept 26th), "Oamaru Borough Joins Plea for Haka Purchase" (Oamaru Mail, Sept 27th), "N. Otago YFC Challenges MP Over Station" (Timaru Herald, Oct 2nd), "Waimate County Council Urges the Govt to buy Haka Station" (Timaru Herald, Oct 3rd).

68. See the Oamaru Mail, October 4th, 1978, the Timaru Herald, October 5th, 1978 and the Otago Daily Times, October 5th, 1978. The Cattlemen's statement was made on the basis of the following estimates: "Even with $40,000 of his own, a young man would have only 10-12 per cent equity in his farm. His annual interest bill would be $12 per ewe equivalent. With freight costs to and from the area (80 cents to $1 per lamb to port works) and service charges established on this mileage, we estimate running expenses would exceed income quite substantially. Wages for an assistant to cope with 3-4,000 stock units would add another $1.50 per ewe equivalent".

69. Oamaru Mail, September 15th, 1978.

70. Doug McIlraith was elected to the Wool Board as a grower representative on August 22nd, 1973 (Christchurch Press, August 23rd, 1973). His election followed in the wake of discontent among farmers with Government proposals for the compulsory acquisition of wool by a Wool Marketing Corporation. The proposal had the support of the Wool Board and of Federated Farmers, but grassroots opposition to the scheme resulted in the formation of the Sheep and Cattlemans Association in October of 1972. Doug McIlraith was the first South Island chairman of the new Association. In the elections for the electoral committee of the Meat and Wool Board in July of 1973, opponents of compulsory acquisition won 18 of the 25 seats on the committee. This laid the basis for McIlraith's election to the Wool Board.

71. Dalgety advised the Government orally of its intention to sell in August of 1977. This was confirmed by Dalgety in a

letter dated September 20th, 1977 and a firm offer to sell to the Government was made in a letter dated December 21st, 1977 (Timaru Herald, November 4th, 1978; Christchurch Press, November 14th, 1978; Christchurch Star, November 18th, 1978).

72. By this stage, McIlraith had expressed an opinion of interest to Dalgety that he was willing to purchase the station, plus stock and plant, at valuation.

73. The letter, in fact, was signed by Dalgety NZ's Chief Administration Manager, Mark Anderson.

74. The ten-man company was not formally registered until November 21st, 1978. Prior to that the consortium had existed as an informal grouping of men who farmed together.

75. This was admitted by the Minister of Lands after the sale to the syndicate had been made public. The admission was made at a meeting held in Cattle Creek on November 1st (see Otago Daily Times, November 2nd, 1978). The relevant section in the newspaper report reads as follows: "Replying to a final question, the Minister admitted that he knew of the interest by the syndicate in buying the station at the time the Government made its decision not to buy".

76. This was reported in the Oamaru Mail on September 20th, 1978. Elworthy's statement was met by the following headlines: "Labour Would Buy Haka Station Promises Rowling" (Oamaru Mail, Sept 21st) and "Socred Want Haka Station" (Waimate Daily Advertiser, Sept 22nd).

77. Timaru Herald, September 21st, 1978.

78. Christchurch Press, September 22nd, 1978.

79. Oamaru Mail, September 20th, 1978.

80. Christchurch Press, September 22nd, 1978.

81. Reported in the Oamaru Mail, September 19th, 1978.

82. Ibid.

83. Timaru Herald, September 26th, 1978. This was despite the fact that earlier that month, Dalgety NZ had reported a fall in net trading profit for the year ended June 30th of 16.6% (the profit was $5.4 million). Commenting on this, the Chairman of Directors, Lindsay Papps said "The group has had a very difficult year, caused mainly by the pressure of costs and the very tight liquidity experienced during the period." (Christchurch Press, September 15th, 1978).

84. This telegram was sent on September 29th, 1978. Five days earlier, at a combined meeting in Kurow for election candidates, Elworthy had stated that, in his opinion, Hakataramea Station was "too dear" for the Government to buy.

Fifty people were reported to have attended the meeting, and they were also addressed by local candidates for the Labour, Social Credit and Values Parties (Timaru Herald, September 25th, 1978).

85. The names of the members of the farmer's committee were provided earlier in the chapter; see footnote 8 above.

86. Christchurch Press, October 9th, 1978.

87. This was confirmed verbally by Doug McIlraith when I interviewed him on November 22nd, 1982.

88. The earliest mention of a price that I could find was in an Ashburton Guardian article of September 22nd, 1978, where the figure that was mentioned was $4.5 million. On November 14th, David MacDougal denied that the selling price for the Station was anywhere near the $5 to $6 million that was being suggested. In fact, he said it was "well short" of this figure and was sold at the same figure offered to the Government (see Otago Daily Times, Christchurch Press and Christchurch Star, November 14th, 1978). Prime Minister Rob Muldoon followed this up that same day by saying that the property had been offered to the Government for $2.5 million plus an additional $900,000 for stock and chattels (Christchurch Press, November 15th, 1978). Earlier in November, the Mayor of Timaru, Mr S.R. Bennett, had stated that he had it on "unimpeachable authority" that Hakataramea's complete selling price - land, buildings and stock - was $3 million (see Otago Daily Times, Oamaru Mail, Timaru Herald, November 1st, 1978). Land transfer documents indicate that title to the land changed hands for $2 million.

89. The three mortgages recorded against the property on February 28th, 1979, were to the National Mutual Life Association of Australasia Limited, the National Bank of New Zealand Limited and Mount Fortune Pastoral Company Limited, the sellers. See also Timaru Herald of November 14th, 1978 for a Government denial that there was Rural Bank money involved in the deal.

90. Elworthy received 7744 votes, 42.8% of the 18,088 votes cast. His majority was down by 485 votes from the previous election. A significant feature of the polling, however, was the large swing to Social Credit in the Kurow district booths. In three polling places - Cattle Creek, Haka Valley and Haka Township - Elworthy lost 72 votes on the number cast in 1975 and the majority of these went to Social Credit, who increased their vote in these booths from 8 in 1975 to 70. There was a similar pattern in Kurow Township, where Social Credit gained 69 votes on 1975. Overall, Social Credit received 30% of the 696 votes cast in the Kurow District. Forty per cent went to National and the other 30% to Labour.

91. Jim Wilkinson was not the only person to resign publicly from the National Party that night. He was joined in his protest by Don Matheson, a local runholder. They both expressed

disappointment in the performance of the local member, Jonathan Elworthy, and incredulity that the government could not find the necessary money. Wilkinson said he felt sick in his stomach when he read this and contrasted it with recent government pay-outs of $3 million to the freezing workers, $4 million to the unions to set up ballots for compulsory unionism and $260 million to public servants. Don Matheson died not long after this. Jim Wilkinson later rejoined the National Party.

92. On November 9th, 1979, the Timaru Herald reported: "Anger still simmers in the valley today but it is not directed at the new station owners but at the Government ...".

93. Names of the members of Taylor's committee were provided earlier in the chapter; see footnote 9 above.

94. A headline in the Christchurch Star of December 16th, 1978, read "Haka Row now a 'Range War'". The report read in part: "The controversy over the sale of Hakataramea Station in South Canterbury is turning into what locals describe as a range war. Members of groups opposed to the station's sale to private interests are regularly woken in the early hours by abusive and threatening telephone callers trying to 'scare them off', it was claimed today. The bitterness was cutting deep into the community." A similar item in the Timaru Herald on December 7th had been headlined "Midnight Phone Calls on Haka".

95. This comment was offered by Doug McIlraith during my interview with him on November 22nd, 1982.

96. This had been done with two main pieces of legislation: The Mortgagor's Relief Act of 1931, and the Mortgagor's and Tenant's Relief Act of 1932. Both of these Acts were subject to a number of subsequent amendments. A useful discussion of this period in New Zealand's economic history can be obtained from chapter 11 of R.M. Burdon's book The New Dominion, A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1965.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1890 TO 1982

INTRODUCTION

In Chapters 6 to 13, the historical development of the district was discussed, and this chapter summarises some of the information that emerged from the historical reconstruction on changes in population structure, occupational structure, property ownership, kinship density and continuity. This will set a foundation for the theoretical considerations of the next chapter.

POPULATION STRUCTURE

An inspection of census figures for the Kurow district gives the impression that its population changed little between 1896 and 1981. Aggregating locality figures gives a total of 1,129 and 1,180 people respectively for these two years, and whatever variation there was in the years between tended to be relatively minor, with the lowest recorded population being 1,019 (1901) and the highest 1,305 (1966).

The census is unable to give us any further insight than this into the development of the district's population, but historical reconstruction has shown that significant population changes can be traced behind this facade of seeming stability. For example, Table 14.1 shows how the population was distributed by localities between 1905 and 1982.

Localities where there have been significant decreases in population were Kurow Vicinity, Paddy's Flat, Wharekuri, Haka-taramea Township and Otekaike, but the reasons for decline were not the same in all cases. Decreases in the first three resulted from marginally productive properties being aggregated into

Table 14.1 : Population by Locality, 1905 to 1982

LOCALITY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Kurow Township	23%	17%	20%	27%	30%	36%
Kurow Vicinity	8%	4%	2%	4%	5%	2%
Paddy's Flat	11%	12%	9%	7%	5%	5%
Otiake	15%	10%	11%	9%	8%	9%
Otekaike	0%	18%	15%	13%	11%	8%
Wharekuri	13%	8%	3%	3%	4%	4%
Haka Township	12%	9%	11%	9%	7%	5%
Mount Parker	3%	4%	5%	4%	5%	4%
Waitangi	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%
Haka Valley	12%	14%	18%	15%	16%	16%
Cattle Creek	0%	4%	6%	7%	7%	11%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	897	1074	1160	1174	1229	1171

larger units. In the case of Hakataramea Township, the main factors were the loss of economic services in the township and an increasing incidence of absentee ownership of houses. The decreasing population in Otekaike appears to be simply the outcome of consolidation of settlement as some marginally productive units were aggregated and the locality achieved a measure of stability in its farming. Otekaike and Otiake occupy roughly the same land area and have equivalent numbers of farm properties given over to the same kinds of farming. Otekaike was settled thirty years after Otiake, however, and at comparable stages their population profiles are not too dissimilar.

Localities where there were increases in population are Kurow Township and Cattle Creek. The Cattle Creek figures show the result of gradual and increasing settlement, while the Kurow

Township figures reflect a process of consolidation after World War II as new houses were built and new economic and government services were developed to support an expanding farming sector. A recent tendency for people to remain in the district on retirement and for outsiders to retire into the district also helped to increase the population of the township.

Population figures for the other localities, Mount Parker, Waitangi, Otiake and Haka Valley show reasonable stability, especially between 1920 and 1982. Mount Parker and Waitangi were both small localities (at least in terms of population) so the fact that there was no great change in their populations is perhaps to be expected. Otiake and Haka Valley were the two longest established farming localities in the district, and so they obviously attained some measure of stability in their farming subsequent to 1920.

A summary of how the population was distributed between the two provincial segments of the district and between the two locality types of townships (Kurow and Hakataramea) and rural localities is shown in Table 14.2. Initial settlement in the district was mainly in the Otago localities, as shown by the high proportion of population in these localities in 1905 and 1920. The Otago localities continued to predominate subsequently, but the difference between the two segments was tempered by settlement in Cattle Creek and the decrease in some of the Otago localities. Despite the decrease in population in Hakataramea Township, the growth of Kurow Township was sufficient to ensure that the townships achieved increasing importance within the district relative to the rural localities.

Table 14.2 : Population by Provincial Segment and Locality Type, 1905 to 1982

CATEGORY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Otago Localities	71%	69%	60%	63%	64%	64%
Canterbury Loc's	29%	31%	40%	37%	36%	36%
Townships	35%	26%	31%	36%	37%	41%
Rural Localities	65%	74%	69%	64%	63%	59%

Historical reconstruction also showed that the number of households in the district increased by almost half between 1920 and 1982, with the result that the average size of households decreased from 4.8 persons in 1905 to 3.2 in 1982 - Table 14.3.

Table 14.3 : Population and Households, 1905 to 1982

CATEGORY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Adults	592	716	801	744	729	760
Children	305	358	359	430	500	411
Total Population	897	1,074	1,160	1,174	1,229	1,171
No. of Households	187	253	263	312	332	368
Average Size	4.8	4.2	4.4	3.8	3.7	3.2
Child/Adult Ratio	1.9	2.0	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.9

Despite these changes, however, the ratio of children to adults in the population did not vary too considerably. There was one child to every 1.9 adults in 1905 and this was what the

ratio had returned to by 1982. With the exception of 1965, there were roughly two adults to every child in the district.

The ratio of males to females in the population was also fairly consistently equal between 1905 and 1982, but there were interesting differences here between adults and children - see Table 14.4.

Table 14.4 : Proportions of Males and Females, 1905-82

CATEGORY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Total Males	52%	53%	54%	52%	51%	50%
Total Females	48%	47%	46%	48%	49%	50%
Male Adults	54%	54%	54%	53%	54%	52%
Female Adults	46%	46%	46%	47%	46%	48%
Male Children	50%	52%	53%	51%	48%	46%
Female Children	50%	48%	47%	49%	52%	54%

While there were consistently more males than females among the adults (by a ratio of approximately 1 male to 0.9 females), this was reversed among the children in 1965 and 1982, when females outnumbered males for the first time. Reasons for this have been discussed in earlier chapters, where the family-formation process of farmers was suggested as a causative factor.

The fact that the proportions of males and females remained relatively constant among the adults is surprising given the fact that the numbers of single adults decreased considerably after 1935. From a high of 324 in 1935, the number of single adults dropped considerably to 174 in 1950 and then to 128 in 1982. It is interesting that there were equivalent decreases in

the numbers of single females and single males during these years. A comparison of the marital status of adults is shown in Table 14.5.

Table 14.5 : Marital Status of Adults, 1905 to 1982

MARITAL STATUS	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Married	52%	58%	55%	72%	76%	77%
Single	44%	39%	40%	23%	19%	17%
Widowed	4%	3%	4%	4%	4%	4%
Other	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	592	716	801	744	729	760

The main changes of significance in this table are the increase in the proportion of married adults and the corresponding decrease in the proportion of single adults since 1905. Two factors worked together to produce these changes. First, the increased number of households in the district subsequent to 1935 had the effect of increasing the number of married adults. Second, decreasing employment opportunities in the district after 1935 had the dual effect of reducing not only the number of single farm workers but also the incentive for young people (both male and female) to remain in the district after finishing school.

Again, however, it is interesting to note that despite the increase in the number of households and the proportion of married adults in the district, the distribution of household types varied very little from 1905 to 1982 - see Table 14.6.

Table 14.6 : Household Types, 1905 to 1982

HOUSEHOLD TYPE	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Nuclear Family	62%	60%	59%	61%	66%	55%
Conjugal - Young	6%	12%	14%	11%	8%	7%
Conjugal - Old	8%	6%	5%	8%	8%	16%
Extended Family	6%	1%	3%	2%	1%	2%
Single Parent	5%	6%	4%	4%	2%	2%
Single Adult	5%	9%	5%	6%	9%	13%
Related Adult	4%	4%	9%	5%	6%	4%
Unrelated Adult	3%	3%	2%	3%	2%	2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	187	253	263	312	332	368

While the nuclear family clearly remained the predominant household type during these years, indications of an aging population are the decrease in nuclear-family households and households comprising young couples ("conjugal young") and the corresponding increase in single-adult households (mainly old people living on their own) and households comprising older couples ("conjugal old").

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The occupational distribution of heads of households is shown in Table 14.7 where the "non-occupational" category basically comprises retired households. The gradual increase in this category and its particular size in 1982 confirms the aging nature of the population.

Table 14.7 : Occupations of Heads of Households, 1905-82

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farmer	28%	41%	37%	37%	31%	32%
Business	17%	12%	7%	7%	8%	11%
Farm Manager	4%	4%	3%	2%	3%	1%
White Collar	8%	6%	7%	8%	10%	13%
Farm Manual	25%	20%	21%	22%	16%	12%
Other Manual	9%	10%	14%	12%	19%	11%
Non-Occupational	9%	6%	11%	13%	12%	21%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	187	253	263	312	332	368

Other points of interest from Table 14.7 are the decline in the farm manual category (reflecting changes in the farming sector), the increase in the white collar category (reflecting increased bureaucratisation in Kurow Township) and the persistently high proportion of farmer households. The contraction and then expansion in the business category no doubt reflected fluctuations in business opportunities in the district, with the lowest level coming in 1935.

These trends can be seen more clearly in the occupational distribution of adult males - see Table 14.8. The most noticeable feature of the data in this table is the decline in the farm manual category. Some of these men were heads of households, but a number of them were single, and this is the occupational dimension to the decrease in the number of single men in the district noted earlier.

Table 14.8 : Occupations of Adult Males, 1905 to 1982

ADULT MALES	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farmer	18%	27%	24%	32%	29%	30%
Business	12%	9%	5%	6%	7%	11%
Farm Manager	3%	2%	3%	1%	2%	1%
White Collar	4%	4%	4%	6%	10%	12%
Farm Manual	50%	45%	48%	36%	26%	20%
Other Manual	10%	10%	14%	12%	21%	13%
Non-Occupational	3%	3%	3%	7%	6%	14%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	317	384	430	391	390	395

The occupational distribution of women is set out in Table 14.9. It can be seen that only a small proportion of women were involved in the full-time paid work force (never more than 18%) and they were to be found in clerical or manual occupations, with a few owning small shops.

Table 14.9 : Occupations of Adult Females, 1905 to 1982

ADULT FEMALES	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Business	1%	-	1%	1%	1%	1%
Farm Manager	-	-	-	-	-	-
White Collar	1%	2%	4%	4%	2%	7%
Farm Manual	8%	9%	8%	1%	1%	3%
Other Manual	5%	3%	4%	5%	3%	4%
Non-Occupational	85%	86%	82%	90%	93%	85%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	275	332	371	353	339	365

A fuller breakdown of male occupations is provided in Table 14.10.

Table 14.10 : Occupational Status of Adult Males, 1905 to 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farmer - Employer	8%	8%	10%	7%	7%	5%
Family Farmer	9%	16%	11%	23%	20%	24%
Small Farmer	1%	4%	3%	2%	5%	1%
Farm Manager	3%	2%	3%	1%	1%	1%
Farm Worker - Son	11%	8%	12%	7%	5%	5%
Farm Worker - Unrelated	39%	37%	36%	29%	22%	15%
Farm Related	71%	75%	75%	69%	58%	52%
Professional	2%	2%	2%	2%	4%	6%
Managerial	2%	2%	2%	3%	4%	3%
Business Proprietor	3%	2%	1%	1%	2%	2%
Skilled Manual Proprietor	8%	6%	3%	4%	6%	6%
Petty Proprietor	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%
Clerical and Sales	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%
Skilled Manual	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%
Semi-Skilled Manual	5%	3%	7%	8%	13%	7%
Unskilled Manual	4%	5%	5%	3%	6%	5%
Non-Farm Related	26%	22%	22%	24%	37%	34%
Non-Occupational	3%	3%	3%	7%	6%	14%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	317	384	430	391	390	395

With the exception of 1905 and 1935, the number of adult males in the district remained constant at about 390, and farmers accounted for approximately one-third of them. The proportion of men in farm-related occupations declined quite sharply after 1935, however, and this was accounted for almost completely by a contraction in employment opportunities for farm workers, whether

related to farmers or not. The corresponding increases in non-farm related occupations are not so easily highlighted, but there were obvious increases over the 75-year period in the numbers of professionals, clerical and manual workers although these were not too great. The increase in the non-occupational category has already received comment.

Farmers were a consistently large occupational group within the male workforce, and a summary of their backgrounds is provided in Table 14.11.

Table 14.11 : District Farmers, 1905 to 1982

CATEGORY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
District Farmer in Previous Period	25%	22%	46%	38%	60%	43%
Son of District Farmer	21%	16%	30%	43%	25%	35%
Son of District Non-Farmer	8%	7%	5%	4%	5%	2%
New To District	46%	55%	19%	15%	10%	21%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	52	87	89	110	105	111

The data in this table show the consolidation of farming stock in the district. The proportions who were new to the district reached a high in 1920 (following the settlement of Otekaike Station), but then decreased considerably to 10% in 1965. The rise to 21% in 1982 is a reflection of farm settlement in Cattle Creek. Reconstructing the family backgrounds of these new farmers (i.e. whether or not their fathers were farmers) was fraught with difficulties and so was not attempted. In contrast

to the new farmers, the proportions who had either been district farmers in the previous period or who were sons of district farmers were relatively low in 1905 and 1920 but increased substantially after that.

The data in Table 14.11 indicate reasonably high levels of continuity and inheritance among district farmers. The fact that the farmer group was largely self-recruiting is obvious from the low proportion of farmers who had come from non-farming families in the district.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

In a rural district based on primary production, the main property of any consequence is land. The Kurow district comprised some 225,000 hectares of land (approximately 500,000 acres) the vast majority of it productive rural land (orchards, farms, sheep runs and sheep stations). The other property categories were smallholdings and residential sections in the two townships. If we consider all of these together, the level of property ownership among the population appears to have been reasonably high through time. Apart from a slight fall in 1935, the proportion of men owning land in the district rose from 41% in 1905 to 62% in 1982 - see Table 14.13 overleaf. Only a small proportion of women owned land, so the overall proportion of landowning adults was much lower than it was for men - 24% of adults in 1905 rising to 35% by 1982.

Table 14.13 : Proportions of Adults Owning Land, 1905 to 1982

	PROPORTIONS OWNING LAND		
YEAR	Adult Males	Adult Females	Total Adults
1905	41%	3%	24%
1920	45%	5%	26%
1935	37%	4%	21%
1950	47%	5%	27%
1965	46%	8%	28%
1982	62%	7%	35%

We have no comparable material from other districts against which to evaluate this for its typicality, but what it seems to show is a relatively high level of property ownership. On the basis of the data for men, for example, this would indicate that approximately two-thirds of households at the end of 1982 owned some land in the district.

While there was an increase in the proportion of people who held land in the district, this benefitted only a few and the nature of this benefit varied. Table 14.14 shows the proportions of adult males who owned various types of land between 1905 and 1982. These figures indicate that the expansion in land ownership that took place in the district during these years affected mainly smallholdings or town sections (i.e., land that was marginally productive or residential) and had little impact upon the ownership of farm land (i.e. the productive land). With the exception of 1905 and 1935, the proportion of district adult males who owned farm properties remained fairly constant at around 25% to 28%.

Table 14.14 : Proportions of Adult Males Owning District Land, 1905 to 1982

PROPERTY TYPE	PROPORTIONS OF ADULT MALES 1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farms	17%	25%	19%	26%	24%	28%
Smallholdings	8%	10%	9%	6%	5%	13%
Town Sections	13%	10%	9%	15%	17%	21%
None	59%	55%	63%	53%	54%	38%
NUMBER	317	384	430	391	390	395

It should be borne in mind that in 1905, pastoral companies and absentee landlords accounted for a fair proportion of land ownership in the district. By the later dates, this was much less a feature of land ownership in the district. In terms of property ownership there are three categories of men: those who owned no land at all, those who owned marginally productive smallholdings or residential land, and those who owned productive farm land. An indication of how these property-owning categories matched up with occupation is shown in Tables 14.15-17.

Table 14.15 : Occupational Distribution of Adult Males Owning No Land, 1905 to 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	PROPORTION OF CATEGORY '05	'20	'35	'50	'65	'82
Farmer	-	-	7%	11%	11%	3%
Business	21%	24%	25%	25%	19%	7%
Farm Manager	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
White Collar	92%	80%	83%	78%	84%	77%
Farm Manual	85%	82%	91%	81%	84%	89%
Other Manual	80%	69%	78%	79%	73%	58%
Non-Occupational	18%	42%	13%	41%	41%	9%
TOTAL	59%	55%	63%	53%	54%	38%

Table 14.16 : Occupational Distribution of Adult Males Owning Smallholdings or Town Sections, 1905 to 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	PROPORTION OF CATEGORY '05	'20	'35	'50	'65	'82
Farmer	-	-	13%	8%	8%	3%
Business	79%	72%	80%	75%	82%	93%
Farm Manager	-	-	-	-	-	-
White Collar	-	13%	17%	22%	16%	23%
Farm Manual	15%	18%	8%	18%	15%	11%
Other Manual	20%	31%	22%	21%	27%	42%
Non-Occupational	55%	50%	87%	48%	59%	89%
TOTAL	21%	20%	17%	21%	22%	34%

Table 14.17 : Occupational Distribution of Adult Males Owning Farm Land, 1905 to 1982

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	PROPORTION OF CATEGORY '05	'20	'35	'50	'65	'82
Farmer	100%	100%	81%	81%	81%	95%
Business	-	3%	-	-	-	-
Farm Manager	-	-	-	-	-	-
White Collar	8%	7%	-	-	-	-
Farm Manual	-	-	1%	1%	1%	-
Other Manual	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-Occupational	27%	8%	-	11%	-	2%
TOTAL	17%	25%	19%	26%	24%	28%

Among the men who owned no land were to be found consistently high proportions of farm managers, white collar and manual workers. Farmers who owned no land were sons farming with their fathers. The proportion of men in the business category who owned smallholdings or township sections was also high, with most of the other occupational groups also represented here to a lesser extent. Not surprisingly, farmers were the only occupational group with a consistently high proportion of farm ownership across these years. The other local men who had owned farms were a professional, two company managers, a butcher and some retired farmers who retained a financial interest in their properties. Farm properties that were owned by farm workers were small farms.

Among the owners of farm land (whether individual farmers or farm companies), there was variability in the amount of land that was owned and the amount of capital value that this represented - see Table 14.18.

In 1982, the thirty-six farms that were under 1,000 acres in size (i.e., three small farms and thirty-three middle farms) represented one-third of the farm properties in the district, but they accounted for only 4% of the farm land and 18% of the farm capital value. Their average capital value in 1982 was $146,000. The other two-thirds of the farms (i.e. properties over 1,000 acres in size) therefore occupied 96% of the farm land and accounted for 82% of the farm capital value. Their average capital value in 1982 was $366,600.

Given the fact that the proportion of capital value in sheep stations dropped substantially between 1890 and 1982 (from

Table 14.18 : Farm Properties, 1890 to 1982

CATEGORY		SMALL FARMS	MIDDLE FARMS	LARGE FARMS	SHEEP RUNS	SHEEP STATIONS	TOTAL
% OF PROPER-TIES	1890	26%	46%	7%	11%	9%	100%
	1905	21%	33%	13%	26%	7%	100%
	1920	21%	36%	11%	27%	5%	100%
	1935	9%	37%	18%	30%	4%	100%
	1950	12%	38%	16%	25%	6%	100%
	1965	8%	41%	21%	24%	5%	100%
	1982	3%	31%	28%	28%	5%	100%
% OF LAND AREA	1890	0.6%	4%	3%	10%	82%	100%
	1905	0.5%	3%	4%	27%	66%	100%
	1920	0.5%	4%	5%	34%	56%	100%
	1935	0.3%	4%	9%	44%	43%	100%
	1950	0.4%	4%	9%	33%	53%	100%
	1965	0.2%	5%	11%	35%	49%	100%
	1982	0.1%	4%	12%	40%	44%	100%
% OF CAPITAL VALUE	1890	1%	8%	9%	9%	73%	100%
	1905	2%	9%	9%	28%	52%	100%
	1920	3%	14%	14%	38%	29%	100%
	1935	1%	14%	21%	39%	23%	100%
	1950	2%	19%	19%	31%	26%	100%
	1965	1%	23%	23%	29%	22%	100%
	1982	1%	17%	29%	36%	14%	100%
AVERAGE SIZE (Acres)	1890	126	439	2,196	5,003	46,068	4,263
	1905	132	491	1,581	5,647	51,563	4,418
	1920	109	530	2,030	5,609	52,557	3,434
	1935	152	516	2,435	7,299	59,546	3,537
	1950	143	533	2,383	5,935	41,547	3,279
	1965	125	542	2,465	6,628	43,752	3,168
	1982	98	669	2,296	7,365	49,050	3,307

73% to 14%), there had obviously been a significant redistribution of wealth (as measured by capital value) during these years. The data in Table 14.18 show that this redistribution took place almost completely within the properties over 1,000 acres in size (large farms, sheep runs and sheep stations). In 1890, these three categories accounted for 91% of the capital value of farm land in the district, but by 1982, this had fallen to only 79%. There was still an increase in the value of middle farms between these years, but the increase was not as great as that for large farms and sheep runs. Between 1890 and 1982, the proportion of capital value represented by middle farms increased by a factor of two, while for large farms and sheep runs, the increase was by a factor of three and four respectively.

The average size of district properties decreased by 1,000 acres between 1890 and 1982 and the variability that occurred within the different property categories was not too great. By 1982, the most significant changes that had taken place were the decrease in size of small farms and the increase in size of middle farms and sheep runs. There is little indication here, therefore, of gross aggregation of land.

KINSHIP DENSITY

Not much is known about the historical development of kinship networks within New Zealand rural localities. The picture that is normally painted of late-nineteenth-century rural life in New Zealand is one of transiency and relative impermanence among the population. It might be reasonable to suppose from this, therefore, that kinship density would be relatively

low in the Kurow district for most of the initial period of settlement by Europeans (1850 to 1880). With the beginnings of closer settlement in the district around 1880, however, this began to change.

The Otiake locality was the first rural locality in the district to be settled, and it is significant that in 1890, only ten years after initial settlement, over half of the twenty-nine households in the locality already had kin living in the district. The majority of these kinship links had been formed through marriages that had taken place subsequent to people settling in the district. As a result of continued intermarriage and, in some cases, of family members settling in the district together, the kinship density within the district continued to increase such that, by 1905, approximately 40% of the households had kin in the district.

Since 1905 was the earliest of our historical reconstruction years, this provides the benchmark against which to measure later developments. The trend that emerges is one of a steadily increasing kinship density. By 1982, the proportion of households with kin in the district had increased to 59%, and the figures for adults with kin matched the household increase quite consistently - see Table 14.19 overleaf.

Lacking any comparable material against which to judge the significance of these figures, it would seem reasonable to conclude that they represent significantly high levels of kinship density among the district's population. This does not mean to say, of course, that all of these people viewed such kinship links with positive affect. Instances could be cited of

Table 14.19 : Kinship Density - 1905 to 1982

	PROPORTIONS WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
CATEGORY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Adult Males	35%	41%	49%	54%	51%	59%
Adult Females	42%	45%	50%	56%	52%	61%
ALL ADULTS	38%	43%	49%	55%	52%	60%
HOUSEHOLDS	40%	43%	51%	54%	52%	59%

animosity and suspicion between kin, especially with regard to issues of family property and inheritance. Likewise, the fact that kin lived in the same locality, sometimes indeed as neighbours, did not automatically mean that there was much social contact between them. Nevertheless, such high levels of kinship density indicate that, from the early days of closer settlement in the district, kinship did have the potential to be a significant basis for solidarity in the lives of large numbers of the population.

The summary information in Table 14.20 indicates that, with minor exceptions, this potential was spread throughout all of the localities in the district, for kinship density was fairly high in all of them throughout most of the periods. The fact that kinship densities were fairly high in the townships as well as in the rural localities should indicate that, while farmers may have been substantial owners of property in the district, they did not hold a similar monopoly over kinship links.

Table 14.20 : Kinship Density of Households, 1905 to 1982

	PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
LOCALITY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Kurow	30%	49%	50%	46%	41%	51%
Kurow Vicinity	34%	48%	54%	47%	51%	75%
Otiake	70%	56%	67%	65%	71%	68%
Otekaike	0%	26%	45%	49%	41%	53%
Wharekuri	24%	69%	45%	40%	64%	50%
NORTH OTAGO	38%	46%	52%	49%	47%	56%
Haka Township	42%	54%	44%	61%	67%	67%
Mount Parker	38%	30%	25%	75%	64%	83%
Waitangi	33%	0%	0%	33%	67%	33%
Haka Valley	52%	32%	61%	64%	60%	71%
Cattle Creek	0%	25%	64%	62%	57%	48%
SOUTH CANT	45%	38%	51%	63%	62%	64%
TOTAL	40%	43%	51%	54%	52%	59%

Table 14.21 compares kinship densities of different types of occupational households.

Table 14.21 : Kinship Density of Households by Occupation 1905 to 1982

	PROPORTION OF CATEGORY WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
HOUSEHOLDS	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farmer	51%	51%	63%	74%	74%	69%
Business	38%	45%	44%	39%	37%	46%
Farm Manager	71%	30%	14%	0%	30%	0%
White Collar	13%	6%	17%	19%	9%	21%
Farm Manual	32%	37%	52%	43%	48%	61%
Other Manual	24%	28%	36%	33%	35%	58%
Non-Occupational	63%	75%	63%	74%	80%	74%
TOTAL	40%	43%	51%	54%	52%	59%

It will be seen from Table 14.21 that, with the exception of white-collar and farm manager households, all other household types show reasonably consistent kinship densities through time. The category with the highest proportions of kinship linkage were farmer households (and they accounted for between a third and a half of households with kin in any one period), but reasonably high kinship densities were also to be found among farm manual, business and other manual households. The majority of non-occupational households tended to be retired farmers or farm workers. The information in this table therefore confirms the earlier comment that farmers may have been substantial owners of district property, but they held no similar monopoly over kinship links. This is further substantiated when we consider the occupations of male adults with kin - Table 14.22.

Table 14.22 : Kinship Density of Adult Males by Occupation, 1905 to 1982

ADULT MALES	PROPORTION OF CATEGORY WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farmer	51%	51%	66%	76%	75%	68%
Business	45%	42%	45%	33%	37%	50%
Farm Manager	40%	30%	36%	0%	13%	0%
White Collar	23%	7%	27%	26%	11%	19%
Farm Manual	29%	38%	44%	44%	52%	66%
Other Manual	23%	30%	40%	40%	62%	62%
Non-Occupational	55%	83%	60%	74%	73%	73%
TOTAL	35%	41%	49%	54%	51%	59%

A direct comparison of kinship density and property ownership leads to similar conclusions insofar as kinship density was high across all property-owning categories - see Table 14.23.

Table 14.23 : Kinship Density of Adult Males by Land Ownership, 1905 to 1982

ADULT MALES OWNING	PROPORTION OF CATEGORY WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farm Property	55%	50%	65%	74%	72%	68%
Small Holding	37%	48%	64%	56%	73%	71%
Town Section	39%	71%	64%	65%	57%	61%
No Land	28%	30%	39%	40%	38%	48%
TOTAL	35%	41%	49%	54%	51%	59%

The information in this table shows that men who owned farm properties were more likely to have kin in the district than men who owned small holdings or town sections, and they, in turn, were more likely to have kin in the district than men who owned no land at all. However, the proportions of men with kin in all of these categories were reasonably high and showed similar increases through time. Kinship density was therefore evenly spread throughout the district by locality, occupation and land ownership group. The one population characteristic that was significant with regard to kinship density was settler status in the district - see Table 14.24.

Table 14.24 : Kinship Density of Adults by Settler Status, 1905 to 1982

	PROPORTION OF CATEGORY WITH KIN IN DISTRICT					
CATEGORY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
ADULT MALES:						
Locals	61%	73%	80%	85%	87%	89%
Newcomers	34%	44%	52%	52%	39%	43%
Transients	19%	11%	10%	5%	7%	17%
Total	35%	41%	49%	54%	51%	59%
ADULT FEMALES:						
Locals	73%	68%	79%	88%	91%	96%
Newcomers	46%	49%	55%	59%	58%	59%
Transients	18%	10%	12%	5%	6%	13%
Total	42%	45%	50%	56%	52%	61%
ALL ADULTS	38%	43%	51%	54%	52%	59%

The proportion of locals with kin living in the district was consistently higher over these years - and this applied both to males and females - than for either newcomers or transients. Intergenerational continuity within the district therefore had a significant influence on kinship density where locality, occupation and land ownership did not. It is therefore to continuity that we next turn our attention.

CONTINUITY

The reconstruction procedures used in this study enabled the generation of a unique set of continuity data. Where other studies have had to restrict their focus to the occurrence of names in street directories at two points in time, usually a decade apart (see Pearson, 1980), the detailed nature of reconstruction procedures used in this study enabled multi-period comparisons to be made using a much wider data base than just street directories. This generated not only a more accurate set of data but also a more comprehensive one. It was thus possible to document the persistence of households and individuals over periods of 15, 30, 45 and even 60 years or more. The detail of how this was done has been recorded in previous chapters. A summary of the data that was generated for households and individuals is presented in Table 14.25 and 14.26 overleaf.

Before discussing whether these figures show high or low levels of persistence, some similarities in patterning between the two sets of data should be noted. For both households and individuals, the rates of persistence increase with the passage of time, and within roughly similar ranges. In terms of households that had been in the district for at least fifteen years, the proportion increased from 17% in 1905, to 24% in 1920, 33% in 1935 and 32% in 1950. A high of 41% was achieved in 1965 before the proportion dropped back to 34% in 1982. Smaller proportions had been in the district for at least thirty years but here again, a gradual increase is noticeable: 4% in 1920, 9% in 1935, 12% in 1950 and 1965, rising to 16% in 1982.

Table 14.25 : Continuity of Households, 1905 to 1982

CONTINUITY OF HOUSEHOLDS	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
There in 1890	17%	4%	1%	-	-	-
There in 1905	100%	24%	9%	2%	-	-
There in 1920	25%	100%	33%	12%	2%	-
There in 1935	9%	21%	100%	32%	12%	2%
There in 1950	3%	12%	40%	100%	41%	16%
There in 1965	-	3%	17%	44%	100%	34%
There in 1982	-	-	6%	19%	36%	100%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	187	253	263	312	332	368

Table 14.26 : Continuity of Individuals, 1905 to 1982

CONTINUITY OF INDIVIDUALS	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
There in 1890	21%	8%	3%	2%	1%	-
There in 1905	100%	30%	13%	7%	2%	1%
There in 1920	31%	100%	35%	18%	9%	4%
There in 1935	7%	36%	100%	37%	18%	10%
There in 1950	5%	9%	33%	100%	36%	20%
There in 1965	2%	4%	17%	37%	100%	34%
There in 1982	1%	1%	9%	18%	39%	100%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	897	1074	1160	1174	1229	1171

The proportions of individuals who had been in the district for fifteen or thirty years were slightly higher than this, but a roughly similar trend of increase is noticeable. A similar patterning can be found when we look at continuance, i.e., households and individuals who continued in the district beyond

the reconstruction period. Twenty-five percent of households in 1905 were to remain in the district for at least another fifteen years. By 1920, this proportion had fallen to 21%, but then it rose to 40% in 1935 and 44% in 1950 before falling to 36% in 1965. Again, we find a similar pattern among the individuals. While only 17% of 1905 individuals were to remain in the district for at least another fifteen years, this rose consistently to 39% in 1965. It is also noticeable that the greatest degrees of persistence for both households and individuals were to be found around the years 1935, 1950 and 1965.

There are indications here, then, of increasing levels of continuity within the district, but the overall level of continuity still appears to be quite low. The fact that 83% of the households in the district in 1905 had not been there in 1890 and that 75% did not continue until 1920 indicates a reasonably high level of transiency. Even by 1982, approximately two-thirds of the households and individuals had come to the district since 1965.

Contaminating factors in all of this, of course, are children who were born into the district between periods and adults who either married into the district between periods or died. Account was taken of this when the data on continuity were being coded. In comparing lists of names for the different dates, particular attention was paid to people who either had not been in the district at the previous date or who no longer lived there at the later date. Other documentation was then consulted in order to establish births, deaths and other movements. Table 14.27 addresses the issue of the retrospective mobility status of

district people at the various dates and separates out for attention those who came into the district between dates through birth, geographic mobility or marriage.

Table 14.27 : Retrospective Mobility Status
Adults and Children, 1905 to 1982

SINCE PREVIOUS DATE	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Resident in District	21%	30%	35%	37%	36%	34%
Moved into District	55%	43%	39%	36%	40%	44%
Born into District	23%	24%	24%	25%	21%	20%
Married into District	1%	2%	2%	4%	3%	2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	897	1074	1160	1174	1229	1171

The figures in this table give a more accurate impression of transiency, and they show that the proportion of the population who moved into the district from elsewhere was quite high in 1905 (55% of the population) but that this figure dropped to 36% by 1950 before rising again to 44% in 1982. This is a mirror-image of the continuity within the district, since the proportion of those resident between dates increased to 1950 before decreasing slightly. This is certainly a much lower level of transiency than would originally have been adduced from the figures in Table 14.26.

These conclusions need to be treated with caution, however, since there is still the issue of prospective mobility to be considered, i.e., people's mobility after the reconstruction dates. In order to get a more accurate impression

of transiency, we need to distinguish those who died from those who moved - see Table 14.28.

Table 14.28 : Prospective Mobility Status
Adults and Children, 1905 to 1982

AT NEXT DATE	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Still Resident	31%	36%	33%	37%	39%	-
Left District	66%	61%	63%	60%	58%	-
Died	2%	2%	4%	4%	3%	-
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	-
NUMBER	897	1074	1160	1174	1229	-

The picture that emerges is a little more confused, since there is no definite trend of continuity or transiency. This can be resolved by removing children from consideration and dealing only with the adults - see Table 14.29.

Table 14.29 : Prospective Mobility Status
Adults, 1905 to 1982

AT NEXT DATE	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Still Resident	30%	33%	33%	40%	42%	-
Left District	67%	64%	62%	54%	53%	-
Died	3%	3%	5%	6%	5%	-
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	-
NUMBER	592	716	801	744	729	-

Again, these figures confirm increasing levels of continuity among the district's population and decreasing levels of transiency. These trends are further confirmed by the decreasing proportion of adults who were only first generation in the district - see Table 14.30.

Table 14.30 : Generational Status of Adults, 1905 to 1982

GENERATION OF ADULTS	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
1st Generation	78%	70%	66%	61%	64%	64%
2nd Generation	21%	25%	20%	18%	13%	9%
3rd Generation	1%	5%	13%	18%	16%	14%
4th Generation	-	-	1%	4%	7%	11%
5th Generation	-	-	-	-	-	1%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	592	716	801	744	729	760

Adults who were more than first generation in the district were "locals", while those who were first generation could be either "newcomers" or "transients". The proportional distribution of these categories is shown in Table 14.31.

Table 14.31 : Settler Status of Adults, 1905 to 1982

SETTLER STATUS	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Locals	22%	30%	34%	39%	36%	36%
Newcomers	39%	40%	35%	35%	36%	46%
Transients	39%	30%	31%	26%	28%	18%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NUMBER	592	716	801	744	729	760

We saw in previous chapters that the occupational groups who showed greatest continuity in the district were farmers and farm workers. This is summarised in Table 14.32, where the proportions in these groups who were more than first generation in the district are shown, along with comparable proportions for all other adult male workers.

Table 14.32 : Generation of Adult Males by Occupational Group, 1905 to 1982

MORE THAN FIRST GENERATION	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Farmers	14%	25%	43%	61%	71%	65%
Farm Workers	32%	38%	37%	38%	43%	48%
Others	12%	11%	33%	29%	26%	27%
TOTAL	22%	28%	37%	43%	45%	46%
NUMBER	317	384	430	391	390	395

The farmer proportion rose steadily from 14% in 1905 to 71% in 1965 and then dropped slightly to 65% in 1982. At the first two dates (1905 and 1920), the proportion of farm workers who were more than first generation in the district was greater than that for farmers, but this changed after 1920 in favour of farmers. Nevertheless, the farm worker proportion also increased from 32% in 1905 to 48% in 1982. By comparison, the proportions of all other workers who were more than first generation in the district never matched those of the farming groups and were consistently lower, with the exception of 1935.
Intergenerational continuity was therefore greatest among farmers, and we can certainly attribute this to the factor of

land ownership. It is interesting, however, that continuity was also fairly marked among farm workers. The factor of land ownership does not hold the same explanatory power here, since the proportion of farm workers who owned no land in the district was consistently high (see Table 14.15). All that can be suggested here is that a combination of factors accounted for this persistence and that among these would have been attachment to rural lifestyle, presence of kin, employment opportunities, and the prospect of owning land. Probably the significance of these last two factors declined considerably in recent years. At any rate, farmers, farm workers and their families made up a large part of the core group who persisted in the district from year to year and provided a sense of intergenerational continuity.

The combination of land ownership and continuity suggests that farmers, more than farm workers, would have played a significant role in associational leadership within the district, and this is what was found. Church groups, school committees, civic organisations, lodges and many sports clubs all provided contexts within which particular farmers, or members of their families, exercised considerable responsibility. Farmers also played significant roles in articulating local causes and representing local interests at regional and even national level. The only organisations where farmers tended to be less prominent were either the more specifically township-oriented organisations, such as hall committees, citizens and ratepayers' association, and beautifying society, or the more culturally oriented, such as the community library. The ownership of land

therefore had significance in structuring relationships within the district insofar as it was a source of wealth, income, status and power for individual families (mainly farming families) and provided a basis for continuity within the district. The extent to which this was translated into collective identity and provided a basis for community formation is the issue to be taken up in the next chapter.

PART FOUR

DISCUSSION

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CONCLUSION

COMMUNITY FORMATION AND CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

The intention in this last chapter is to review the empirical material presented in Chapters 4 to 14 against the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2 to see what conclusions can be drawn about the community formation process in the Kurow district. Social organisation and differentiation in the district will be discussed within the framework of territorial and social boundaries. Propinquity, property and kinship have been identified as three key relationships within localities, and the ways in which these relationships have been structured, have taken on subjective affect ("communion"), and thus have contributed to collective action will be reviewed and analysed. The degree of autonomy that local people have been able to exercise over their economic, political and social affairs will also be considered and conclusions drawn about community formation in the light of this.

TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

As people live in proximity to one another, there is the possibility that a level of social organisation will develop between them that can be referred to as "latent community". The use of the term "latent" here implies that there is an objective dimension to this social organisation that need not necessarily be recognised by the people concerned, or indeed identified by them as a basis for collective action. For such latent community to become the basis for collective action, a collectively shared sentiment of "communion" or conscious identification needs to develop within the territorial area. Such consciousness

transforms the objectivity of "latent community" into the subjectivity of "manifest community" setting off a process of closure, and this often occurs in response to crisis, threat, disaster or challenge. This communion based on propinquity can be reinforced or contradicted by collective sentiment generated on the basis of other relationships (such as those based on property or kinship), a matter to which I shall return later. First, I review the development of "latent community" within the Kurow district.

The two key dimensions of "latent community" are territorial boundaries and social organisation, and the two main sets of factors that contribute to the establishment of territorial boundaries are geographical factors (i.e., topography) and social factors (i.e., catchment areas). I look at each of these in turn and examine their interrelationship within the Kurow district.

From its beginning, topography played an important role in defining geographical boundaries to the Kurow district. In South Canterbury, the Kirkliston Range to the west and the Hunters Hills to the east served as barriers to cut off the Hakataramea Valley from the rest of the province. Prior to closer settlement, the boundaries to Hakataramea Station had been ill-defined and had extended into the MacKenzie country. Operating over such an extensive area made the station vulnerable to attack by speculators, however, and by 1890 the station's operations were more responsive to the realities of topography and were restricted to the Hakataramea Valley. Subsequently, attempts were made to colonise land at the top end of the valley by farmers from Fairlie and Albury whose access was by the

Hakataramea and MacKenzie passes respectively. Likewise, land on the eastern side of the Hakataramea Valley was accessible to Waihaorunga farmers through the Meyers Pass in the Hunters Hills, and some valley land was bought from that quarter. All of these attempts to establish links into the valley from elsewhere in South Canterbury were unsuccessful, however, and, as the land was bought up by more locally-based farmers, the Hakataramea Valley and Cattle Creek became more firmly established as parts of the Kurow district.

In North Otago, the mountains of the St Mary's Range, running east to west, formed a southern boundary for Otekaike, Otiake, Kurow Vicinity and Wharekuri. Their northern boundary was clearly the Waitaki River. Otiake Creek and Kurow Creek separated Otekaike, Otiake and the Kurow locality while the Awakino River and Fern Gully Creek separated Wharekuri from Kurow and Otematata. In the original establishment of the North Otago runs, all of this land, plus a bit more between Otekaike and Duntroon, had been divided between four runs. Otekaike Station (run 28) lay between the Maerewhenua River and Kurow Creek, the boundaries to Kurow Station (run 23) were Kurow Creek and Fern Gully Creek, the boundaries to Rugged Ridges (run 243) were Fern Gully Creek and the Otematata River, and between it and the Otematata saddle lay Otematata Station (run 160).

Bridging these boundary streams was an early priority in the process of community formation within the district. Of greater importance, however, was the bridging of the Waitaki River. Established by governmental decree in 1856 as the provincial boundary between Anglican Canterbury and Presbyterian

Otago, the Waitaki River proved to be a formidable barrier to the development of communication between the two segments of the fledgling district. Ferries just below Kurow Gorge and upriver at Waitangi and Te Akatarawa, served to overcome the barrier to an extent (the last two permitting contact between runholders on the two sides of the river), but such operations were not without their inconveniences, mishaps and dangers. The development of property interests in the Hakataramea Valley by North Otago landowners required a more substantial link to be established, however, and so, in the late 1870s, the bridge between Kurow and Hakataramea was built. This was a factor of great significance in the development of the district. The mountains that separated the Hakataramea Valley from the rest of South Canterbury and the bridge that linked it to North Otago effectively transformed the valley into an extension of North Otago, thus nullifying some of the effect of the provincial edict of 1856.

Within Hakataramea Valley itself, boundaries between localities were set more by the activities of pastoral companies than by geography. The Hakataramea River, running down the middle of the valley was never substantial enough to pose major problems of access from either side. What was more significant was the fact that the west side of the valley was occupied by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company (Hakataramea Station), while the east side was occupied by Robert Campbell and Sons Limited (Station Peak). Some of the eastern land was freeholded by speculators in the late 1870s, and much of the rest was subdivided and settled from 1890 onwards but, because of the terrain and substantial absentee-landownership on this side of

the valley, settlement was never dense. Even by the 1930s, it was still being described as a "foreign land" by inhabitants on the west side of the river. On the west side, the gradual reduction in size of the operations of the Land Company's Hakataramea Station paved the way for settlement in the lower Hakataramea Valley and in Cattle Creek but the 25,000 acres of freehold land that the company continued to hold in the middle of the valley provided a very effective boundary between the two localities. Subdivision of the station subsequent to its purchase in 1978 by a private syndicate of farmers has reduced this somewhat, but the barrier is still there.

There are two areas in North Otago where the territorial boundaries to the district have always been indistinct - Otekaike and Otematata. Traditionally, the Otematata saddle, just west of the site of the Benmore Dam, has been taken as the western boundary of the district, but runholders at this end of the district seem to have had more of an economic affinity with Omarama and Mackenzie country runholders than with smaller property owners downriver. This link to the Omarama district has been reinforced by a number of other factors. First, the boundaries of the Campbell Company's landholdings extended into the Omarama district to include such properties as Benmore and Ben Ohau. Second, a number of Kurow district families were related by marriage to Omarama runholding families, and had been for generations. Third, Omarama was part of the Kurow Presbyterian parish until the development of Twizel and the Upper Waitaki power scheme made a separate parish possible. Fourth, many farm workers from the Kurow district earned a large part of

their livelihood from mustering and shearing on Omarama runs, and fifth, the Kurow and Omarama districts have been traditionally linked together as the Upper Waitaki. For these historical, economic and cultural reasons, strong links have been felt by some Kurow residents with the Omarama district.

In Otekaike, the competing links have been with the Duntroon district. Otekaike is part of the Duntroon telephone toll area and is also included in the Duntroon Presbyterian parish. This tended to make for greater social intercourse with Duntroon than with Kurow people. Historically too, Otekaike Station was linked with Duntroon rather than with Kurow, through the patronage of the Campbell family. Despite such links, however, a strong case can be made for including Otekaike in the Kurow district. A number of Otekaike farming families originated in the Otiake locality or in Kurow. The original Otekaike branch of the Farmer's Union (formed in 1920) included Kurow farmers, and Otekaike farmers today are part of the Kurow branch of Federated Farmers. The wives of Otekaike farmers were included in the Kurow branch of the Women's Division of the Farmer's Union, and Otekaike households were also included in the delivery rounds when Kurow stores made such deliveries. Duntroon stores also delivered to Otekaike, however, and some Otekaike farmers took their horses to Duntroon blacksmiths rather than to their counterparts further upriver in the Kurow district, so there has always been some tension in allegiances within the locality. Nevertheless, Cree's Corner on the road to Oamaru is normally taken by locals to be the boundary between Otekaike and Duntroon, and this provides an eastern boundary for the Kurow district.

In South Canterbury, the only place where the district boundary has been indistinct is in the Mount Parker locality, where some farmers oriented to Waimate as well as to Kurow. As with Otematata and Otekaike, there was no clear geographic barrier here to set a firm boundary, and where the district ended has depended to some extent on which families occupied the properties on the perimeter of the locality. The inclusion of the Mount Parker locality in the Kurow district has been reinforced historically, however, by three main factors: first, kinship attachments that some of the families have had with people living elsewhere in the district; second, attendance at Hakataramea Township School by some of its children (others attended Mount Parker School when it was operational); and third, the inclusion of Mount Parker on the Kurow telephone exchange and in postal and store delivery routes serviced from Kurow.

Thus, in the absence of topographical features, social catchments set boundaries to locality and district. In this case, the catchments were delivery routes set for postal and commercial services, school districts and telephone exchange, but they could just as easily have been boundaries set for local government areas or for parishes.

At times such administrative boundaries will complement and reinforce territorial boundaries to a district or locality, but at other times they will be at variance. The most striking example of this in the Kurow district is the fact that the Waitaki River separates Canterbury from Otago, and Waitaki County from Waimate County. Administratively, this has meant much local government planning that should have been done in tandem for the

benefit of the district has been allowed to develop relatively independently, as if oblivious to the fact that the two sides of the river were socially, economically and culturally inter-dependent. In the administrative servicing of the district too, many anomalies have developed. For example, the Kurow stock inspector's pest destruction responsibilities include the Mount Parker locality, but he has no involvement with the stock of the locality, since that is the responsibility of his counterpart from Waimate. The Kurow fire brigade is responsible for the area from Otekaike to Otematata, while the local policeman's beat extends from Georgetown (below Duntroon) to Omarama and also includes Ikawai, in South Canterbury. The Kurow Presbyterian parish does not include Otekaike but, until relatively recently, did include Omarama. The Anglican parish runs from North Oamaru to the Kurow district but, until the 1930s, it did not include the Hakataramea Valley. The Catholic parish was similar to the Anglican in this regard. A contemporary proposal, however, that the Kurow part of the Anglican parish should be amalgamated with Waihao in South Canterbury met with considerable local opposition, since the Kurow Anglicans were insistent that their allegiance was with North Otago and not South Canterbury.

Despite such anomalies, some rationalisation of administrative boundaries did occur, principally in the educat-ional area. The district schools on the South Canterbury side of the Waitaki River originally came under the jurisdiction of the Canterbury Education Board, but in the mid-1960s they were transferred to the Otago Education Board. The catchment area for the Waitaki Catchment Commission includes both segments of the

district, as does the Waitaki electorate (although this was not always the case), but apart from these instances, most other administrative boundaries did not reflect the realities of social, economic and cultural interdependencies within the district. In fact, the only voluntary associations with boundaries that match the "social district" have been farmer organisations. The boundaries for the Kurow branches of Federated Farmers, Young Farmers' Club and Womens' Division of Federated Farmers extend from Otekaike to Wharekuri and include Hakataramea Valley and Cattle Creek.

Territorial boundaries to the district were set not merely by administrative catchments, however, but also by economic and social catchments, and here the geographic centrality of Kurow Township was significant. This was where the major stores and churches in the district were to be found, this was where the majority of its hotels, garages and stock agents were located and this was where the district's only bank, high school and hospital were established. The district's doctor was based in Kurow Township and so too was the policeman, stock inspector and fire brigade. The district railhead may have been Hakataramea Township (until the early 1930s, that is) and there may have been localised post offices for some time in other localities, but the main railway station and post office was always in Kurow. This was also where many of the district's organisations held their meetings.

Prior to the Second World War, Hakataramea Township would have provided economic and social competition for Kurow to a limited extent. There was a store and a hotel in Hakataramea,

there was also a blacksmith's shop that eventually became a garage, and the township hall was the venue for many major district social functions such as the annual balls of the Gaelic Society and Collie Dog Club. The Hakataramea store had a delivery cart that made the rounds in the Hakataramea Valley and also went down to Mount Parker. There was also a railhead in the township where people would congregate in the evening, waiting for the mail delivery. With the closing of the store and the shutting down of the rail link in the 1930s, however, Hakataramea Township went into decline as an economic and social centre for the South Canterbury portion of the district and Kurow Township's ascendancy as the centre of the district was complete. This occurred at a time, however, when improved transportation made it easier for people to travel further to carry out their major shopping and economic transactions, and so many people in the Kurow district would by-pass the township as an economic centre and do only limited shopping there.

From its early days, the district had been integrated socially and economically into the North Otago region. The rail link was to Oamaru, and in the 1930s there was a "shopping train" that ran between Kurow and Oamaru every Friday. Special trains also ran from Oamaru to functions in Kurow such as the collie dog trials or the annual race meeting of the jockey club. Some Oamaru stores (such as Wardell's the tailors) had branches in Kurow, while others sent delivery vans into the district. Kurow sports teams competed with other teams from North Otago and the proportions of Kurow-based brides, grooms and land-owners who found their spouses and mortgage money within the North Otago

region were sufficiently high to indicate the strength of regional ties. Politically the district was divided in orientation between Waimate and Oamaru because of the electoral and county boundaries. Some people shopped in Waimate or Timaru, and there were fairly strong marriage links to Waimate, particularly among Hakataramea Catholics, but by and large, the district's orientation was to Oamaru and North Otago. This was reinforced from the mid-1960s onwards with the rationalisation of North Otago transport firms into the Oamaru-based Waitaki Transport.

Having looked at aspects of territorial boundaries and social organisation of the Kurow district, we now turn our attention to differentiation within the district. To do this, we need to consider the issue of social boundaries between groups.

SOCIAL BOUNDARIES AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Boundaries to a district and to localities may be defined by a combination of topography and catchment areas, but boundaries to social groups are defined in social-psychological or closure terms. Hydro workers lived in a separate locality within the district, poorer folk lived in a separate neighbourhood within Kurow Township, and rabbiters and their families lived in isolation in the back blocks of rural localities, but the geographic isolation of each of them was reinforced by the force of prejudice which insisted that they <u>were</u> different and hence should be avoided. Similar prejudices served to reinforce religious and ethnic social distance. Despite intermarrying between Protestants and Catholics, for example, informants still reported that some negative feeling persisted between them in the

district until the mid-1960s when an interdenominational study and group-discussion programme helped to break down barriers between the two groups.

The purpose of social-psychological boundaries is to establish social distance, while the purpose of exclusionary boundaries is to confirm that distance by establishing closure and thus ensuring monopolisation of economic, political or social resources.

Three forms of closure were identified in Chapter 2: principal (e.g., based on property ownership or kinship), derivative (e.g., based on ethnicity, religion or occupation) and contingent (e.g., based on propinquity or gender differentiation). I consider each of these in turn.

Principal Closure

The operation of principal forms of closure based on property can be seen most clearly during that period of the district's development when its land ownership was dominated by large runholders and pastoral companies. In the face of pressure for land settlement, the intention of such land owners was to retain as much of their land for as long as possible at minimal cost, and to achieve this, they adopted such exclusionary strategies as dummyism (securing title to land through deputies), gridironing (denying access to hinterland by freeholding strips of land along roads), spotting (securing title to land around watering holes or streams) and non-competitive tendering (refusing to bid against fellow runholders when leases came up for renewal). The intention in such strategies, of course, was

not to promote community formation but rather to forestall its emergence.

Spotting was also used by speculators in an attempt to undermine the runholder's control of land and, in this context, it became a usurpationary strategy to undermine the advantage of the runholder group. Other usurpationary strategies adopted by settlers were the organising of petitions and public meetings to press for the closer settlement of the larger runs and sheep stations. Such collective action has normally been seen as a groundswell of agitation from landless settlers who wanted access to land. An examination of developments in the Kurow district, however, reveals three things of note: first, the agitation was spearheaded by landed-settlers, not landless workers; second, a significant part of the motivation of these settlers was family-oriented insofar as they wanted to secure access to land for their children; and third, the beneficiaries of land settlement were not necessarily landless settlers. Whatever their motivations, however, the end-result of settler agitation was to lay the foundation for community formation in the district insofar as estates were broken up and new settlers took up the farms.

The way in which this settlement was achieved ensured that property would lose its significance as a principal form of exclusion once the district was transformed into a family-farm district. Where land was settled as a result of such pressure, it had been resumed by the state, prepared for settlement by the state, allocated by a state ballot, retained under the terms of a state lease and farmed under conditions stipulated by that lease.

In other words, control of land passed much more firmly into the hands of the state and issues of monopolisation and control of access became a much less significant issue locally.

Two further factors made principal forms of exclusion in relation to land much less of a possibility in the family-farm situation. The first of these was the fact that the state insisted on including smaller farms and smallholdings in its settlement programmes. This had the effect of ensuring that farm workers and other non-propertied rural dwellers had an opportunity to get a foot on the first rung of the agricultural ladder and thus join the propertied class. The second factor was the ethos of individualism and competition among farmers, which made it difficult to initiate collective action of an exclusionary nature on any basis other than family, and thus ensured relatively open access to available district land for anyone with the necessary resources, whether they were a farmer or not. During the years of the Great Depression, the uneconomic nature of farming and the depleted nature of the soil on many district farms meant that local farmers did not have the resources to aggregate marginally economic units for themselves. Consequently, much land, particularly on the eastern side of the Hakataramea Valley, was taken up by non-farmers.

There were some instances of patronage whereby individual farmers provided economic support for favoured farm workers to get on to properties of their own in the district. Sometimes the support would be in the form of stock, at other times it would be in the provision of mortgage money. By and large, however, these were isolated instances. Farmers were also a source of mortgage

money for each other, but, as we saw in previous chapters, the proportion of mortgages that came from private sources inside the district was never great. Apart from such affirmative action, then, local farmers had little control over who got access to district land. They also had little, if any, control over the pricing and marketing of their products and the sources of finance for their mortgages.

Although on a more limited scale, mortgages appeared to have played a commercial role of some importance in Kurow Township, especially in the 1920s and early 1930s, where a local store was able to tie up trade by extending mortgages to customers. An informant commented:

> They were wealthy people, they owned the town. They had a mortgage on pretty well everybody. It was quite common to see people going in to get their bread and the kid bringing out the notebook and them writing it in. You knew what it was. They had a mortgage on them. Once they had a mortgage on you, you had to do all your trading there.

They were able to use other strategies to forestall competition. They bought out another store in the township, and when the building was subsequently to be re-opened around 1920 as a billiard hall, it was only on condition that cigarettes would not be sold there. They were also able to insist that boot repairers in the township could only repair boots and not sell them. They had the monopoly on that. But there were other stores in the township, just as there was more than one hotel, more than one blacksmith, more than one garage, more than one stock agent and more than one transport firm. Economic competition, rather than monopolization and closure, was a fact of business life in the township.

For some, however, kinship connections provided an edge, even if in unusual ways. In May of 1945, Bill Collins left the employ of the Kurow Motor Company and set himself up in competition with them by buying up another smaller transport business in the district, Shanks Transport Company. Because of his lack of a secondary education, Collins' efforts were derided by management of the Motor Company, but in terms of keeping tabs on the performance of his competition, Bill Collins had a valuable asset in the fact that his wife was a Munro and had shares in the Motor Company. This entitled them to receive annual financial statements and gave them a slight advantage.

If closure on the basis of property ownership was not a feasible option for superordinate groups, then what could be said for the other principal form of closure, kinship? There was certainly a pattern of intermarriage that could be identified within the ranks of the pastoral company managers (Robert Roe Orr, manager of Station Peak in the 1870s, was an uncle of Robert Campbell of Otekaike; Edward Harris, manager of Station Peak in the early 1900s, was married to the sister of Robin Campbell of Otekaike; and Duncan MacFarlane, manager of Hakataramea Station in the early 1900s was related by marriage to Thomas Brydone, Superintendent of the Land Company). This was duplicated to some extent among the families of businessmen and farmers, but after 1920 class endogamy became a declining feature of the district's marriages. As we saw from Chapter 12, the proportion of district proprietorial sons and daughters who married within their class decreased across the 100 years from 1880 to 1980 while the opposite was the case with non-proprietorial sons and daughters

(see Tables 12.26 and 12.27). Allowing for the fact that this was a limited sample of marriages, the figures nevertheless indicate an increasing degree of marriage between the two classes over the century. The proportion of inter-class district marriages increased from 32% in the first period to 43% in the second and 45% in the third, while the proportion of intra-class marriages decreased for the proprietorial class and increased for the non-proprietorial class. The numbers of proprietorial sons and daughters represented in these marriages did not vary much between these periods so this was not the result of increasing marriages outside the district.

Given the fact that there were high kinship densities in the district from 1905 to 1982 and that this was a feature of all localities and most occupational groups, it is not surprising that there were significant kinship links within the district between proprietorial and non-proprietorial families. Many of the local farming families had kin in the district who were non-farmers, either because they themselves had been upwardly mobile or because members of their families had been downwardly mobile through marriage or circumstance. A fieldwork exercise in the later stages of the research was to start from one local family and trace historical kinship links to other local families. Three conclusions emerged from this: first, no clear demarcation existed between landowning families and non-landowning families; second, the kinship ties were extensive; and third, there were only three local families who had not inter-married within the district.

This pattern of limited kinship closure is attributable to a number of factors, predominant among which was the issue of propinquity and how this affected the availability of marriage partners. There were a number of aspects to this. Children of farmers mixed socially at school and at local functions with children of non-farmers, and, because of the force of localism, some would end up marrying within that pool of peers. For others, there was always the contact brought about through work circumstances. Although it was probably not encouraged, a single farm worker came into regular contact with the farmer's daughter (if there was one) through working, and in many cases living, on the farm. Where such contact could be discouraged, it was (and there are many examples of this) but there are numerous instances from the district's history where farm workers achieved a measure of upward mobility by marrying the farmer's daughter. The obverse of this was where housekeepers or cooks ended up marrying the widowed farmer. It was most unusual, furthermore, for farm domestic staff to marry sons of the house. If propinquity played a role here, it was in limiting the domestic's choice of marriage partner to farm workers on the same property as herself. Again, there were numerous instances of this.

We must also bear in mind, of course, that eligible marriage partners for young farmers were regularly brought into the district in the form of single, female teachers. In the 1890s, for example, the Otiake school committee wrote to the Education Board asking that the next teacher they sent be a male since they were becoming concerned at the disruptions to schooling caused by the female teachers marrying locally. Often

these teachers would themselves be the daughters of farmers from other districts. This pattern of farmer's wives being ex-school teachers is one that is still current and is a reflection of the tendency for farm families, especially those of high status, to establish kinship links with urban professional families. If this represents closure, then it is closure of a derivative kind.

Derivative Closure

Lacking the ability to establish effective closure either on the basis of property or kinship meant that, for would-be dominant groups in the district, controlling access to membership of status groups became more significant. Three derivative forms of closure need to be considered, those based on religion, ethnicity and occupation.

While the boundaries to religious groups are clearly defined in terms of articles of faith, statements of doctrine and requirements for membership, maintaining the significance of those boundaries within a district such as Kurow has not been a foregone conclusion. The relative scarcity of potential marriage partners, particularly within the Catholic denomination, meant that "mixed" marriages were inevitable. Despite whatever prejudices and bigotry may have existed between Protestants and Catholics, and in spite of the sanctions that were brought to bear against some who married across the Protestant/Catholic divide, there was a surprising number of such "mixed" marriages throughout the district's history. In many cases, the Protestant response was to ostracise. In contrast, the Catholic response was a usurpationary one of insisting that the children be brought up within the Catholic faith.

One other historic threat to the significance of religious boundaries has been the secularisation of society. With religion having become a matter of indifference to so many, the significance of denominational differences has decreased as church memberships have declined. In the light of this, ecumenicism became an attractive option for all denominations, and the search for commonality replaced dogmatic assertions of differentness. The Kurow district has been affected by this as much as the rest of New Zealand, although local pockets of traditionalism still opposed the changes and denied the realities of the process.

The main institutional expression of religious boundary within the district was, of course, the Masonic Lodge. Farmers, businessmen and professionals dominated the local membership of the Masonic Lodge, and members of the Lodge played prominent roles not only in the lay leadership of the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches but also in the leadership of a variety of other local associations. Membership of the Lodge was restricted exclusively to Protestants, however, and that had social, economic and political implications for non-Protestants. As one Catholic informant commented, "When it came to the crunch in a district like this, if you had aspirations to be anybody, you had to be a Mason".

Catholics in the district were obviously disadvantaged by this, but they were hindered in any attempts they might have made to develop usurpationary strategies by the fact that they were a fragmented community with little sense of collective identity. The Protestant churches were established earlier in the district, they had larger memberships than the Catholic church, they had

resident ministers where the Catholics had only a visiting priest, and larger proportions of Protestants came from property-owning families. There was also higher levels of transiency among Catholics with many of them being employed in manual occupations. The fragmented nature of the Catholics as a group may account for the low levels of religious bigotry reported in the district. While membership of the Masonic Lodge remained quite high into the contemporary period, indications are that whatever economic, social and political significance they may have had locally prior to World War II has declined since then. Paradoxically, this has come at a time when the number of Catholic farming families has increased in the district.

Derivative exclusion based on ethnicity was never of significance in the district, since ethnic differences within the population were never great. The majority of people who settled the district were British or Irish, and so ethnic differences were subservient to religious differences. By and large, the Catholics were Irish, the Presbyterians were Scots and Irish, and the Anglicans were English. There were also a few German families among the early settlers, but they intermarried with the British settlers. The only associational expression of ethnic difference was the Waitaki Gaelic Society, but while its principal office-bearers may have been Scotsmen, its membership included more than just Scots. As James Menzies, the society chief in 1905 commented, "a judicious blend of English, Irish and Scots would ultimately produce first class highlanders".

The other main derivative boundary of any consequence in the district was more strictly occupationally-based. Farmers

were set off occupationally as a separate group through membership of Federated Farmers (originally the Farmer's Union) or the Young Farmers' Club, while their women's identity as farming women was reinforced through membership of the Womens' Division of Federated Farmers. Differences within the ranks of the farmers in the 1970s led to the emergence of an alternative farmers' group, the Sheep and Cattlemens' Association, and farmers from the Kurow district were involved in the development of that break-away group, but, despite such divisions, farmers still had a clearly defined identity as an occupational group, more so, that is, than their workers or any other employer or employee group in the district.

Trade Unions never did have a very high profile in the district, especially among farm workers, and a number of reasons can be cited for this. First, there was the nature of farm work itself. Farm workers were relatively isolated from each other and often worked in close cooperation with their employer. This tended to lead to the development of a dependency relationship between employer and employee and militate against the development of class solidarity. The Brydone-Chapman correspondence provides a good example of this (see Chapter 6). Second, there was the factor of differentiation among farm workers themselves. Ploughmen saw their interests as different from grooms, shepherds had greater status than musterers or shearers, and professional rabbiters were separate from the rest. A key distinction was between the transient farm worker (whether married or single) and the local farm worker. The transiency of the former made incorporation into collective action problematic,

while class solidarity of the latter was undercut by kinship or friendship ties with members of the employing class, by community-based loyalties that he regarded as being more important than class solidarity, or by land-owning aspirations that he might have had himself. Indeed, it is more than likely that among local farm workers some were either smallholders themselves or were sons of farmers. This, again, would have worked against the development of class solidarity among farm workers.

A third factor that would also have to be taken into account was the decline in the number of farm workers in the district. This would not have helped to engender a strong sense of solidarity. If we extend the discussion to include non-farm workers, then we see that any possibility of creating feelings of solidarity within the manual group as a whole would have been undermined by perceived rural and urban biases in their respective work. A farm worker would have felt that he shared more in common with his farmer-employer than he did with a railway ganger, a truck driver or a hydro worker. As with the Catholics, the working class in a rural district like this were a fragmented group. Any attempts at usurpationary strategies by groups of workers within the district could be expected, therefore, to have had little effect. I shall return to this point later in the chapter.

Before moving on to consider contingent forms of exclusion, it is worth noting that the three forms of derivative closure discussed here all derive their significance from extra-local reference points. Local farmers' groups and workers'

unions are affiliates of national bodies, local churches are part of national denominations, and ethnic affiliations reflect ties to an overseas situation. The main difference between them, however, is that the first two (religious and occupational) reflected associational ties to the extra-local, while the third (ethnic) was more representative of sentimental ties. We might expect from this, therefore, that the ethnic association would be the least enduring of the three, and this, in fact, was the case: the Waitaki Gaelic Society ceased to exist somewhere between 1905 and 1920.

Contingent Closure

In turning to consider contingent forms of exclusion, we begin with the issue of propinquity. The earlier section on this issue dealt with territorial boundaries, discussed, and here the concern will be with the social differentiation of localities within the district. Topography may set the parameters for locality boundaries, but without the reinforcing factor of social relationships, inclusive as well as exclusive, such physical features remain meaningless. People who live within a definable territory have to share some measure of social organisation, informal as well as formal, that will provide opportunities for social interaction and thereby serve to identify them as being distinct from others. Thus, despite the fact that they belonged to the same parish, separate Presbyterian church services were held in Kurow, Otiake, Wharekuri, Otematata, Hakataramea Valley and Cattle Creek. Likewise, separate primary schools were established in Kurow, Otekaike, Otiake, Wharekuri, Hakataramea

Township, Hakataramea Valley, Cattle Creek and Mount Parker. Initially, the main reason for this was the difficulties of transporting children to a central location and this problem of transportation would have accounted for the duplication of many other locality-based organisations. However, given the fact that so many children moved between the Kurow and Hakataramea schools, and also between Otiake and Otekaike schools, depending on the qualities of respective teachers and the state of parents' relationships with those teachers, the maintenance of some of these schools was evidently for other reasons as well. The reason, of course, was that school catchments served to define locality boundaries, school buildings provided a venue for locality meetings and both helped to reinforce collective identity.

Other elements of local social organisation served the same end, of course, and so it was that most of the localities in the district had locality-based associations of one sort or another and many had their own community hall. Such symbols of separate identity were jealously guarded, with two main results: first, the duplication of social infrastructure within the district (i.e., halls, schools, church buildings, sports facilities, hotels, etc.); and second, an undercurrent of parochialism and suspicion in inter-locality relations, more often than not bolstered by allegations of snobbery, excessive alcohol consumption or sexual promiscuity in other localities.

Contingent forms of exclusion can also be based around gender differentiation and derive their force from conceptions of what should properly be considered male and female activities.

Bearing and raising children were considered to be female activities, and thus membership of Plunket and La Leche was reserved exclusively for women. Separate women's organisations were established within the churches, but even here, this was reinforced by conceptions of differing female and male concerns, as evidenced by the comment that "men worked for church session and women for missions" (see Chapter 10). If female interests centred around family and missions, then male interests were more wide-reaching, encompassing as they did work, war, sport, drinking, mateship and leadership. Thus, such organisations as the Collie Dog Club, the Jockey Club, the Rugby Club, the Fire Brigade, the Returned Servicemens' Association and the Rifle Club were exclusively male preserves. So too was the hotel bar, at least as far as "respectable" people were concerned. Even in organisations where men and women otherwise participated equally, such as sports clubs, cultural clubs or church groups, there was often differentiation of task based on conceptions of proper male and female roles. Thus, it was that women would only rarely be presidents or vice presidents of such groups but would often be secretaries or treasurers. Such rigid differentiation of male and female worlds began to break down in recent years, but its marks are still to be found in the social life of contemporary Kurow.

A third form of contingent exclusion that should be considered is the differentiation between locals, newcomers and transients. This cuts across differences of property, occupation, religion and gender and is the most amorphous of the differentiations that have been discussed so far, but its

relevance in the lives of people in a rural district cannot be denied, since it encompasses that most hard-won of local statuses - continuity in the district. The significance of this distinction, however, has tended to be mediated through the other categories of differentiation mentioned earlier. Thus, propertied locals have tended to provide the district's elite and would normally be expected to be community-minded, while non-propertied locals would be expected to be somewhat apathetic and oriented more to family than community; propertied newcomers have tended to be male farmers or businessmen, while non-propertied newcomers have tended to be female spouses of locals; professional transients have provided much-appreciated administrative expertise for local organisations and an injection of fresh ideas and initiatives into local projects (even if these are not always appreciated) while non-professional transients might be expected to provide the most business for the local constabulary. The only one of these groups with a reasonably developed sense of identity, however, has been the professional transients. Despite being involved in community affairs, many of them were endowed with a cosmopolitan outlook, had a wide range of intellectual interests and had the expectation of living in the district for only a limited time. As a result of this, they have inevitably been somewhat distanced from the life of the district. In compensation, they seemed to be better able to identify their common life situation and develop networks for mutual support. Such survival strategies, however, served to set them even further apart from the district and thus reinforced the contingent exclusion.

While derivative and contingent forms of exclusion have been more important than principal forms, exclusionary boundaries of all types have become less pronounced through time. There was a time when differences between propertied and non-propertied classes were typified in membership of the Masonic Lodge, when ethnic and religious differences were reinforced by denominational membership and the Gaelic Society, and when the recreational worlds of male and female were more rigidly demarcated. These things have changed. The benefits to be gained from secret society networks have declined in significance, sentimental ties to "the old country" have lost their appeal, ecumenicism is seen to hold the key to declining church memberships, and changing social mores make it increasingly possible for the hotel to be seen as a common meeting ground for women as well as men. We look now at the implications of all this for sentiments of community within the district as we consider the issues of communion and collective action.

COMMUNION AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

As was pointed out in Chapter 2, the assumption in the past has been that collective sentiment within a locality would derive almost exclusively from relations of propinquity. Our consideration of social differentiation, however, should lead to the conclusion that this is a simplistic view and that, in fact, communion can develop within any of the sets of relationships discussed - property, kinship, religion, ethnicity, occupation, gender, settler status or propinquity. An excellent example of communion leading to collective action on the basis of relation-

ships other than propinquity is the issue of Sunday tennis discussed in Chapter 10. Religious belief, not propinquity, was the key factor, and out of the collective sentiment that was generated by this crisis, an otherwise fragmented, subordinate social group was able to mobilise quite effectively and pose a threat to the cultural dominance of a superordinate group. While a range of possible relationship bases have been identified, the discussion in the following section is restricted to the three main sets of relationships highlighted in Chapter 2: propinquity, property and kinship. In discussing these, the issue of contradictions and reinforcements between community, class and kinship will be highlighted.

Propinquity - Latent and Manifest Community

In the case of propinquity, communion refers to the sentimental attachments that come from sharing a common residential experience, engaging in locality-based activities, or being involved in locality-based associations or organisations. This collectively shared sentiment is reinforced by regular contact (e.g., social gatherings), by symbolic affirmations of togetherness or unity (e.g., working-bees at the school, welcome parties for new couples, farewells for departing couples, send-offs for men going to war) and by the extolling of appropriate collective values (e.g., expectations that people should support community initiatives, play their part in community affairs and be guided in their activities by community rather than individual interests.

The catalyst for mobilising such sentiment, however, will be a combination of crisis, threat, disaster or challenge. The crisis may be of a personal nature yet of a kind that generates expressions of solidarity and support. A Cattle Creek farmer who was badly injured in a tractor accident in the 1970s, for example, was able to take time to recuperate because local families provided the necessary support to do farm work and household chores while he was incapacitated. Likewise, a Kurow man who jumped ship on the way to World War II was able to evade capture by local police because of local support in harbouring him, feeding him and moving him between safe locations in the township.

When the crisis is more broadly-based and involves a perceived threat to locality institutions, the collective response is likely to be protest rather than simply supportive solidarity. Moves by external bodies to centralise local facilities or services will invariably be perceived as a threat to local identity, and the local significance of the issue can easily be gauged by the level of protest that it generates. A typical example of this would be where a school was to be closed or decapitated (i.e., where a primary school was to lose its form one and two classes to a central high school). Such eventualities in the Kurow district inevitably generated heated discussion, led to protest in the localities concerned and resulted in strong expressions of solidarity for retention of the status quo.

On other occasions, however, the threat has been not the centralisation of services but the imposition of unwanted

services or facilities. Again, the source of the threat may be external to the locality, and again, the seriousness of the issue can be gauged by the depth of protest that it generates. Chapter 11 provided a useful illustration in the discussion of initiatives in the late 1940s to establish locally-based conservation authorities and rabbit boards. If ever there was a local issue that demanded solidarity of action and a collective response, this was it. The district's land resources were in a sadly depleted state because of rabbit infestation and soil erosion, all farmers faced the same problem (although to varying degrees), and the nature of the problem required collective effort rather than individual initiative since efforts to deal with pests and erosion on one property would be undermined by a neighbour's indolence. Such solidarity was slow in developing, however, because the perceived threat was seen to lie not in the direction of rabbits and soil erosion but in the direction of interfering politicians and bureaucrats who seemed to think they knew more about farming than the farmers did. Thus, the solidarity and collective action that eventuated, was protest against the initiatives of government and the "dangerous band of missionaries" who wanted to see the government's programmes implemented locally.

If crisis and threat can generate communion and thus provide catalysts for the mobilisation of collective action based on propinquity, so too can disasters. Floods, droughts and tussock-fires provide numerous examples of this. At times, such events provide instances of individual acts of heroism and initiative, but more significant is the way in which they are

invariably marked by a depth of collective effort and support. It is no coincidence that in reporting the local response to such events, people will often invoke the terminology of "community" to illustrate the depths of solidarity involved. This is a classic instance of "latent" community becoming "manifest".

The disaster may be of a longer duration than a flood or fire, of course, and this is where the depth of "community feeling" will truly be tested. Such an instance was the depression of the 1930s, and in this context, the comment from an Otekaike informant was informative. Speaking of Otekaike during the 1930s he said, "They pulled together pretty well, especially in the slump. Everybody was hard up together". Similar comments would be offered in response to the effects of prolonged drought.

The last catalyst to communion and collective action based on propinquity would be challenges faced in relation to locality-based associations or organisations. The challenge of building a community hall, raising funds for a school swimming pool or finding office-bearers and willing helpers for local committees, will all benefit from a collectively shared sentiment of identification. Historically, however, the continuing viability of many locality-based institutions and organisations has been undermined by a process of centralisation. Smaller schools have been closed or have lost their top classes to the local high school, community halls have fallen into a state of disrepair through lack of use, and sports clubs have been forced to amalgamate to maintain numbers. This has mainly occurred since the mid-1960s and has meant that the maintenance of locality identity has become more problematic. It is interesting,

therefore, that, within the contemporary Kurow district, the locality that is considered to possess the most "community feeling" is also the locality that is the most isolated, namely Cattle Creek.

One interesting side-effect of the centralisation of schools is the fact that parents in a number of localities within the district now find themselves sharing a common interest in the local high school. It is therefore significant that, in the light of the apathy and lack of interest faced by most local committees searching for people members, no such problems face the Kurow school committee. Some informants attribute this to interlocality rivalry and the perceived need to maintain sectional interests.

If anything, therefore, centralisation has brought in its wake a measure of increased interdependence between localities. In these terms, the district could be seen to have evolved historically from a loose amalgam of relatively independent localities, based around a common economic centre, Kurow Township, to a social federation of interdependent localities where what they share in common is considered to be as important as their differences. The locus of communion based on propinquity can therefore be seen to have moved somewhat from the locality to the district level. Because of the continuity of certain families, however, locality identity has remained fairly strong in spite of this, and, with the developing gap between level of identity and level of social organisation, apathy, social indifference and decreasing levels of social involvement have resulted. People were still involved in local clubs and

organisations, but their involvement was increasingly determined by recreational rather than altruistic motivations, and civic and service organisations suffered as a result. This contributed to the perception in a number of localities that there was less of a feeling of community in the contemporary era than there had been in previous periods.

Communion based on propinquity has thus become increasingly hard to sustain, and, the collective action that flows from it is likely to be episodic and short-lived. This is consistent with the fact that propinquity is a contingent form of exclusion.

Property - "Class-in-Itself" and "Class-for-Itself"

When we apply the concepts of communion and collective action to relations of property within a locality, we are referring to the process whereby a "class-in-itself" becomes a "class-for-itself". This is the process whereby objective classes, defined in terms of relations of production, become political groupings through the subjective realisation of commonality of interests and life chances.

Because of the close interlinkage between property and production in the rural situation, property owners were virtually synonymous with farmers, and this is how the discussion will be framed in this section. There were other employers of labour in the Kurow district besides farmers, but they were few in number and there was never a significant expression of solidarity and collective identity on their part that would justify giving serious consideration to them here. Apart from the government, the only other major employers of labour in the district were the

transport companies, and, prior to the amalgamations that took place in 1937 and 1965, their relationship to each other was marked more by competition than a recognition of common interest.

In discussing catalysts to communion and collective action based on propinquity, the factors of crisis, threat, challenge and disaster were identified and, with the possible exception of the disaster factor, a similar framework can be used when discussing property and production. As expressions of solidarity, unions are established to protect workers' interests and to challenge the employers' ability to set wage rates and determine working conditions. We can see examples of this in the attempts of Stephen Boreham and his colleagues to establish a branch of the Shearers and Labourers Union in the district in the 1890s, and also in the details of the court case in 1890 involving Thomas Hartley and the manager of Hakataramea Station. The farmers' response to these challenges from the workers was to organise themselves into an equivalent group, the Farmers and Employers Group. Attempts were made to forge links between rural and urban employers of labour in North Otago, but nothing came from this. The same could be said for the impact of employer and worker groups in the district. Despite the forming of local branches of the employers union in 1890, and despite Stephen Boreham's insistence that large numbers of workers were joining his union, the workers' union never had a high profile in the district and the employers' union did not raise its head again until 1920, when a local branch of the Farmers' Union was formed. The Farmer's Union subsequently became Federated Farmers, but its concerns were not strictly employer-related, and this was

undoubtedly in response to the fact that, locally at least, workers' groups were not seen to pose a serious threat to employers.

Reasons were offered earlier to account for the fragmented nature of the rural workforce in the district, e.g., the isolated nature of farm work, the dependency relationship between farm worker and farmer that favoured the employer, differentiation among the workers themselves, particularly with relation to land-owning aspirations and orientations to community. It was mentioned that these factors worked against the development of class consciousness and solidarity among the workers. It is not surprising, therefore, that there were very few recorded instances of strikes in the Kurow district. When these did occur, they always seemed to involve shearers. Invariably, however, such action was undermined by three factors: first, an inability for the striking workers to muster full support from their own number; second, a lack of support from other farm worker groups; and third, the threat of being blackballed by other farmers as a consequence of the strike action. More numerous were instances where individual workers were sacked by farmer-employers and were not given any support in their plight by fellow-workers. This substantiates the point that class solidarity was weak among rural workers in the district.

And yet it must be recognised that similar points can be made with regard to the farmer group. Whatever strength of collective identity they might have shared through membership of farmers' groups, in dealing with workers their solidarity of action was also subject to threat from individualism, compet-

itiveness, differentiation within the group (e.g., small, middle and large farmers) and from competing loyalties fostered by community or family ties. Although notice to quit was almost always accompanied by a threat that no other farmer in the district would employ the recalcitrant worker, more often than not such threats were found to be groundless, and good workers were able to get another job almost straight away. Thus, community ties and kinship networks worked both ways when it came to tempering class solidarities and blunting respective attempts at exclusion (black-balling) or usurpation (strikes).

There has thus been a lack of class consciousness and solidarity among both employers and workers in this rural district. Commenting on this in general terms, one New Zealand writer had the following to say:

> Geographical proximity and family connections between well-to-do and relatively poor prevented the growth of self-contained classes. Large families and a lesser adherence to primogeniture helped diffuse wealth. And status depended much more on individual achievement than on parentage. (Hawke, 1986:121)

One area where communion and collective action were significant in relation to property was in the pressure for land settlement. Admittedly, the action was not limited to those of the propertied-class, and the interests that were being served were not strictly limited to one class. Nevertheless, land owners did play a significant role in providing leadership for the local pressure, and it was their ranks that were swelled as a result of subsequent settlement.

The fact that disparate interests were served by land settlement is obvious when we view its development through time.

In the period from 1880 through to 1910, the end that was to be served by land settlement was community formation. The number of settlers was to be increased, and ownership of land was to be dispersed among family farmers rather than concentrated in the hands of a few overseas pastoral companies. Lacking associational structures, pressure was broadly based and the strategies used were the public meeting and the petition. Settlers received support in their cause from sympathetic newspaper owners, sympathetic politicians and, after the election of 1890, a sympathetic government. There is little indication of sectional interests here, although it is significant in the light of subsequent events with Hakataramea Station that even in 1890 men who provided leadership for the settlers' cause in the Kurow district were admitting that family interests were uppermost in many of their minds.

Between 1880 and 1910 there was local pressure to have Kurow Station, Station Peak, Otekaike Station and Hakataramea Station broken up for closer settlement. This pressure was successful in all cases except Hakataramea Station. When the Hakataramea issue was re-opened in the early 1950s, we find quite a different emphasis. In place of the broadly-based movement of the earlier period, pressure in this second phase was spearheaded by a single-purpose association, the local branch of the Returned Servicemen's Association. It was also articulated at a national level by regional, provincial and national officers of that Association. A petition was circulated, and the support of other local groups was obtained, but the impetus for the pressure came from the R.S.A.. The interests to be served by settlement were

expressed in general terms (i.e., social benefit to the district from increased numbers of farm families and economic benefit to the nation from increased production) but the key interests were sectional. The intention was to have the land settled by returned servicemen from World War II. By whatever means it had at its disposal, however (and it is not exactly clear how it managed to achieve its end), the New Zealand and Australian Land Company was able yet again to forestall acquisition and block settlement.

The third phase of pressure in relation to Hakataramea Station occurred in the 1970s and again, there was a shift of emphasis. The sectional interests of the R.S.A. had given way to the more property-based interests of Federated Farmers. As in the second phase, the strategy was to exert pressure through direct contact with government and company officials (formal as well as informal) while at the same time ensuring support from other local associations. A public meeting was held as a last resort, but, given the fact that the company had already agreed to sell the station to a private consortium, the purpose of the meeting probably related more to serving the political ends of a local councillor than to pressuring the government. The arguments for settlement were again couched in terms of the social and economic benefits that would accrue to the district, so the issue cannot be presented simply in class-terms.

It is ironic, given the fusion of class and community interests that had taken place throughout the whole development of this issue, that the matter was finally resolved in the way that it was. The supreme irony was that, whereas governments had

consistently refused to bow to community pressure for compulsory acquisition, when the company finally agreed to sell the government balked at the prospect and allowed the matter to be resolved in favour of the interests of three families. Through their connections and access to capital, three farmers were thus able to achieve for their sons what three generations of settlers had not been able to achieve for their community. Kinship thus contradicts class and community when family interests are held to be supreme.

This, however, needs to be qualified. While many farming families were interrelated by marriage, there was little indication that the purpose of this was to gain economic advantage. As noted earlier, there was no firm pattern of class endogamy to suggest that attempts had been made to monopolise land ownership among particular families. The clearest indicators of this came in local farming families where there were no sons to inherit the property. In some cases where there were no children at all to inherit, the property was passed on to a near relative, but where there was only a daughter or daughters, no overt attempts appear to have been made by the families to ensure that a farmer (local or not) featured as a marriage partner. In such instances, however, the property would invariably be held either by a family company or as a family trust for the benefit of the children of the marriage. Even where the marriage partner was a local farmer, the outcome was not self-evident. In one such case, the runholder concerned sold the lease to his run outside the family rather than have it taken over by his son-in-law, stating that the son-in-law already had

enough land. Land aggregation for family benefit was therefore the exception rather than the rule in the district's development.

Kinship - Kin and Family

In discussing relations of propinquity, it was suggested that the bases for sentimental attachment were laid through regular contact, symbolic affirmations of togetherness and the extolling of collective values. The same applies in the case of sentiment that transform kin into family. Contact through meals or telephone calls, participating in family events such as birthdays, marriages, deaths, sharing a sense of what it means to be a member of a family - all of these contribute to laying a foundation for sentimental attachment. And, as with propinquity, the transforming of that sentiment into a consciousness (or communion) that can provide the basis for identity and collective action often occurs in response to crisis, threat, disaster or challenge. The scenarios are obvious: the crises caused by death, injury or serious illness; a threat to family honour resulting from inter-family rivalries; the disaster of bankruptcy or unemployment; the challenge of providing for future generations. All of these, and many more, could be occasions for heightened sentiment, collective identification and the mobilisation of family support.

We have seen in earlier chapters how kinship densities were fairly high throughout the development of the district, and we must therefore assume that kinship relationships have been a significant feature of the district's social structure. This does not mean to say, of course, that all kinship ties would have

been willingly acknowledged. Intra-family squabbles and jealousies, the stigmas of deviance or indiscretion by family members and potential rivalries over inheritance all combined to ensure that, in some families at least, the boundaries to the acknowledgement of relationships were drawn rather selectively. At an informal gathering, when I was discussing the working relationship between shearers and runholders, one name was brought up as a good example of a local runholder who had had a bad reputation in this regard. The runholder was related by marriage to the host of the gathering and when it was drawn to his attention that we were talking about a relative of his, the host made a disgusted face and said, "they're not relations".

At times, of course, the non-recognition of kin is brought about as a result of class exogamy. In the course of a family reconstruction interview it became obvious that the lady of the house, a runholder's daughter, was related by marriage to the local man who was managing the property at the time. I drew attention to the linkage, but the lady concerned forcefully denied it had any significance. In examples such as this, it is probably significant that the kinship links that are denied significance are links established through marriage (affinal). This is not done so easily with consanguineal links.

For the propertied-class, the significance of family could be seen to lie in ensuring the continuity of ownership over land while for the non-propertied, the significance would lie more in providing social contact and mutual help. Selling a property when it could have been retained within the family and remaining aloof from close kin who were neighbours were both activities

that came in for critical comment from local informants. In both cases, the force of sentiment and tradition were being denied in favour of other values that were seen to be more selfish and individualistic in nature. Such values, of course, served also to undermine class and community solidarities.

COMMUNITY FORMATION

Three important measures of locality interdependence are the degree of economic self-sufficiency, the level of political autonomy and the forms of communal association within the locality (Pearson, 1982:84). Pearson argued from this that the test of community formation was whether these interdependencies were closer within the locality than similar links which people shared with external groups. He concluded:

> ... we are asked to study the tensions between those forces that integrate social groups and those which divide them. When these tensions are spatially related and produce a specific set of localised (and therefore territorially bounded) interdependencies, then we can speak of community formation. (1980:151).

In examining the historical development of such inter-dependencies within the Kurow district I conclude that, while there have always been significant economic, political and social links to wider social systems, the process of community formation within the district has been consistently strong.

The factors that contributed to the beginnings of community formation in the district during the initial period of settlement by Europeans (1850 to 1890) were identified as being the coming of the railway, the closer settlement of land, the establishment of schools, hotels and stores, the formalisation of

religious observance, the provision of medical care and policing, and the forming of kinship bonds between many of the settler families. Some local associations were also formed during this period, and all of this served to define boundaries and foster a sense of identity, even though interlocality rivalry and conflict was sometimes the result. Settlement was restricted, however, by the extensive holdings of a few large landholders, and, towards the end of this initial period, the only settled localities in the district were Kurow Township, Sandhurst (Hakataramea Township), Otiake, Wharekuri and the lower portion of the Hakataramea Valley. The territorial boundaries to the settled part of district were therefore much more restricted than they were to become. There were still significant links to the wider society, however. Towards the end of the period, the railway linked Kurow to Oamaru and Goddard's coach service extended the link further inland to Omarama and across the Lindis Pass to Wanaka.

Most of this community formation took place in the last decade of this period, since the local economy in the previous thirty years was dominated by overseas pastoral companies. Significant political mobilisation took place locally as the gradually increasing local population sought to get the large estates subdivided for closer settlement. Such mobilisation clearly served to foster a commonality of interest among the settlers, and strategies of exclusion and usurpation were engaged in respectively by both sides. While the settlers were given some measure of support by the government, settlement prior to 1890 was piecemeal, did not adequately address the issue of

satisfying the demand for land in the region and did little to resolve inequities in land ownership within the district.

Between 1890 and 1920, the population of the district increased substantially, especially in the rural localities as the transformation was completed from a squatter-district based around sheep stations and a relatively mobile, single workforce to a family-farm district. By 1920, 58% of the adult population were married, 60% of the households were nuclear family households and 41% of heads of households were farmers. By 1920, one-third of the adults and three-quarters of the children were at least second generation in the district.

The transition from large-scale, extensive pastoral farming to more intensive family-farming came about in the wake of significant land settlement in the district between 1880 and 1910. This was the product of three main factors: first, changing economic circumstances within the sheep industry that made intensive sheep farming more profitable following the development of the refrigerated meat trade with Britain; second, persistent local pressure for subdivision of the estates; and third, government compliance with such grassroots pressure.

Increased settlement meant a firmer economic base for business in the townships as well as increased numbers of children for the schools and a broader membership base for local associations. The number of local associations increased between 1890 and 1920 with churches and lodges featuring prominently, but most social activity was localised due to limited transportation. Increased settlement also meant that the ownership of district land became more localised, all of which aided the processes of continuity and community formation.

By 1920, the patterning of the district's population and occupational structures had become more firmly set, its farming practices and landholding were becoming more oriented towards family farming, its kinship networks were becoming more firmly established and its associational structures were being developed. The next thirty years in the district's development were to see these trends consolidated but they were also to see significant changes take place in the wake of economic depression, hydro construction, the second World War and the erosion of land caused by rabbits and ill-considered farming practices.

Winning the land from the pastoral companies was one thing, but farming it successfully was another, and the years from 1920 to 1950 were characterised by struggle in the face of economic depression. Farmers also had to contend with the threat to farm productivity posed by rabbit infestation, increasing soil erosion and decreasing soil fertility. Some land aggregation took place during this period as marginal farms were amalgamated into larger properties, but for many district farmers, survival during these years depended on cutting-back in farming activity as they waited out the depression. For some, this process was aided by mortgage relief provided under government legislation.

While the district townships also suffered during these years of economic hardship, there was some benefit from hydro construction a few miles upriver from Kurow at the site of the Waitaki Dam. The scale of the construction project meant increased economic opportunities for local businessmen and the possibility of employment for some local workers. Because of the large number of workers who came from outside the district,

however, it also meant increased patronage of local hotels and a substantially increased clientele for the local maternity hospital and school. Local associational life also benefitted from the depression. People tended to travel less during these years and hence were more inclined to find their recreation closer to home. It is no doubt significant that there was an increase in the number of local associations during these years from 1920 to 1950.

The depression and the building of the Waitaki Dam marked significant stages in the development of the district, but their significance was overshadowed by the cumulative effect of a series of innovations in the farming sector that took place in the late 1940s. National concern with the problem of soil erosion had led to legislation that enabled the setting up of soil conservation district committees and government subsidised rabbit boards. Despite some local opposition, the Kurow district was in the vanguard of both developments. Rabbits were to be controlled by a killer policy and by the decommercialisation of skins and carcasses. Soil erosion was overcome by controlling burning-off and by alleviating overstocking through the implementation of alternative pasture management strategies. Aided by the windfall of high wool prices in the early 1950s and by technological advances that made aerial top-dressing and over-sowing of pastures a possibility, the cumulative effect of these measures was to make farming in the district more productive and to lay the foundation for a greater transition to intensive sheep farming. This, in turn, contributed significantly to the continued redistribution of wealth (as measured by capital value

of land) within the farming sector and therefore, perhaps for the first time in the district's development, helped to set all farmers off economically from the rest of the population as a separate status group. Prior to this, average farmers were referred to locally as "everyday working folk" whose lifestyle did not differ too markedly from households in the townships. By the mid-1960s, however, this had changed. High, stable prices for farm produce and higher land values served to differentiate their lifestyle more noticeably from non-farmers than before.

Farming after the 1940s was significantly different from what it had been before. In addition to the changes outlined above there were also changes in shearing practices and in arable farming that saw pre-lamb shearing by contract gangs replace the old freelance system of shearing and saw horses finally replaced completely by tractors. Increased farm productivity was also aided by the settlement of rehabilitation farmers after World War II and, in some localities, by the more extensive development of irrigation systems.

Hydro development continued to be an economic mainstay of Kurow Township after 1950, the main benefit coming through local transport firms. However, with the rationalisation of the transport industry in North Otago in the mid-1960s, the completion of the Upper Waitaki power projects and the running-down of soil conservation activity in the early 1980s, the district began to see some retrenchment in its services. Soon after 1982, the rail link to Oamaru was cut and the services of the catchment commission were curtailed. This serves to remind us that local autonomy has never been very great in the district.

In the nineteenth century, the local farming economy was dominated by the activities of two large overseas pastoral companies and, while this gave way eventually to more localised ownership of land through the emergence of family-farming, access to land was still very much in the control of agents external to the district. Significant among these were the state (through its control of land settlement and land use) and mortgagors of various sorts (through their control of finance). Local farmers were in a similar position with regard to markets for their produce. While enjoying a favoured position in the eyes of successive governments when it came to state support for their industry, as a group they had no control over the markets or prices for their products. The fact that they lacked such control and were thus unable to engage effectively in strategies of closure no doubt contributed to the lack of class-consciousness among local farmers as a group. Their inter-relationship was a paradoxical one anyway, since shared membership in farmer organisations took place against a background of values more often than not marked by competitiveness and individualism. Whatever reciprocity there was in farming activity was either highly localised (i.e., between immediate neighbours) or was limited to family members on other farms.

The economic autonomy of the district as a whole has also been eroded through time as the ownership of local businesses (particularly the main stores and the transport firm) passed to people outside the district and as local people's buying patterns extended to stores and businesses in regional and provincial

centres. Local businesses still remain economically viable, but their trade has become increasingly oriented towards the convenience needs of locals, the seasonal needs of tourists who camp around the lakes in summer and the transient needs of travellers on their way to and from the coast.

Politically, the district has never enjoyed much in the way of local autonomy. It has had no local council to provide a forum for the airing of local issues or to offer a context for the operation of power by a local political elite. Political representation has therefore taken place at the regional level, one step removed from the local scene. More than this, however, political representation has been fragmented between two county councils, and this has served to further dissipate local influence. Whatever local influence was exerted on county affairs therefore tended to reflect the political skills of individual councillors rather than the collective effort of organised groups within the district. As a result, politics within the district has tended to be dominated by a "reactionary" emphasis as local people reacted in protest against proposals of local council, government or state bureaucracy that impinged on their lives. The setting up of rabbit boards and the control exerted by soil conservators are good examples of this. It was typical of such issues that the local response was invariably one of "local people know best".

However, not all political activity has been of this reactionary nature. One issue that has consistently been the focus of affirmative collective action within the district has been land settlement. From 1890 to 1978, this was a topic that

aroused community sentiment and generated collective action, but the varied success of such action is a further indicator of limited local political autonomy since the outcome seemed to depend more on the whim of government than the strength or effectiveness of local pressure. It is significant that, in considering such examples of local pressure, the issue of family interest in land is one that featured quite prominently. In the early stages of the district's settlement, family interest and community interest were not really at variance in this since the main issue was to have the land settled and community formation was better served by having local people rather than strangers take up the land. The high turnover of initial settlers in Otekaike serves to substantiate this. After initial settlement had taken place, however, the two did begin to conflict since land acquisition for the benefit of family became increasingly linked to issues of aggregation. Local people did not have the necessary political autonomy, however, to ensure that community interests held sway here.

The only arena where there has been significant local autonomy is in the sphere of associations and organisations. As localities were settled and the population increased, associational networks were developed and the basis for "latent" community was laid. Many of these associations (such as churches, lodges, farmer organisations, etc.) were linked to regional and national bodies and hence were circumscribed in their activities to some extent, but sufficient scope was left for the exercise of local initiative and control. This, then, was to be the arena for gaining or maintaining local status,

achieving and exercising power as appropriate, and effecting closure where necessary. However, while the associational life of the district was still fairly strong in 1982, with over seventy clubs and organisations operational, membership was now spread thinly over the available population and apathy was a widely recognised problem. The advent of television and the fact that motorised transport has become more widely available have no doubt taken their toll on associational involvement. In the estimation of locals, there is less community feeling in the district now than there had been prior to the Second World War, but it has to be acknowledged that, with high degrees of continuity, a reasonably clear sense of territorial boundaries and the presence of a strong associational structure within the district, "latent community" is still very much a reality in the Kurow district.

This study has shown that the process of community formation within the locality context cannot be adequately studied without considering relations of property and kinship as well as propinquity. The three are interlinked, and to focus on one to the exclusion of the others is to lose sight of the dynamic interplay of contradiction and reinforcement existing between them, which serves to provide the parameters for closure and hence community formation. Working within this theoretical framework of "closure, community and communion" and being sensitive to the tensions between relations of propinquity, property and kinship, therefore enables us to better understand the process of community formation and change within a locality.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

METHODOLOGY

In Chapter 3, I briefly described the historical reconstruction approach used in the study and the range of fieldwork methods used - interviewing, participant observation, documentary analysis etc. Here, I shall comment on the fieldwork process in general and consider some aspects to fieldwork in the Kurow project in particular.

BEGINNINGS

The project had its beginnings in September of 1976 when I came to Christchurch on a two-week visit from Australia with the express purpose of finding a rural district within which to do locality research. I had the good fortune to meet up with Professor Kevin O'Connor of Lincoln College who, as chairman of the committee overseeing the UNESCO "Man and the Biosphere" research programme in New Zealand (see O'Connor, 1976), was looking for someone to do sociological research in the Kurow district. It seemed that we could help one another, and so I was dispatched south to view the terrain and, as it turned out, to be "looked over" by some of the Kurow residents. I was accompanied that weekend by Ross Maxwell, then chief soil conservator with the Waitaki Catchment Commission in Kurow. Ross acted in a double role during those few days. While fulfilling the role of "guide-informant" for me, he also acted as "assessor" for Kevin O'Connor. In due course, he reported back to the professor that he thought I would "fit in" and so, unknown to me, the first hurdle had been overcome in gaining access to the district.

Ignorant of these deeper significances, I drank in the scenic beauty of the district and resolved to come back. As a Scot, I was only too able to appreciate why so many of my fellow countrymen had decided to settle in the Waitaki Valley. My thoughts that first morning related to: (1) frustration at not being able to begin there and then; (2) apprehension that another social scientist might get in before me; and (3) fear that the district might change drastically before we got there. In order to forestall the possibility of someone else encroaching on my self-proclaimed territory, I symbolically spat on the bridge that runs between Kurow and Hakataramea Townships and I claimed the district as my patch. The encroachments that did occur over the ensuing five years that it took to complete the data-gathering were minimal, so the symbolic gesture must have had some effect.

We did return, changes did take place, Kevin O'Connor became an important sponsor as well as source of encouragement and Ross Maxwell became a significant informant and friend. However, the access problem still had to be adequately resolved.

Gaining Access

All field research begins by gaining access. In some instances this is easy because the researcher is invited in by the people concerned. More often, gaining access is an achievement worked at by the field worker through careful and patient negotiation.

One mistaken notion is that the "openness" of a locality makes gaining access to it relatively easy. There may indeed be no "gatekeepers", yet this seeming openness carries with it its

own frustrations (see Bell, 1969). The prospective locality researcher becomes very aware of W.F. Whyte's sense of helplessness when he talked of being able to walk the streets of Cornerville, touch the buildings, see the people, and yet still be unable to "get at" its social life (Whyte, 1964:11). Even when the researcher has gained access, there can still be frustration that has its roots in the researcher's marginality. We can think here of Ronald Frankenberg, sitting on a hillside overlooking Glynceiriog, wishing that he could lift the roofs off the houses below to get access to what was going on inside (Frankenberg, 1957). Similar frustrations were recorded in my own field notes:

> As we came out of the store, I noticed a bunch of old guys standing on the other side of the road. They looked like real old-timers and appeared just to be hanging about. I watched them for a while and reflected on how we'd always be outsiders here. Oh, for the familiarity to be able to go over and just start chatting to them and be accepted. A total impossibility. How is it ever possible to get an insider's view of what it's like to live here? How can an outsider capture the essence of what it's been like in the Waitaki Valley over one hundred years? The perennial problem. (Field Notes, December 28th, 1981)

The access problem develops from the Gemeinschaftlicht nature of the social organisation of a rural locality insofar as the people are at one and the same time, omniscient and yet exclusive. They are omniscient in that everyone knows everyone else's business, and exclusive in that there are barriers of suspicion set up against likely encroachments by strangers.

Isabel Emmett, drawing on fieldwork experience in a Welsh rural district, highlighted the nature of the predicament:

> Life in the countryside depends on people keeping face, even though they cannot keep secrets. Seemingly innocent questions as to dates in the family history may probe family secrets - secrets known to all the parish but not admitted publicly, and certainly not admitted to prying outsiders. (Emmett, 1964:xiii)

H.C.D. Somerset, in his study of Littledene, commented on the reserved nature of the New Zealand farmer:

> The farmer traditionally doesn't wear his heart on his sleeve. He is apt to regard the stranger with some suspicion. He is engaged in the difficult and uncertain business of farming, and experience has taught him not to make friends too easily and to keep his thoughts to himself. (Somerset, 1974:92)

The tensions between "omniscience" and "exclusivity" pose problems for the field researcher. If the researcher can only get access to a few key informants, then it should be possible to gather quickly a lot of useful information. In order to achieve this, however, the researcher has to penetrate the exclusiveness of locals and break through the barrier of reservedness toward outsiders. This was certainly a concern in the present study when field work was begun in late 1977.

Reservedness Towards Outsiders

One of the first things that struck me as I walked through the streets of Kurow Township was the fact that there were very few houses with names or numbers on their letter boxes. The message appeared to be that if you were a local you had no need for such identification, and if you were not a local, then it was none of your business anyway. This provided a very effective initial barrier to the prying newcomer. Additionally, although

the streets were named, few people appeared to use them as locating devices - indeed some didn't even know what the names were. Location appeared to be something that could be taken-for-granted or, if necessary, established by reference to personalities rather than street names. So an individual would be described as "living next door to", or "across the street from" such-and-such an individual, rather than by reference to a street number or name. Although not necessarily intended as such, these are nevertheless devices which keep outsiders at a distance.

The exclusiveness of the people was shown in other ways too. In early discussions with the Presbyterian minister, I made the point that rather than use a survey approach, I was intending to get information more indirectly by participant observation and using local informants. He confirmed the appropriateness of the strategy by insisting that a survey would meet with limited response. The bank manager agreed with this, suggesting that it might even take months of just being around the place before the locals would open up.

This was supported by the response rates achieved in two surveys carried out in the township the previous year. The first had been carried out by a student from Otago University, surveying residents' reactions to hydro development on the Waitaki River. His response rate was around 30%. Not long after this, a group of fourth-formers from the Kurow School, with the encouragement of the Citizens' and Ratepayers' Association and the help of their form mistress, surveyed residents' opinions on future development of Kurow Township. Questionnaires were

delivered to 100 households and the students returned a few nights later to pick them up. Only thirty were returned. A resident later explained to me that he had thrown his questionnaire in the rubbish as soon as it was delivered because the information they were looking for "was none of their ****** business".

Residents of the Kurow district took a similar attitude towards other types of information. The Presbyterian minister informed me, for example, that the church communion list was confidential - despite the fact that people who attended communion services would be clearly visible to anyone who took the trouble to attend church on the Sunday in question. His concern, though, may have been to protect the identities of those who were not there. In the early stages of my research, two locals - one a farmer and the other a farmer's son - both responded to my plans with the comment, "Well then, we'll have to be on our best behaviour when you're around". These indications of reservedness towards outsiders, certainly posed access problems, but as I worked my way into the area the solution to the predicament became evident in appreciating the significance of the distinction between locals, newcomers and transients.

Transient-Contacts to Local-Informants

These aspects of "omniscience" and "exclusivity" will be displayed most sharply by locals. Given their kinship and friendship links within the district, plus their length of residence, it is much more likely that locals will be able to provide the researcher with the depth of information required.

However, locals are also likely to be the least receptive to prying outsiders, and herein lies the nub of the access predicament.

It became clear to me that the researcher's point of entry should either be through the newcomer group or, more advisedly, through the transient group, in particular those in professional occupations. This group is more likely to provide the researcher with an initial point of contact. Members of this transient-professional group tend to be more "cosmopolitan" in outlook than either locals or newcomers, and the researcher is therefore more likely to have an affinity with them. This "affinity" has to be handled carefully, however, so that the researcher does not become "captured" by this group. Initial contact must be treated with care, and the resulting relationships should be regarded as means to the end of access to locals.

Our first evening in Kurow was spent with the deputy headmaster and his wife. We talked about standards of education and trips overseas as well as sailing, gliding and recent events in Christchurch. The next night was spent at a barbecue in the company of catchment commission staff and teachers. During our first five week stay in the district, we ate in the homes of two other catchment staff, shared a barbecue with the headmaster and accepted an invitation to morning tea at the manse.

Access to informants who were locals was achieved without too much difficulty. Having established the contacts with transient-professionals, the first step involved explaining to those contacts what I was trying to do and how this might be carried out. They then always admitted that they would not be of

much help but suggested one or two locals who could. This took me to the second stage in the transition process: sponsorship. This was the most problematic stage because great care was needed in selecting a sponsor to speak on my behalf and introduce me. The researcher is trading on the reputation of the sponsor and it is important for the researcher to be associated with a sponsor of good local reputation. In some cases, the contact and sponsor will be one and the same person, in other cases not. Differing circumstances call for the use of different people. Irrespective of the individuals used, however, I found that sponsorship was an important part of gaining access to the locals in Kurow. It enabled me to overcome the reserve that some locals might have felt in the face of a prying outsider. It was also a device of continuing usefulness since it ensured that I was "passed on" from one informant to the next.

While preparing for fieldwork in Kurow, I decided on a high priority for basic background information on the households in the district. I prepared maps and data-sheets to this end and drew up a list of household information required (see Chapter 3). By the end of the first five-week period of fieldwork, I had gathered this information on virtually all households by using a network of ten main informants. This approach continued to serve me well in the later stages of the research when I replicated this "social mapping" exercise in developing the historical dimension to the project. Different networks were used for different kinds of information, but the need for sponsorship obviously declined as my reputation became better established within the district. If the following comment from a Kurow

informant is any indication, I seemed to have solved the access problem satisfactorily:

> Many budding researchers frankly wouldn't have the qualifications to succeed in a small community. They would be too cosmopolitan and not sensitive enough to local modes of thinking, outlook, relative values etc. Remember, locals are suspicious and therefore sensitive to those who don't try to "fit in". You, as a researcher, would be the exception rather than the rule in this regard. You are sensitive and thus "aware" and your quick humour is a definite advantage for "easing in" among small-community attitudes and suspicions.

CONTINUANCES

My original intention had been to carry out the project by means of a three-year PhD scholarship. In all probability, this would have entailed a research programme of one year of preparation, one year of fieldwork, and one year to write up. Almost inevitably, this would have resulted in a fairly traditional community study with much attention on the contemporary social situation and not much on the historical situation. Before commencing the research, however, I took up a full-time lecturing position in the Sociology Department at Canterbury and this had profound implications for the development and eventual outcome of the study.

Instead of gathering the data over one concentrated period of fieldwork, I was forced by the demands of University teaching, to restrict my fieldwork mainly to University vacations. Between the end of 1977 and the beginning of 1982, I therefore returned to Kurow with my family during the January, May and August holidays of each year. These short visits ranged from one week

to six weeks in length and in total during this period, we spent approximately six months in the district.

Fieldwork data is not just simply "collected". More often than not, it is struggled for, sweated over and won, only after considerable mental and physical effort. Coding historical data for computer analysis is time-consuming and boring, but it has to be done. Interviewing strangers is a stressful activity, especially at the end of the day. The daily commitment to writing up field notes requires discipline and dedication, not the least when it competes with being in the field. And always, there is that inner tension between gathering data and trying to make "sociological sense" of it. It is not surprising, therefore, that fieldwork should be so demanding, physically, mentally and emotionally.

Physical strain results from the necessity for systematic and comprehensive note taking. In all, the fieldwork produced just over 2,000 A4 pages of single-spaced, typed field notes. Mornings would be religiously given over to writing up notes from the day before and the unwritten pact with myself was that I would not venture out again in search of more data until the previous day had been "written up". The strain of remembering detail and recording it often affected my sleeping patterns:

> I haven't been sleeping at all well since we came here. My mind seems to be too active. I dream about the project off and on, more the mechanics of gathering the data than the people involved. I'm working from about seven in the morning until nine at night and it is quite tiring. ... I wake in the morning and feel as if I haven't been to bed. I seem to spend most of my sleeping hours gathering information from informants. I've woken a couple of times in a panic in case I wouldn't remember the information. (Field Notes, December 31st, 1977 and January 15th, 1978)

Mental strain results from the necessity for analysis to proceed alongside data collection as the fieldworker searches for "understanding", not just "information". This was something that affected me all through the project, but I noted it particularly when the long period of fieldwork was begun in May of 1982:

> I don't know what I'm doing. I feel terribly depressed and uncertain. We've been here for six days now and I haven't done a thing. I think of all I have to do and I go into a state of suspended limbo because I don't really know what I'm doing. How am I going to write this up? Have I just been playing at research all these years? Quite content to be an assiduous gatherer of information but not really knowing what it's being gathered for? The mindless empiricist! I feel so bad that I know I have to get it out of my system, and so I sit at the machine and type it out. I almost feel that when depressive moods like this come on me it's analogous to the travail of childbirth. Somehow I have to suffer through the lows in order to get to the high beyond - and it always follows close afterwards. I know that fieldwork proper has begun because I'm beginning to feel lost and depressed. Welcome back. (Field Notes, May 13th, 1982)

Even towards the end of that period of fieldwork, there were still misgivings:

> I'm not only feeling quite tired just now, but also a little bit dispirited. As it gets closer to the end I begin to get those feelings of inadequacy and uncertainty. I'm not sure that I've got all that I need. I'm not sure that I can bring it all together. I get this horrible premonition that when I sit down to try to bring it together I'll realise that all I've got is a large pile of unassociated facts and figures. It's hard to overcome these feelings when you feel as tired as I'm feeling. (Field Notes, November 15th, 1982)

The emotional strain results from the necessity for marginality within the research situation. The fieldworker has to be two persons at once, part of the scene and yet apart from it, thus producing role strain:

> This is the stuff that shouldn't be typed. I wish I didn't have to do this kind of work. I wish I didn't have to be on duty all the time. I wish I didn't have to spend my time being nice to people, being on-guard, being up-tight. But it's an indication of my commitment that I continue. I come in, sit down at the typewriter and get it all out on paper where it can be examined, analysed and preserved for posterity. I feel depressed.

The marginality of the fieldworker role means that significant social contact will be rare since the researcher must always be "on" when interacting with informants:

> The only time we come into contact with people is when we go out to meet them. Hardly anyone calls in to see us or telephones. We could all die in this little cabin and it would be days or even weeks before anyone realised. They're friendly enough when you go to see them, but they're never friendly enough to come and see you. It gives me an insight into how the transients must feel. And yet, the transients have each other and we have no one. The nature of the work dictates that we have to go out and be friendly with the locals, not huddle with other transients and complain about the unfriendliness of the locals. That's what makes it harder. (Field Notes, September 20th, 1982)

The mood of the fieldworker is often one of despondency:

> I got a touch of the fieldwork blues around tea time. I had compared the information that I had for 1920 with a possible projection towards what the census for 1921 told me I should have had. It seemed as if I was far short of what I should have got. I was worried by this. I've been fretting over the fact that the school registers are missing for the years prior to 1939. Those are pretty essential for this reconstruction work, and I feel that they have to be somewhere. The lists for past school jubilees must have been got together from somewhere. Hopefully I'll get over this depression soon. My methodology must be right. I've been so painstaking about this whole exercise that I must come close to what I should get. The main problem stems from the fact that I don't know how many children there are in the census figures. There is an answer somewhere. (Field Notes, January 16th, 1981)

At other times, however, when a hunch pays off, a connection can be seen, or a research strategy bears fruit, it all seems worthwhile. In May of 1981 I went with the Kurow headmaster to the Hocken Library in Dunedin in search of material for the school's jubilee booklet. Records for the school prior to 1939 had been destroyed in a fire but, quite by chance, I discovered at the Hocken that the library had examiner's reports for the school from the time it opened in 1882. This was a marvellous windfall and in my excitement I hugged a bemused headmaster who responded to my cries of delight with looks of amazement. Similar exhilaration occurred in January 1981 when I finally figured out how to gather historical data on the township population:

> I was really excited when the interview finished. It was obvious that by working with houses, then our coverage of the population should be pretty accurate. This was the methodological equivalent of using farm boundaries for the farm land and establishing who was on the land. I sat and enthused to Nancy for ages after I got back home. I was really excited. Suddenly, it had all come together in an unexpected way. It was fortunate that I had responded to those impulses in the way that I did. Extreme gratification, excitement and satisfaction. After all the hard work and effort, I'm coming close now to pulling this off. It's a nice feeling. (Field Notes, January 21st, 1981).

It was these short visits between the end of 1977 and the beginning of 1982 that made me realise how important it was to incorporate a strong historical component into the project. This was brought about, not only by the increasing historical tendency within locality studies themselves, but also by the realisation that researching the district's history would seem more valid to the locals - and hence be less threatening - than would "prying"

into the sociological dimensions of their collective present. An historical approach, therefore, became as much a practical as a theoretical and analytical necessity. Obviously, in the process, the sociological concerns were neither lost nor diminished. They simply became recast into a more acceptable form.

The pattern that developed saw me working on historical documentation in Christchurch in the periods between vacations and using the periods of fieldwork (a) to gather more historical data; (b) to interview informants and participate in local activities; and (c) to check the accuracy of material already collected. This scheduling of work was most beneficial since it allowed the historical dimension to be developed slowly and carefully. I also built up an extensive collection of old photographs of the district and deposited one set of the slides in the local museum. Organising slide evenings during field visits helped the acceptance process.

The main period of fieldwork took place between May and December of 1982 when study leave enabled me to live in the district full-time with my family and so complete the data-gathering. Much of the historical reconstruction work had already been completed by this stage and this provided a very solid base of factual knowledge upon which to develop oral history interviews with older residents. In this way, many of the problems normally associated with the oral history approach were avoided - hazy memories, rosy recollections of the past, inadequate detail in recall etc, (see Pearson, 1979:85-86). Informant recollections could easily be cross-checked against the existing wide variety of documentation. Indeed, local

recognition of the thoroughness of this aspect of the research meant that on more than one occasion, I was approached by locals for details of their own family histories. Ironically, this thoroughness would not have been possible if my original research plans had been adhered to. Gradually, I acquired the status of "honorary" local in the district.

Such close contact with older informants had a particular cost, however, in the shape of informant mortality. Many of my informants died either during the time of fieldwork or shortly afterwards, and on occasions, this was something that could not simply be shrugged off. I had come to regard many of them as friends and their passing had an emotional impact on me. One informant contracted cancer and I visited him in Oamaru Hospital. I waited in the corridor while his room was made ready, then was shown in:

> The room may have been ready, but I wasn't. There was a skeleton propped up in bed with staring eyes, sunken cheeks and protruding teeth. He was almost unrecognisable. He was conscious and the women seemed to be trying to minimise the horror that was before me by normalising the conversation. "It's Mr Hall", his wife shouted in his right ear. "He's writing a book". There was no flicker of recognition to indicate that he was receiving her. His daughter shouted something in his other ear. The women were quite bright and talked normally. I tried not to look at him but felt they were embarrassed and were trying to persuade me that this horror that existed before them wasn't really husband and father. I didn't stay long. I said goodbye and looked at him one last time. Almost impulsively I said "God bless you". The women said goodbye to me and, as I walked to the door, I heard him say "goodbye". The women made a big thing of this. It may be the case that he doesn't speak anymore. I went outside and cried. I was really shocked. Death is one thing but this was far more horrible. I got in the car and couldn't stop crying. Informant mortality is something that you read

> about in textbooks and think nothing of it. But it hits you fair and square between the eyes when it's one of yours, especially when you've spent a lot of time with him and have grown to like him. Goodbye Ike, don't suffer too much. Thanks for everything. (Field Notes, August 19th, 1982)

ENDINGS

The fieldwork was finished in December of 1982 but the process of exiting began a few months prior to that:

> Now that the holiday weekend was behind us and there was only about six weeks to go, it very definitely had the feeling to it that this was "it". It was tidy-up time and no thought to be given to opening up fresh areas for investigation. It is now that I feel that we are about to "exit". (Field Notes, October 26th, 1982)

It was about this stage that we started to get numerous invitations for meals. It was obvious to the locals too that we were in the process of leaving. By the time we left, data-gathering had largely been completed, but ties with the district were by no means severed. In common with most field researchers, I had experienced what it meant to "surrender" to a research locale (see Wolff, 1974) and so we were subsequently drawn back to the district time and again to maintain friendships, tidy up data and consult with informants during the writing process. By distributing copies of papers I was writing and acting as consultant for the local museum committee and school jubilee committees in Kurow and Hakataramea Valley, I was able to pay back some of the debt of gratitude that I owed to so many of the district's people. Since this debt will never be adequately repaid, there is no "ending" as such. Through penetrating the "many mists" of the Kurow district's past, our life as a family has become enmeshed in its future. Such are the perils of fieldwork.

APPENDIX TWO

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

An occupational classification scheme was required for two main aspects of the study: first, developing an occupational profile of the district at fifteen-yearly intervals from 1905; and second, examining issues of class intermarriage between 1880 and 1980. Historical reconstruction data was used as the basis for the first exercise and marriage data for the second. There were obvious problems involved in classifying occupations across such long periods (and some discussion of these issues can be found in Thernstrom, 1973; Katz, 1972; Armstrong, 1972; and Pearson, 1980) but more fundamental problems arose from the rural-based nature of the occupations concerned. The basic problem here was that the classification schemes normally used in New Zealand research proved to be inadequate when it came to classifying farmers.

Although Davis, in his occupational prestige ranking scale (1974), did differentiate between eight types of farmers (from "Farmer,Dairy, well established" to "Farmer, Wheat"), his broad socio-economic classification placed them in the "White collar/Non-manual" category. His distinction there was between "landed proprietors", "substantial farmers", and "small farmer". This was hardly a meaningful demarcation, however, since neither of these last two terms were defined in any way ("substantial" and "small") and, indeed, both of these categories could technically have been subsumed in the first.

Similar limitations were encountered with the Elley-Irving "revised socio-economic index" (1976). There, all farmers were

grouped together in one category, "...regardless of the size of their property". The justification offered for this was that "...such distinctions are not recognised in the official figures" (1976:29). Elley and Irving commented further: "A more refined breakdown of farmers was possible, but considered unnecessary as the average figures for the principal types of farmers - mixed, sheep, dairy, cattle, grain - were very similar" (1976:29-30).

Johnston's revision of the Elley-Irving index (1983) provided a more detailed breakdown of farmers, but this was constructed in such a way that farmers other than cattle, market gardener and stud racehorse farmers were coded as "farmers not elsewhere classified". David Pearson's revision of the Elley-Irving index (1980) also failed to deal with farmers in a satisfactory way, largely because it was an urban study and farmers only appeared in the early period of Johnsonville's settlement.

Confronting the issue of what to do with farmers drew attention to the need for a separate "proprietorial" category and this was another area where previous schemes were felt to be inadequate. Davis subsumed proprietors in the non-manual category and Elley-Irving gave no special recognition to them as a group, arguing that "... if distinctions of property and wealth could be made, they would be of doubtful value, since the typical research worker rarely has access to such information for his subjects" (1976:29). While this point is accepted as having general reference, a locality study must be considered to be an exception here, especially one where certificates of title have been used as a central data source.

The issue of coding for proprietors was resolved in two main ways. First, a range of farmer categories were differentiated: small farmers (small-scale market gardeners, poultry farmers, fruit growers, pig farmers), middle farmers (cropping, sheep and mixed) and run holders (sheep runs and stations). Of greater significance than this, however, was the distinction that was made between farmers who employed regular wage labour and those who did not (see Wilkes and Willmott, 1976). Secondly, the proprietorial category was extended beyond farm proprietors to differentiate between skilled manual proprietors (self-employed tradesmen), petty proprietors (small business proprietors) and intermediate proprietors (other local businessmen).

Apart from the proprietorial category, the two other main categories in the scheme covered "non-manual" occupations (professional, semi-professional, administrative and white-collar) and "manual" occupations (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled). Occupations within these categories were further sub-divided into farm and non-farm categories. With the addition of a "non-occupational" category to cover adults who were not in paid employment (such as housewives, retired people and invalids) the classification scheme was complete. It thus comprised four main categories (proprietorial, non-manual, manual and non-occupational) with twenty-three sub-categories. The classification scheme was developed in consultation with David Thorns.

The occupational categories and sub-categories are listed overleaf. This is followed by (a) a listing of individual occupations by category; and (b) two tables showing the occupational distribution of adult males and females (1905-1982).

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

A. NON-MANUAL

High Non-manual
1 Professional
2 Higher Administrative (Non-Farm)
3 Higher Administrative (Farm)

Intermediate Non-manual
4 Semi-Professional
5 Intermediate Administrative (Non-Farm)
6 Intermediate Administrative (Farm)

Low Non-manual
7 Lower Administrative (Non-Farm)
8 Lower Administrative (Farm)
9 Routine White Collar

B. PROPRIETORIAL

Major Proprietorial
10 Major Proprietorial (Regional)

Intermediate Proprietorial
11 Intermediate Proprietorial (Local)

Farm Proprietorial
12 Sheep Station Proprietor
13 Middle Farmer
14 Small Farmer

Petty Proprietorial
15 Petty Proprietor
16 Skilled Manual Proprietor

C. MANUAL

Skilled Manual
17 Skilled Manual (Non-Farm)
18 Skilled Manual (Farm)

Semi-Skilled Manual
19 Semi-skilled Manual (Non-Farm)
20 Semi-skilled Manual (Farm)

Unskilled Manual
21 Unskilled Manual (Non-Farm)
22 Unskilled Manual (Farm)

D. NON-OCCUPATIONAL
23 Non-Occupational

LISTING OF INDIVIDUAL OCCUPATIONS

1. PROFESSIONAL
   Doctor

2. HIGHER ADMINISTRATIVE (Non-Farm)
   No District Occupations

3. HIGHER ADMINISTRATIVE (Farm)
   Manager of Sheep Station

4. SEMI-PROFESSIONAL

Accountant	Artist
Bank Manager	Draughtsman (W.C.C.)
Draughtswoman (W.C.C.)	Engineer (W.C.C.)
Forrester (W.C.C.)	Governess
Hospital Matron	Minister - Anglican
Minister - Presbyterian	Nurse (Registered)
School Dental Nurse	School Deputy Headmaster
School Headmaster	School Librarian
School Master	School Teacher
Social Worker	Soil Conservator W.C.C.

5. INTERMEDIATE ADMINISTRATIVE (Non-Farm)

Company Representative	Executive Officer W.C.C.
Irrigation Manager M.O.W.	Manager of Creamery
Manager of Fish Hatchery	Manager of Motel
Manager of Motor Company	Manager of Special School
Manager of Store	Manager(ess) of T.A.B.
Post Master	Station Master Railway
Stock and Station Agent	Stock Inspector

6. INTERMEDIATE ADMINISTRATIVE (Farm)
   Farm Manager

7. LOWER ADMINISTRATIVE (Non-Farm)

Assistant Postmaster	Assistant Raceman M.O.W.
Assistant Stock Inspector	Foreman Water Race M.O.W.
Foreman Motor Company	Foreman M.O.W.
Foreman N.Z.E.D. Camp	Foreman Rabbit Board
Leading Hand P.D.B.	Noxious Weeds Inspector P.D.B.

   Ranger Acclimitisation Society

8. LOWER ADMINISTRATIVE (Farm)
   Head Shepherd

9. ROUTINE WHITE COLLAR

Clerk(ess) Bank	Clerk(ess) Motor Company
Clerk(ess) M.O.W.	Clerk(ess) Post Office
Clerk(ess) Railway	Clerk(ess) Special School
Clerk(ess) Store	Clerk(ess) W.C.C.
School Library Assistant	Secretary School
Secretary W.C.C.	

10. MAJOR PROPRIETORIAL (Regional)
No District Occupations

11. INTERMEDIATE PROPRIETORIAL (Local)

Businessman	Coal Merchant
Hotel Keeper	Livery Stables Proprietor
Milk Delivery Proprietor	Motel Proprietor
Motor Camp Proprietor	Motor Company Proprietor
Store Keeper	

12. SHEEP STATION PROPRIETOR

Runholder (Employer)	Runholder (Non-employer)

13. MIDDLE FARMER

Middle Farmer (Employer)	Middle Farmer (Non-employer)
Orchardist (Employer)	Orchardist (Non-Employer)

14. SMALL FARMER

Apiarist	Dairy Farmer (Smallholder)
Fruit Grower (Smallholder)	Market Gardener
Pig Farmer	Poultry Farmer
Smallholder Farmer	

15. PETTY PROPRIETOR

Billiard Hall Proprietor	Bread Deliveryman (s.e.)
Cafe Proprietor	Cement Silo Proprietor
Draper Shop Proprietor	Dress Shop Proprietor
Milk Bar Proprietor	Milk Vendor
Rural Deliveryman (s.e.)	School Bus Driver (s.e.)
Shop Proprietor	Skin Buyer

16. SKILLED MANUAL PROPRIETOR

Agricultural Contractor	Blacksmith (s.e.)
Bootmaker (s.e.)	Bricklayer (s.e.)
Builder (s.e.)	Bullock Driver (s.e.)
Butcher Proprietor	Carpenter (s.e.)
Carrier (s.e.)	Coach Builder (s.e.)
Coal Miner (s.e.)	Electrician (s.e.)
Garage Proprietor	Grocer Proprietor
Hairdresser (s.e.)	Mill Owner (s.e.)
Painter (s.e.)	Paper Hanger (s.e.)
Plumber (s.e.)	Saddler (s.e.)
Shearing Contractor	Stock Dealer
Tailor (s.e.)	Taxi Proprietor
Taxidermist (s.e.)	Waggoner (s.e.)

17. SKILLED MANUAL (Non-Farm)

Baker (Employee)	Basket Maker Special School
Blacksmith (Employee)	Bootmaker (Employee)
Bootmaker Special School	Carpenter (Employee)
Carpenter Special School	Coach Builder (Employee)
Electrician (Employee)	Engineer Special School
Grocer (Employee)	Hairdresser (Employee)
Linesman Post Office	Mechanic
Midwife	Painter (Employee)
Plumber (Employee)	Police Constable
Plumber Special School	Tailoress (Employee)

18. SKILLED MANUAL (Farm)

Blacksmith (Farm)	Shearer
Shepherd	Stockman
Teamster	Wool Classer

19. SEMI-SKILLED MANUAL (Non-Farm)

Apprentice Boot Repairer	Apprentice Carpenter
Apprentice Mechanic	Blacksmith's Assistant
Boiler man Special School	Bulldozer Driver
Butcher's Assistant	Cement Driver
Coach Driver	Cook (Non-Farm)
Cook Special School	County Driver
County Grader Driver	Delivery Driver
Drapery Assistant	Driver
Evangelist	Exchange Operator Post Office
Freezing Worker	Gardener (Non-Farm)
Grocer's Assistant	Groomsman
Groundsman Special School	Hardware Assistant
Horse Trainer	Hotel Cook
Housekeeper (Non-Farm)	Instructor Special School
Mail Delivery Man	Mail Delivery Woman
Milk Deliveryman	Plumber's Assistant
Railway Engine Driver	Railway Guard
Railway Shunter	Railway Stoker
Shop Assistant	Storeman Special School
Storeman M.O.W.	Store Assistant
Storeman Stock Firm	Truck Driver
Wagon Driver	

20. SEMI-SKILLED MANUAL (Farm)

Cook (Farm)	Fencer
Gardener (Farm)	Housekeeper (Farm)
Musterer	Ploughman
Son of Farmer (working for father)	Tractor Driver

21. UNSKILLED MANUAL (Non-Farm)

Barman	Cement Worker
Cleaner	County Employee
County Roadman	County Surfaceman
Domestic (Non-Farm)	Fish Hatchery Worker
Garage Assistant	General Attendant Special School
Hotel Employee	Hotel Housemaid
Hotel Porter	Hydro Operator
Labourer (Non-Farm)	Labourer M.O.W.
Milk Bar Assistant	N.Z.E.D. Employee
Pantry Maid	Rabbit Board Employee
Railway Worker	Railway Ganger
Railway Porter	Railway Surfaceman
School Caretaker	Waitress
Watchman Special School	Water Race Employee M.O.W.

22. UNSKILLED MANUAL (Farm)

Agricultural Worker	Cowboy
Cowman-Gardener	Domestic (Farm)
Farm Worker	Labourer (Farm)
Land Girl	Orchard Worker
Rabbiter	Rouseabout
Threshing Mill Hand	

23. NON-OCCUPATIONAL

Disabled	Housewife
Invalid	Remittance Man
Retired	Single-at-Home
Spinster	Student
Unemployed	Widow
Widower	

Abbreviations :

W.C.C.:	Waitaki Catchment Commission
M.O.W.:	Ministry of Works
T.A.B.:	Totalisator Agency Board
P.D.B.:	Pest Destruction Board
N.Z.E.D.:	New Zealand Electricty Department
s.e. :	Self Employed

Table 1 : Occupations of Adult Males

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Runholder	17	25	28	36	36	31
Middle Farmer	35	65	63	79	69	83
Small Farmer	5	14	12	8	8	3
FARMER	57	104	103	123	113	117
Major Proprietorial	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intermediate Prop	9	6	2	2	1	7
Petty Proprietor	4	5	7	6	3	8
Skilled Manual Prop	25	22	11	16	23	27
BUSINESS	36	33	20	24	27	42
Professional	1	1	1	-	1	1
Semi-Professional	5	5	7	6	14	23
Higher Admin (Non-Farm)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intermed Admin (Non-Farm)	9	7	8	11	14	11
Lower Admin (Non-Farm)	-	-	-	1	4	9
Higher Admin (Farm)	-	1	1	1	-	-
Intermed Admin (Farm)	6	8	10	3	8	3
Lower Admin (Farm)	2	1	-	1	-	1
White Collar	-	2	2	4	5	3
NON-MANUAL	23	25	29	27	46	51
Skilled (Non-Farm)	2	6	9	6	8	4
Semi-skilled (Non-Farm)	18	13	29	30	51	26
Unskilled (Non-Farm)	23	18	20	11	23	20
Skilled (Farm)	25	47	34	11	18	18
Semi-skilled (Farm)	47	41	55	41	27	30
Unskilled (Farm)	109	84	116	90	55	31
MANUAL	224	209	263	189	182	129
NON-OCCUPATIONAL	11	13	15	27	22	56
TOTAL	317	384	430	391	390	395

Table 2 : Occupations of Adult Females

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	1905	1920	1935	1950	1965	1982
Runholder	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Small Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-
FARMER	0	0	0	0	0	0
Major Proprietorial	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intermediate Prop	-	-	-	-	-	-
Petty Proprietor	2	-	-	-	3	-
Skilled Manual Prop	-	1	1	1	1	2
BUSINESS	2	1	1	1	4	2
Professional	-	-	-	1	-	-
Semi-Professional	3	5	13	9	10	11
Higher Admin (Non-Farm)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intermed Admin (Non-Farm)	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lower Admin (Non-Farm)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Higher Admin (Farm)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intermed Admin (Farm)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lower Admin (Farm)	-	-	-	-	-	-
White Collar	-	1	3	3	7	15
NON-MANUAL	3	6	16	13	17	27
Skilled (Non-Farm)	1	2	1	-	-	-
Semi-skilled (Non-Farm)	2	-	7	10	7	8
Unskilled (Non-Farm)	11	8	8	6	3	8
Skilled (Farm)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Semi-skilled (Farm)	3	5	9	2	1	5
Unskilled (Farm)	20	24	22	2	1	4
MANUAL	37	39	47	20	12	25
NON-OCCUPATIONAL	233	286	307	319	306	311
TOTAL	275	332	371	353	339	365

APPENDIX THREE

SHEEP NUMBERS

Between 1890 and 1930, sheep numbers for individual New Zealand farmers were published in Volume H of The Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR). This information was arranged by sheep district (e.g., Canterbury-Kaikoura, Otago etc.) and within each sheep district, by county (e.g., Waimate County or Waitaki County etc.). Every flock within the county was listed alphabetically by owner, and sheep numbers were provided as at April 30th for the current and previous years. The publishing of this information in the AJHR was discontinued from 1930, and until 1952 it appeared in the same form under the title "Return of Sheepowners". However, no figures were published for 1941-43 or 1946. Between 1952 and 1978, the Department of Statistics produced "Sheep Returns for the Year Ended June", but these did not provide information on individual farmers. Since 1978, information about sheep and sheep farms has been published by the Department of Statistics in "Agricultural Statistics", but again, this was presented in aggregate form.

Reconstructing a profile of flocks in the Kurow district between 1890 and 1952 was a fairly straightforward task. The appropriate county lists for each year were perused and details of district flocks were extracted on to a form developed for the purpose. This was done in 1982 after copies of the 1930-52 material had been obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries' library in Wellington. Because of the prior

landownership reconstruction exercise (see Appendix 4), it was possible to gather these data in a fairly systematic way. Knowing the names of successive owners allowed an accurate profile to be built up, farm by farm. This permitted a check to be made on gaps in the information where owners had been listed with a wrong address or with a misspelt name. Fortunately, this did not occur often. It was also the case that some farmers were listed with a Kurow address who did not, in fact, farm in the Kurow district, e.g. Omarama runholders who used a Kurow postal address. Again, the systematic nature of the approach allowed these to be identified and excluded where otherwise they would have been mistakenly included.

The product of this reconstruction exercise was twofold. First, the distribution of sheep by owner and flock size was developed for particular years (1890, 1905, 1920, 1935 and 1950). The results of this can be seen in Tables 7.5, 8.10 and 11.1 in the text of the dissertation. Second, the material was aggregated for each year according to locality and property type. The resulting data were graphed and these are presented as Figures 1-5 overleaf.

In 1982 I approached the Department of Statistics and enquired about getting access to comparable individualised material for the contemporary situation but they could only offer aggregate data. Given the changes in farming in the district after 1950, it is unfortunate that we cannot trace changes in sheep numbers for individual farms between then and 1982.

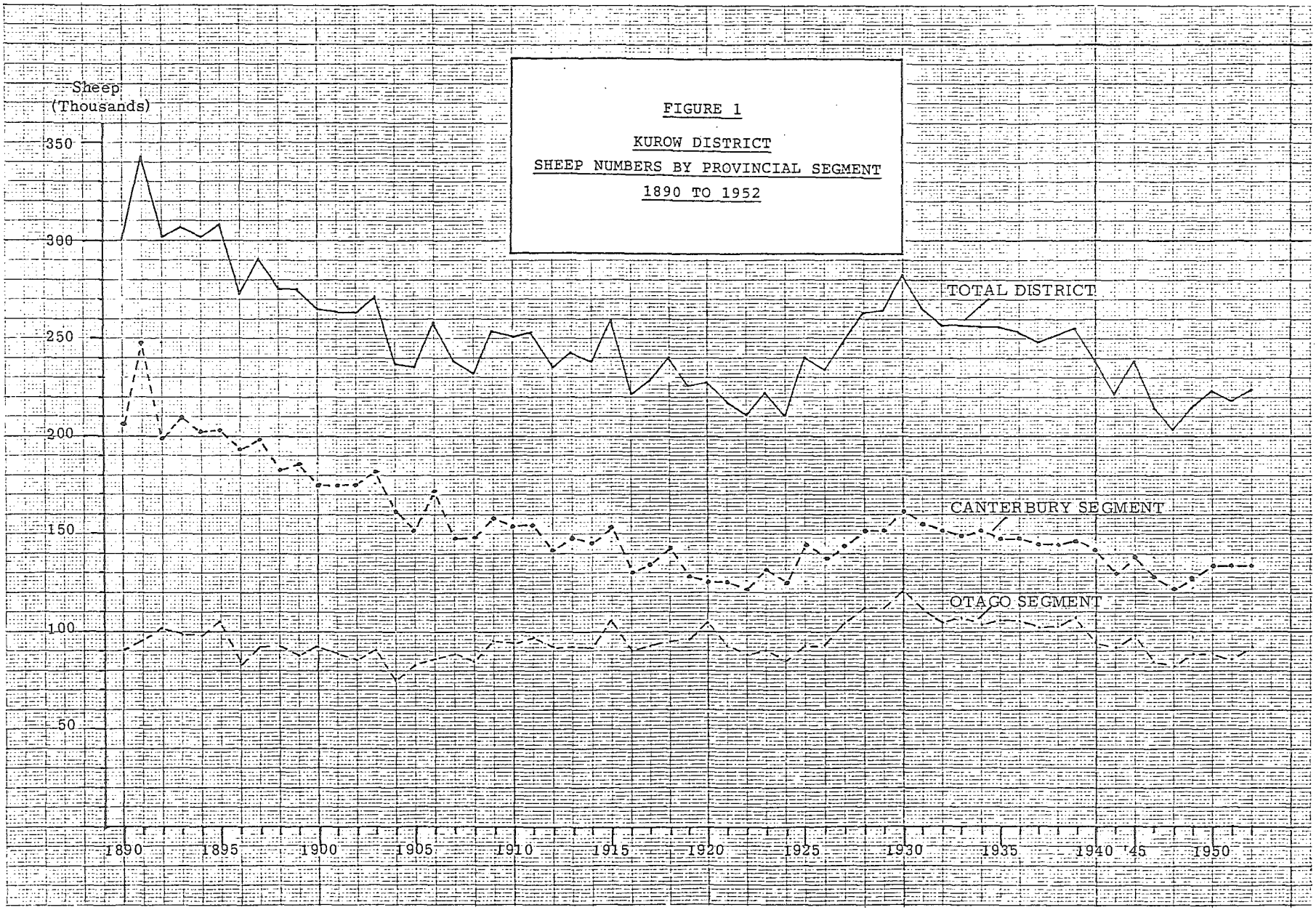


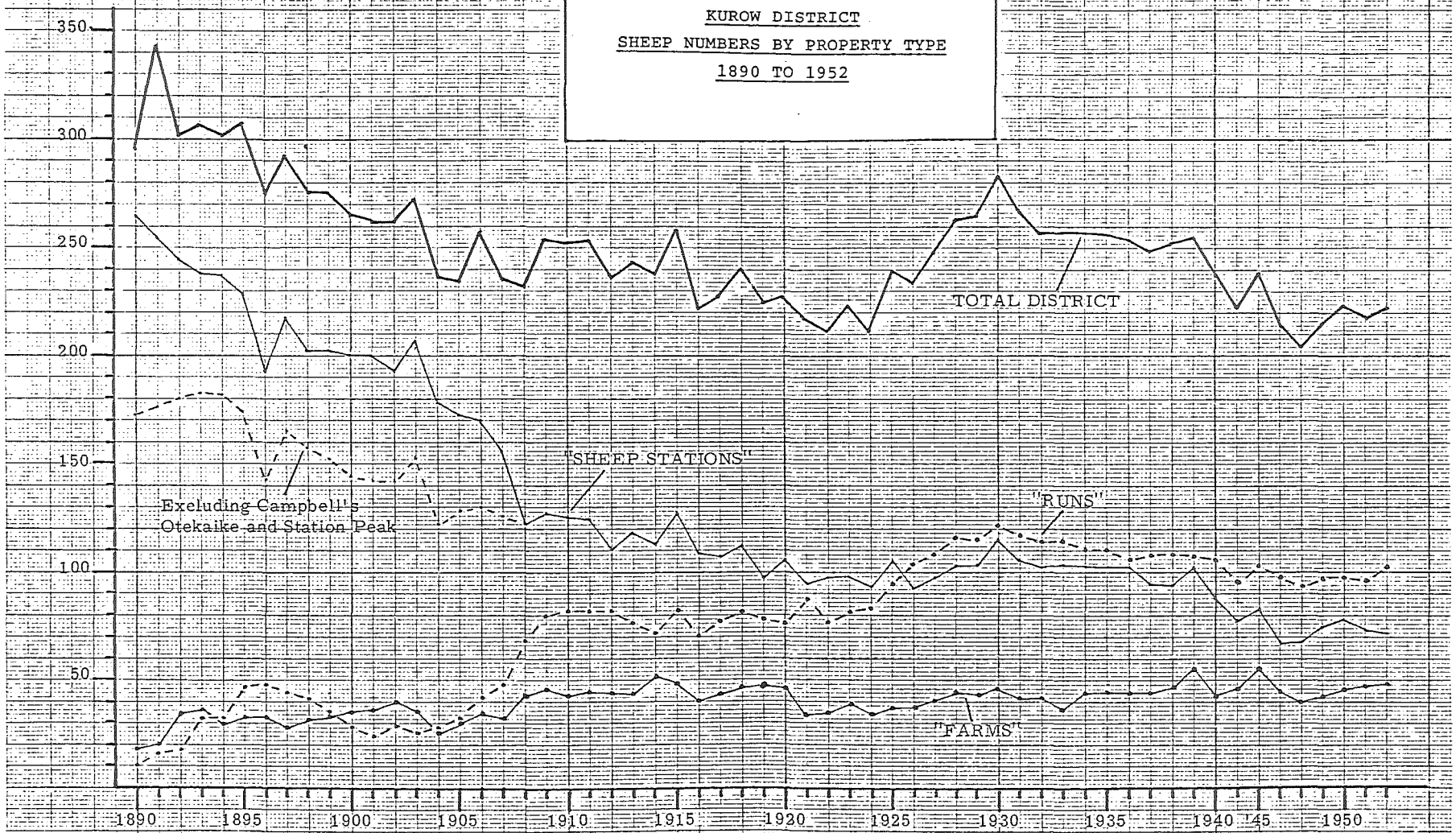
FIGURE 1
KUROW DISTRICT
SHEEP NUMBERS BY PROVINCIAL SEGMENT
1890 TO 1952
Sheep
(Thousands)
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
TOTAL DISTRICT
CANTERBURY SEGMENT
OTAGO SEGMENT
1890
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915
1920
1925
1930
1935
1940
'45
1950

FIGURE 2

KUROW DISTRICT

SHEEP NUMBERS BY PROPERTY TYPE

1890 TO 1952



SHEEP STATIONS : Otematata, Aviemore, Garguston, Rugged Ridges, Waitangi, Te Akaterawa, Haka Station, Haka Downs (until 1925) and Robert Campbell's Station Peak and Otekaike Station (pre-1908)

RUNS : The small grazing runs behind Otekaike, Otiake, Kurow and Wharekuri as well as the river runs between Mount Parker and the Haka River, the runs on the east side of the Haka valley and the properties in Cattle Creek.

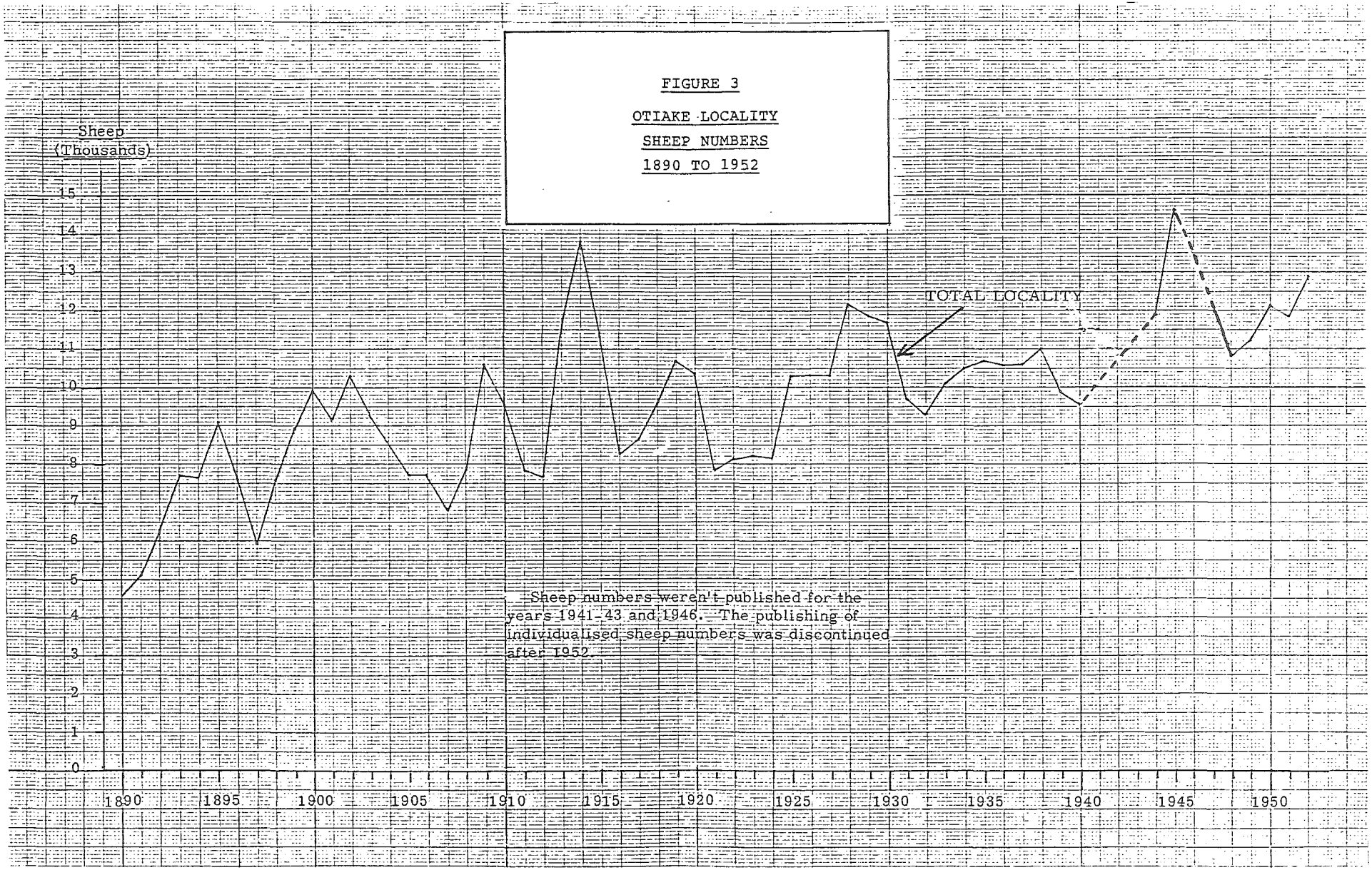
FARMS : The "intensive" farming properties in Otekaike, Otiake, Kurow vicinity and the lower Haka valley. This category also includes small-holdings.

FIGURE 3

OTIAKE LOCALITY

SHEEP NUMBERS

1890 TO 1952



Sheep numbers weren't published for the years 1941-43 and 1946. The publishing of individualised sheep numbers was discontinued after 1952.

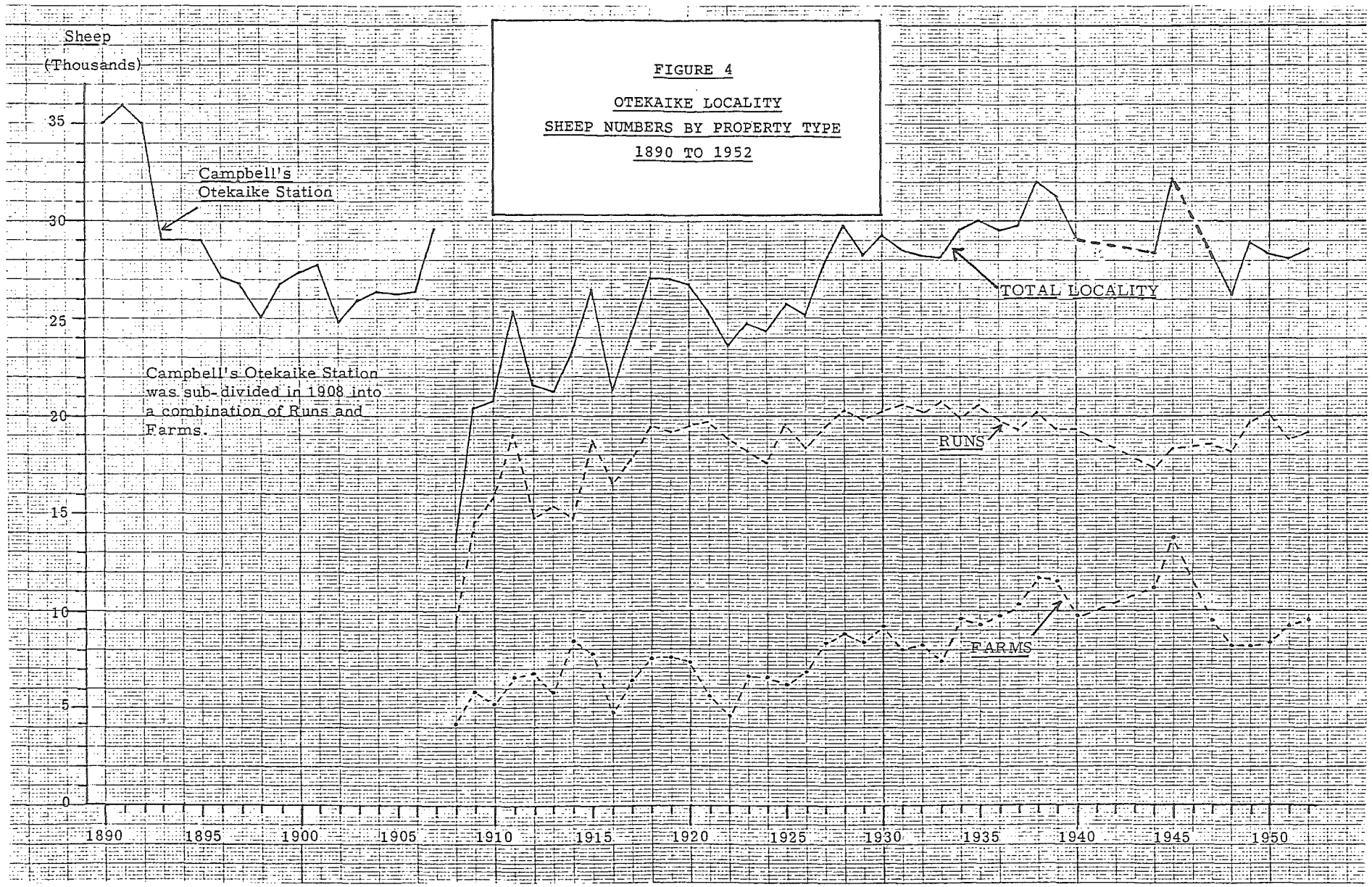


FIGURE 4
OTEKAIKE LOCALITY
SHEEP NUMBERS BY PROPERTY TYPE
1890 TO 1952
Sheep
(Thousands)
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1890
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915
1920
1925
1930
1935
1940
1945
1950
Campbell's
Otekaike Station
Campbell's Otekaike Station
was sub-divided in 1908 into
a combination of Runs and
Farms.
TOTAL LOCALITY
RUNS
FARMS

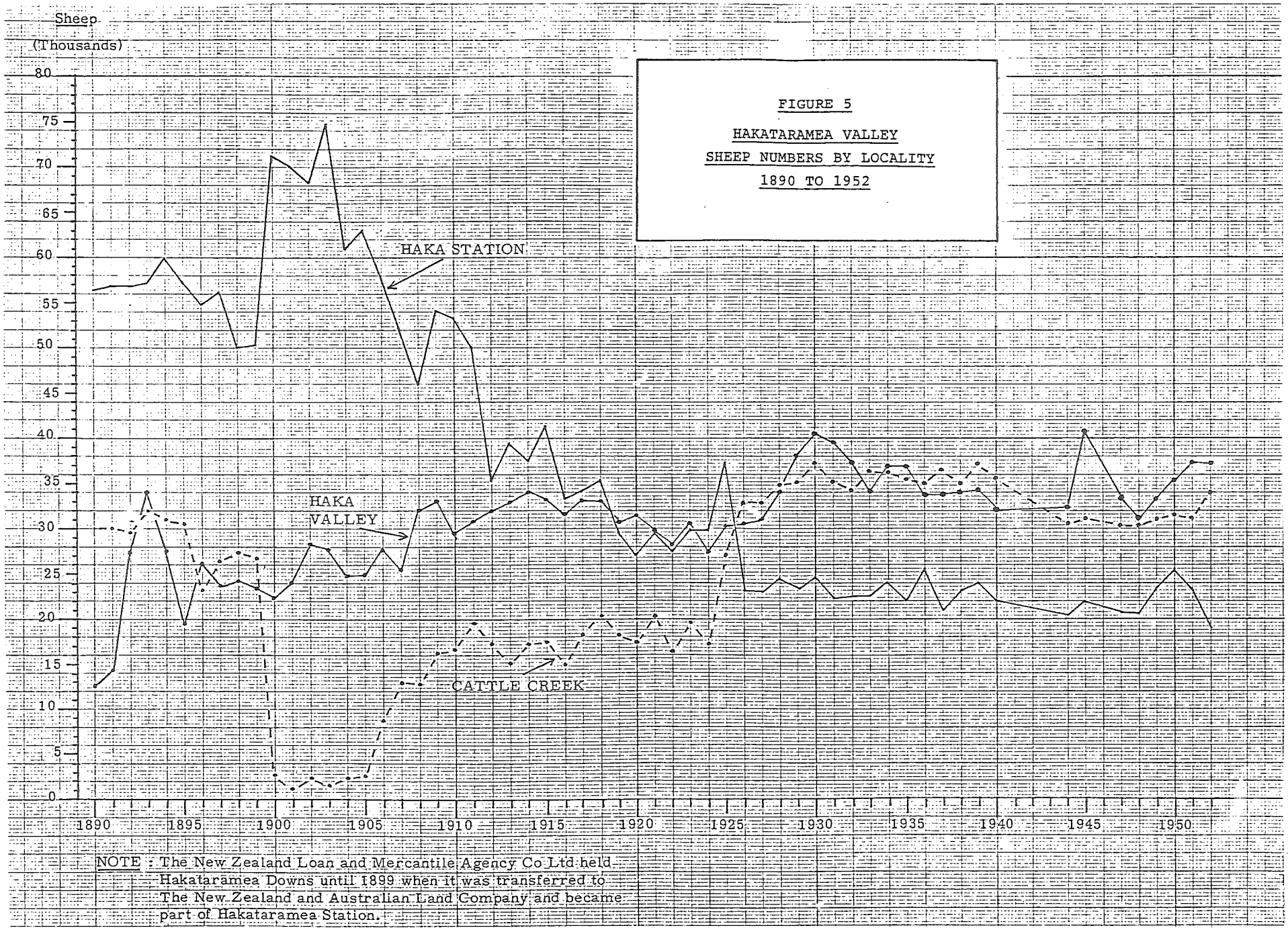


FIGURE 5

HAKATARAMEA VALLEY

SHEEP NUMBERS BY LOCALITY

1890 TO 1952

NOTE : The New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Co Ltd held Hakataramea Downs until 1899 when it was transferred to The New Zealand and Australian Land Company and became part of Hakataramea Station.

APPENDIX FOUR

LAND RECORDS

An indication of how land records were researched was provided in Chapter 3. A much fuller statement is available in Hall et al. (1983). Land records served two main purposes in the study. First, they enabled a detailed reconstruction of land ownership to be carried out for particular dates (i.e., December 25th 1905, 1920, 1935, 1950 and 1965). As was pointed out in Chapter 3, this was valuable not only for providing a profile of land ownership at those dates, but also for aiding the process of historical reconstruction of households. Second, since the certificates of title enabled the ownership of sections of land to be traced through time, these records provided the basis for developing a comprehensive understanding of how land ownership had developed within particular localities. Summaries of this process are provided as Figures 1-4. All of the localities shown are in North Otago. No South Canterbury localities have been included even though diagrams were also developed for them. This was because these were complicated by the re-surveying of land in the Hakataramea Valley that was carried out in the 1920s.

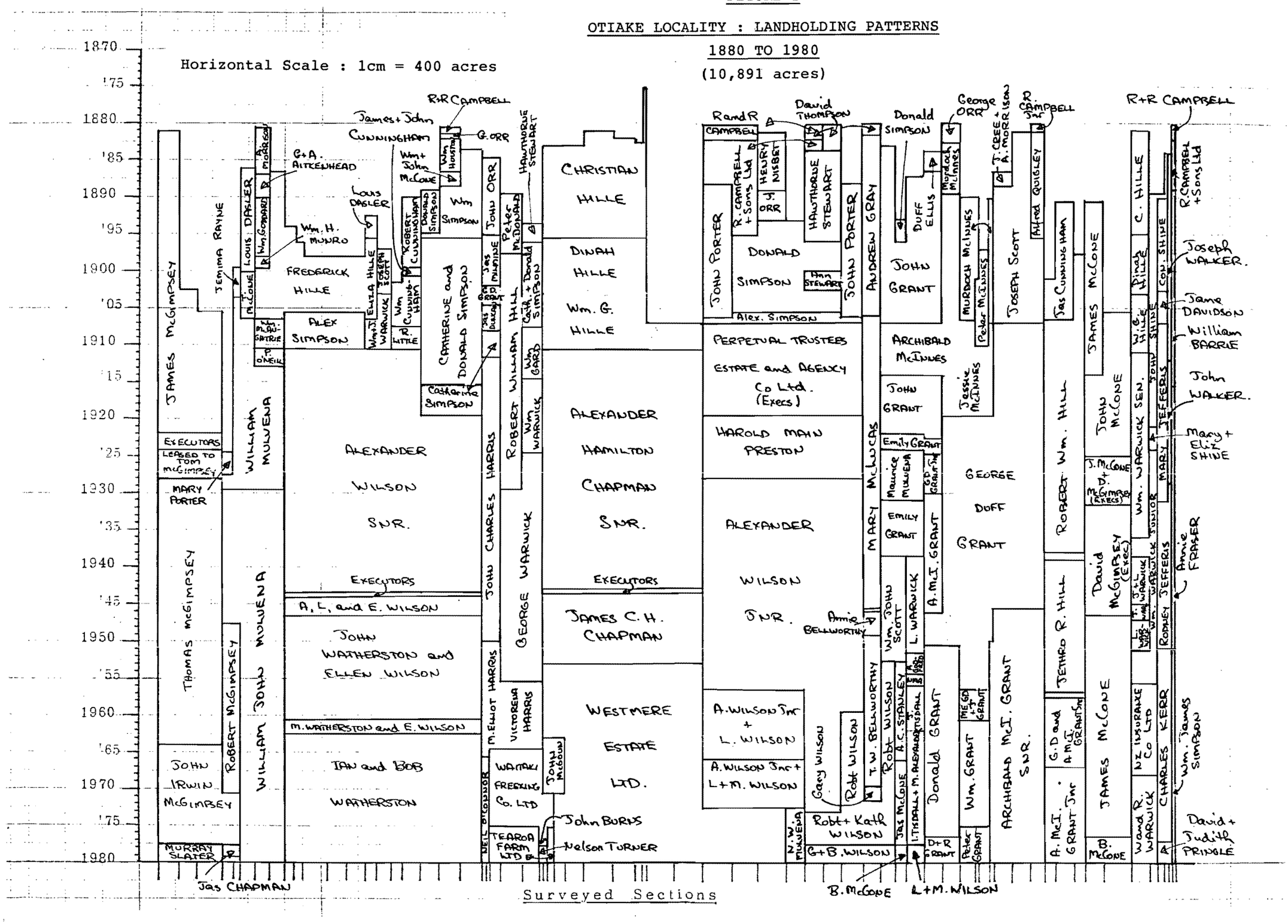
These Figures allow inter-locality comparisons to be made (c.f. the patterning in Figures 1 and 2b). They also allowed a check to be made on the accuracy of the data that had been extracted from the sheep records (see Appendix 3). Land records were thus a significant data source in the study.

FIGURE 1

OTIAKE LOCALITY : LANDHOLDING PATTERNS

1880 TO 1980

(10,891 acres)



Surveyed Sections

FIGURE 2A

OTEKAIKE LOCALITY : LANDHOLDING PATTERNS

PASTORAL RUNS

1908 TO 1980

(34,905 acres)

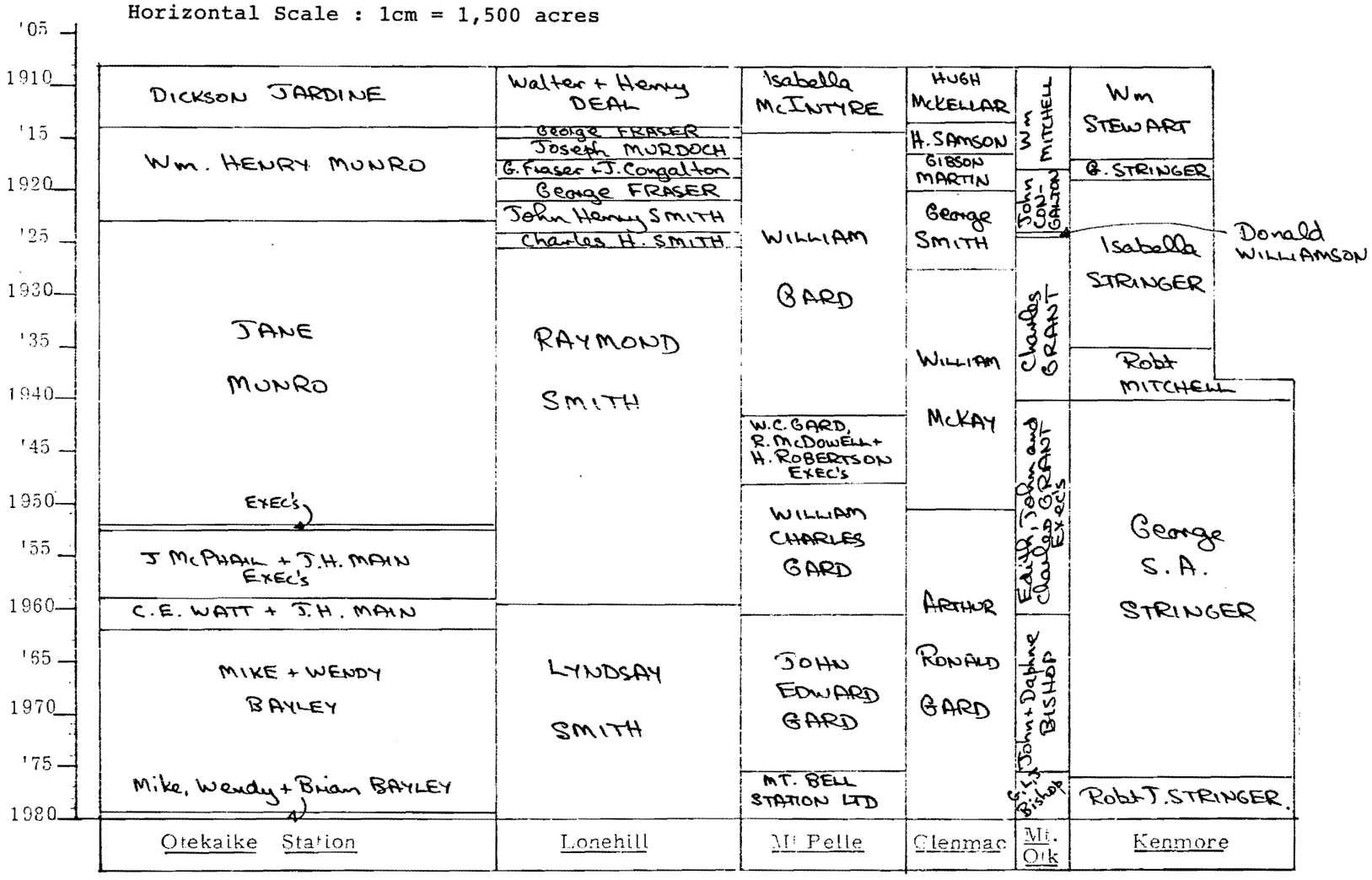


FIGURE 2B

OTEKAIKE LOCALITY : LANDHOLDING PATTERNS

FARM BLOCKS

1908 TO 1980

(11,718 acres)

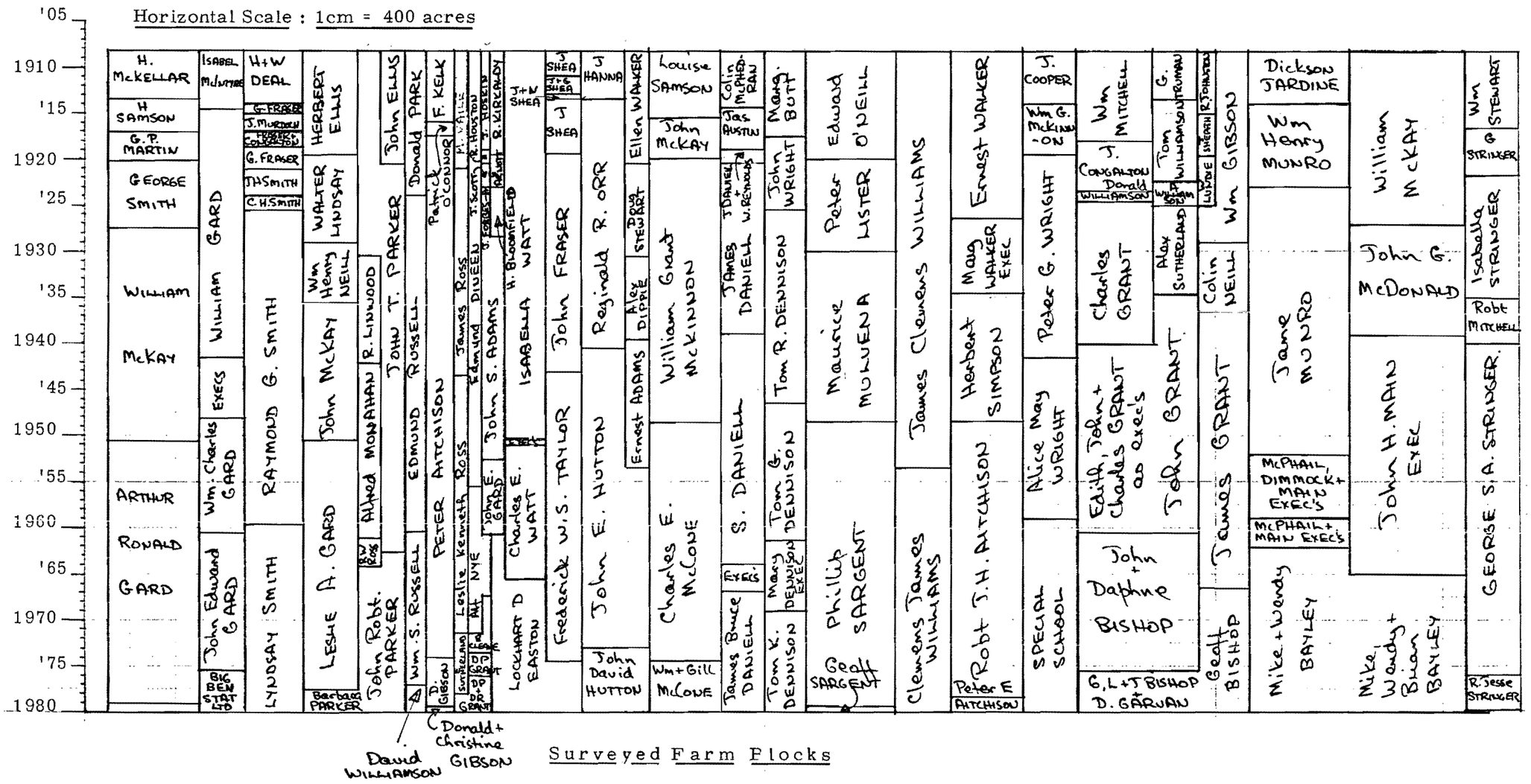


FIGURE 2C

OTEKAIKE LOCALITY : LANDHOLDING PATTERNS

SMALLHOLDINGS

1908 TO 1980

(210 acres)

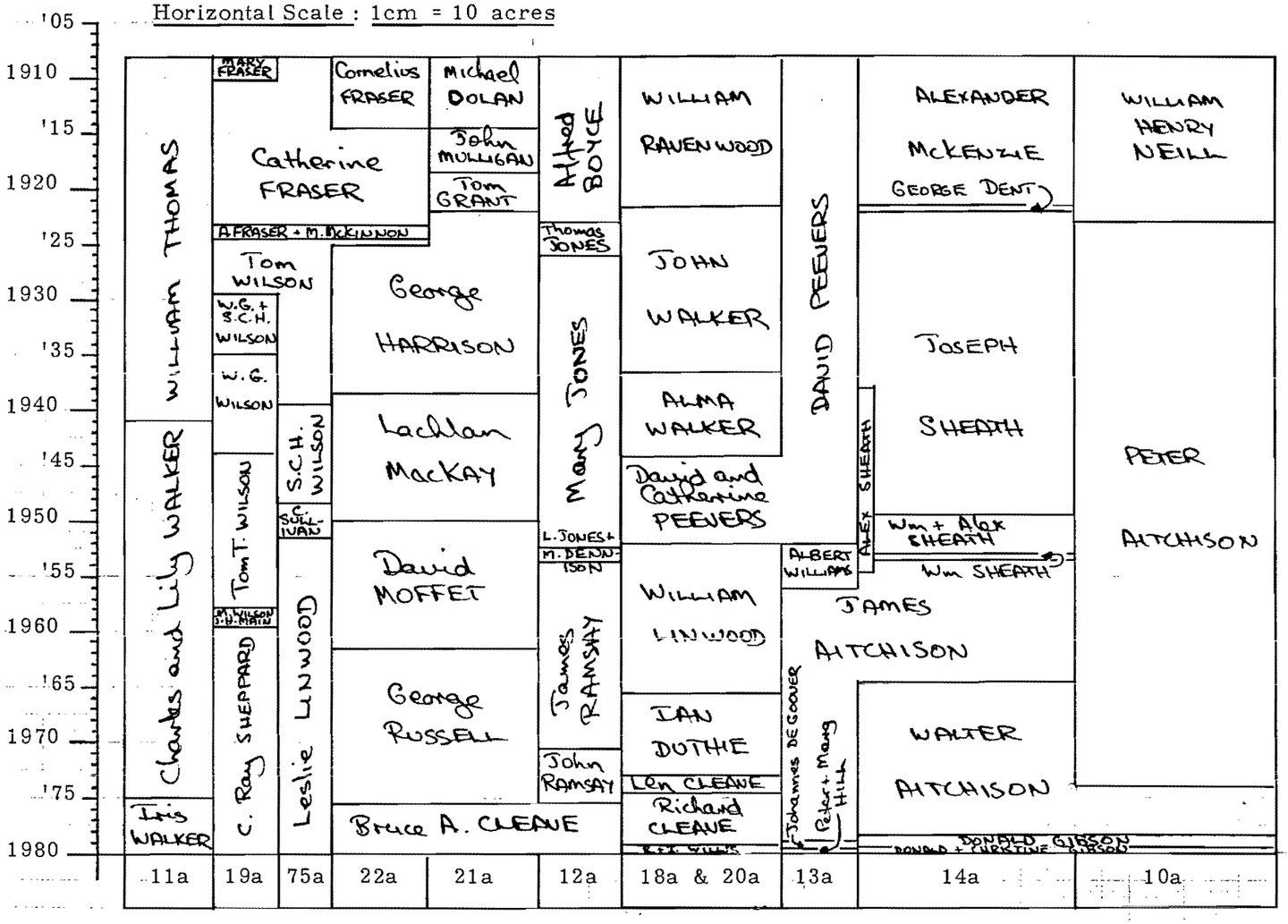


FIGURE 3

KUROW SETTLEMENT AND ENVIRONS

LANDHOLDING PATTERNS

1890 TO 1980

(2,450 acres)

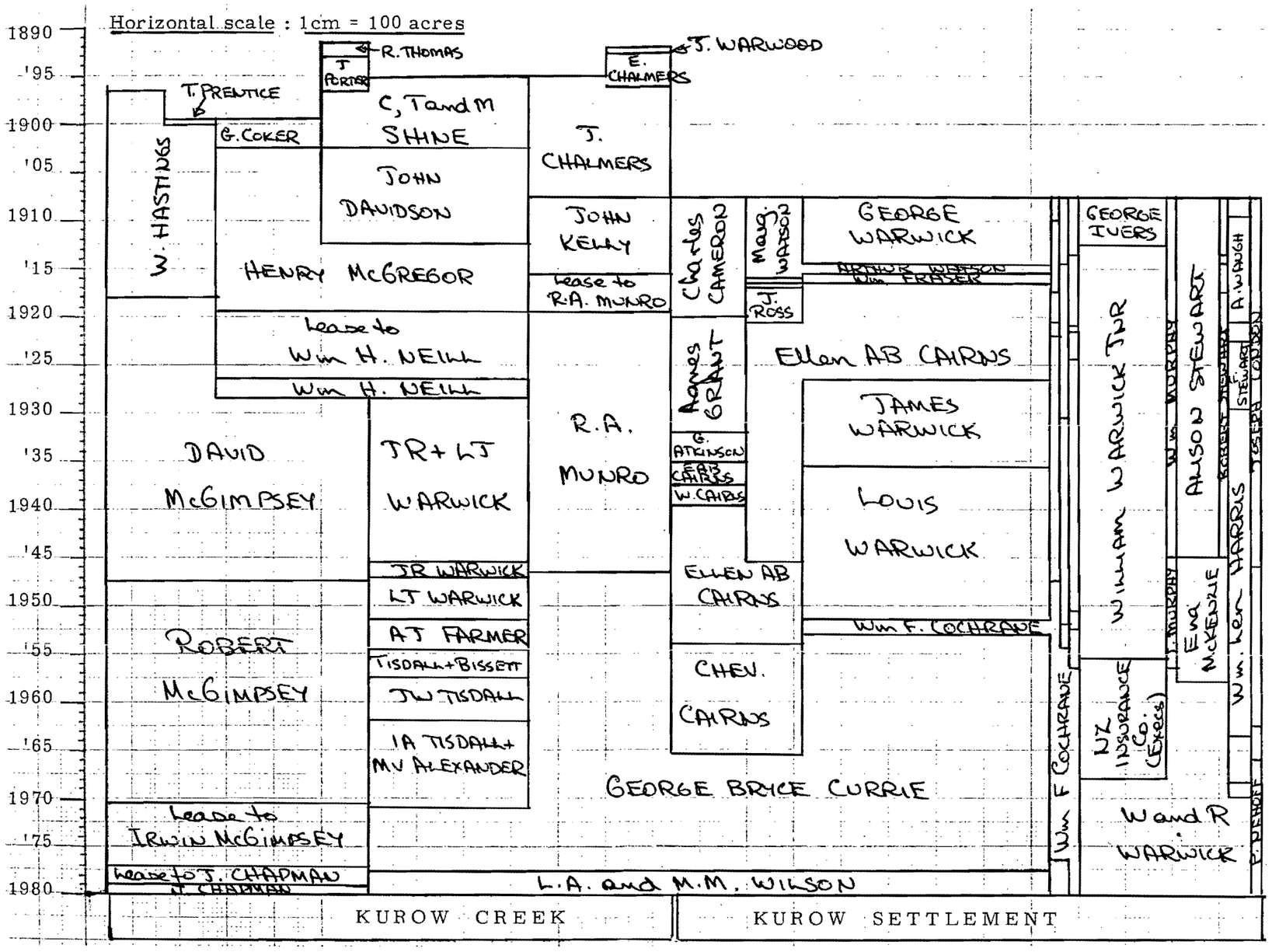


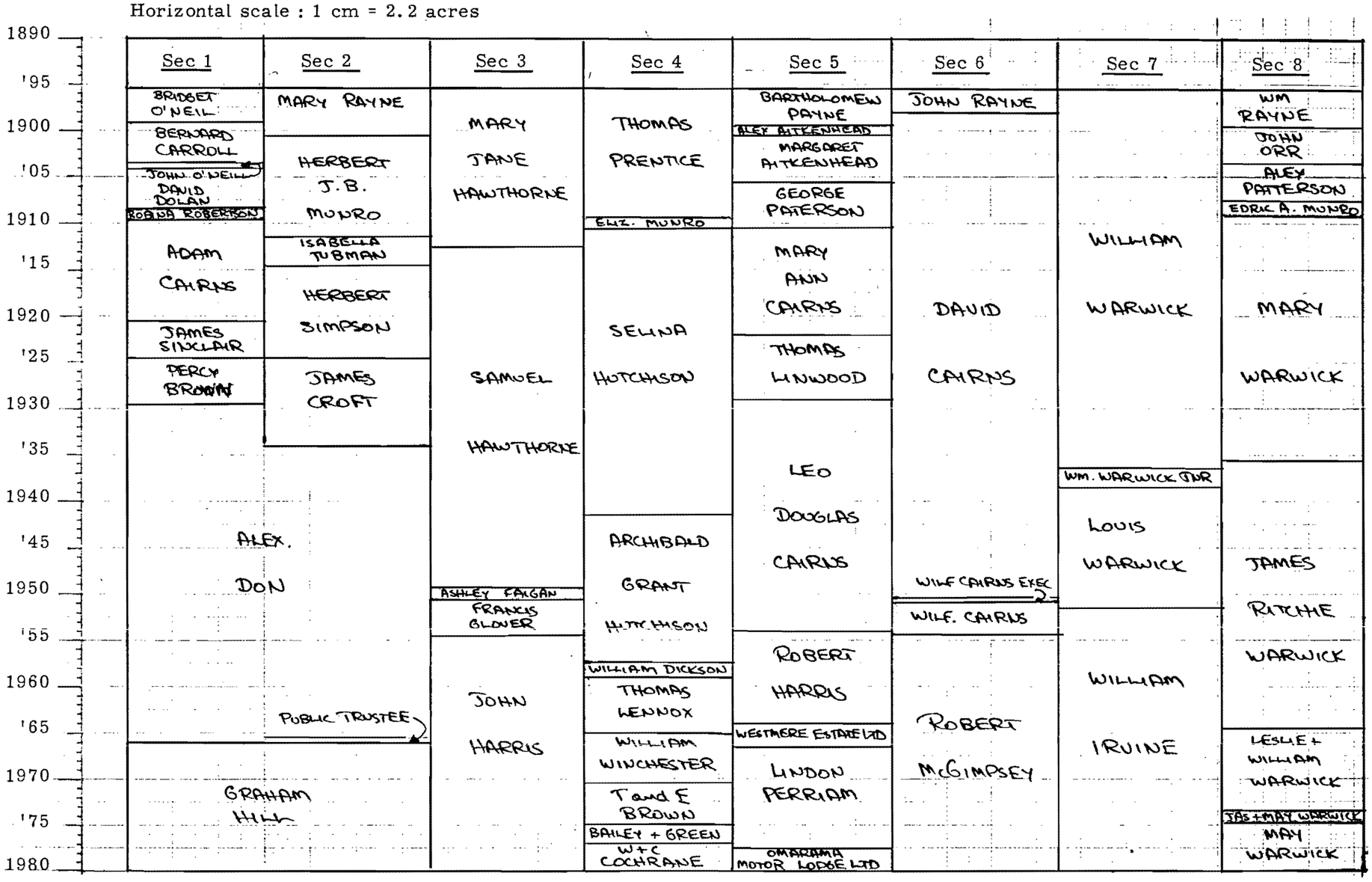
FIGURE 4

TAHAWAI SETTLEMENT (PADDY'S FLAT)

LANDHOLDING PATTERNS

1895 TO 1980

Horizontal scale : 1 cm = 2.2 acres



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